

THE
FIRST PART
OF A TREATISE CONCERNING
POLICY, AND
RELIGION.

Wherein the infirmities of humane wit is amply declared, with the necessities of Gods grace, and true Religion for the perfection of policy; And by the way some political matters are treated; Divers principles of Macchiauel confuted; And many aduises given, tending no lesse to religious piety, then to true policy; With a confutation of the arguments of Atheists, against the Providence of God, which is clearly proued throughout the whole.

Written by THOMAS FITZHERBERT Esquire,
and Catholique priest, for the benefit
of young Statists.

Sit uomen Domini benedictum a seculo &c. The name of God be blessed for euer, and euer, for wisdom, and fortitude are his, and he changeth times, and ages, and transposeth, and ordaineth kingdoms at his pleasure. Dan. 2.

The contents of the whole treatise may be seene
in the table of the Chapters following.

VVith permission of Superiors.
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T O M Y S O N N E
E D W A R D F I T Z H E R B E R T .



INDNES, saith the prouerbe, wil creepe where it can not goe; The meaning is, if I be not deceiued, that such is the force of loue and affection, that when it can not manifest it selfe so amply as it wold, it wil show it selfe in some sort as it may; the

which is now verified in me; For, wheras I haue neuer hetherto had the meanes, & oportunity to manifest my affection towards you, by reason of my departure from you and my cuntry, in your infancy, & my continual absence euer since, (for the space of these three and twenty yeres) I can no longer forbear to geue you some testimony of my loue, by the particular addresse of this treatise vnto you; For, although I intend it generally to al my cuntrymen, for the publyk good, yet I can not but wish the best part of the benefit to you, to whom the fruite of al my labours is most due, both by a special prerogative of nature, and also by the particular priuiledge of my owne desire, and your desert.

Therefore, to the end you may reape the benefit which I wish you of this treatise, you shal vnderstand, that although part of the subiect is policy, yet my meaning is not to animat you to the study, or practise therof, for that in my many yeres trauel, & seruice of forrayne princes, (wherin I haue obserued the successe of many, great
negotia-

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negotiations, & bene my selfe employed in some) I haue learned by experience, that the old prouerb, *Of little meddling commeth great ease*, is verified in nothing more then in matters of state; the practise wherof may wel be compared to the vse of fire, which though it be most necessary for man, yet is most dangerous to deale with, and doth men some times irreparable dammages, be they neuer so circumstect. And this I say, for that I haue knowne very many stats-men of greate sufficiency, much perplexed, and diuers ruined, not so much by their owne inconsideration, as by the difficulties, and dangers incident to the handling of state-matters, which are subiect to infinit accidents, and hazards, impossible to be fore-seene and pre-uented, by the witt, or industry of man; And therefore the only point of state, which I wold haue you to learne, or at least to practise, is, to serue God and your prince, with al duty and loyalty, yeelding (as our Sauour commandeth) *To Caesar that which is Caesars; and to God, that which is Gods*: And euer to perswade your selfe, that honesty ioyned with piety, & prudent simplicity, is the highest and surest policy that may be: for as *Salomon* saith; *Qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter, & qui deprauat vias suas manifestus erit. He which walketh simply and plainly, walketh confidently & surely, & he that runneth an vndirect course shal be made manifest*. And this our Sauour also taught his Apostles, and vs al, when he said. *Estate Prudentes sicut serpentes, & simplices sicut columbae*. Be you prudent like to the serpent, and simple like to the doue; whereof I shal not neede to say more vnto you here, for that I haue sufficiently handled this matter in this treatise, in the which I wold wish you for your better instructiō, to obserue specially these points following.

The first is; The natural imbecillity of mans witt; the
confide-

Math. 22.

Pro. 10.

Math. 10.

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consideration wherof is most necessary for euery man, to the end he may not only beware of presumption, and an ouer-weening of his owne wit (the danger wherof I haue declared in the first, and second Chapter) but also haue recourse to the remedies which God hath ordained for mans infirmity; that is to say, continual praier to him for the light and helpe of his grace, and the counsel of discrete, and wise friends; of both which points I haue treated at large, partlie in the 28. Chapter, and partly in my rules for young statists; wherto I remit you.

The second obseruation which I wish you to make, is, of the course of Gods prouidence in the affaires of men, as how he disposeth not only of kingdomes and states, but also of particular mens affaires, working his wil in them, and by them, some times manifestlie, and some times by secret operation, permitting euil to the end to draw good therof, and seruing him selfe of mens wills, wits, policies, and power, as also of al other his creatures, and of al manner of causes, natural, moral, and accidental, for the execution of his holly wil, and secret iudgements; The consideration wherof infinitely importeth euery Christian man, as wel for the discharge of his dutie towards God, as also for his owne special comfort, throughout the whole course of his life.

For he that alwaise hath the prouidence of God before his eyes, and acknowledgeth his merciful disposition in what soeuer befalleth him, is neither puffed vp with pride in prosperity, nor dejected with sorrow in aduersity, nor yet dismayed with the apprehension of dangers, but alwaise holdeth an euen and stedfast course, resigned to Gods wil, grateful for his benefits, not repining at his punishments, knowing that al wil turne to his good, if the fault be not in him selfe; whereby the seruants of God

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receiue infinit cōsolation, whereas those who haue not the like consideration of Gods prouidence, haue neither any stay of them selues in prosperity, nor any true comfort in aduersity, but being no lesse dissolute in the one, then desperate in the other, perish many tymes in both, through Gods iust Iudgement. And although you shal find matter considerable concerning this poynt, throughout this whole discourse, yet I specially recommende two Chapters to your reading, to wit the 25. and 26. where I haue declared the causes why God permitteth good men to be afflicted, and wicked men to prosper in this world, which being wel waied may yeeld you, as I hope, both consolation, and instruction.

Exod. 20.

The third poynt to be obserued is, the seuerer Iustice of God in the punishment of sinne, (*Visiting the iniquities of parents vpon the children vnto the 3. and 4. generation*) which as I haue made most euident in princes, and their states, so may it also be obserued in priuate men, and particular families. Therefore the instruction, which I wold wish you to take by this point, is, that the true cause of the decay and ouerthrow of most families, is the same that I haue shewed by euident examples to be the ruin of kingdoms, & states, to wit the sinnes of men, punished eyther in them selues, or in their children and posterity, whereby whole families are extirped, races extinguished, ancient houses decayed, and personall defects, or imperfections, continued sometimes in families for many decentes.

wherby it may appeare, how simple they are, who hope to eternize their names and families, by wicked meanes, and how absurdly many men vse to saye, that he is happy whose father goeth to the deuil (because wicked men leaue many times their children rich, with il gotten goods) whereas experience teacheth, that although God of his

secret

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secret Iudgements suffreth euil men to prosper for a while (for such causes as I have signified in the 26. Chapter) yett he puni sheth them, and dissipateth their ill gathered substance sooner or later, wher vpon groweth the prouerbe: *Male parita, male dilabuntur; Goods il gotten, are il spent. Et vix gaudebit tertius heres; And they seeldome descend to the third generatiō.* VVherfore we may say with far more reason, that he is vnhappy whose parents sinnes may drawe the malediction, & wrath of God vpon him; and that most happy is he, who fearing God, and being descended of vertuous parents, enheriteth not only their wel gotten goods, but also Gods blessing for their vertues; For such a one hath a lasting stock, and an indeficient treasure, yeelding an assured fruite to him, & his; which I wish you alwayse to remember, to the end you may liue in the feare of God; that it may please him to blesse you with his grace, and al temporal happines, yea and to prosper, and perpetuate your posterity, for his owne glory, and the good of your cuntry; For, *Sic benedicetur qui timet Dominum;* So shal he be blessed who feareth God.

Psal. 127.

Furdermore you shal find in this treatise diuers political precepts, and rules, which though as I said before, I doe not aduise you to practise, yet it can not hurt you to know, and the rather for that many of them may be applyed to the condicion, or state of any particular man; such being the connexion of al the parts of prudence, (wherof policy is one) that they concurre, and communicate in many things, in so much that an aduise may be very political, or good for the administration of state, and withal very æconomical, or fit for the gouernment of houshold, yea and necessary for the direction of any priuat man, in his particular affaires; of which kinde, diuers wil occurre vnto you, in reading this treatise.

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In like manner, whereas I haue interlaced many things against Atheists, which you, and other good Christians, may perhaps omit to reade, as not pertaining any way to you, I think good to aduertise you, that you may also find therein matter woorth your consideration, for that I haue by the occasion of their obiections, cleared diuers doubts, explicated many difficultyes, & decyded some notable questions; which may serue, not only for the confirmation of our Christian fayth, but also for the edification of any good Christian reader, yea and stirre him vp to the admiration of Gods infinite wisdom, iustice, mercie, bounty, & omnipotent power, and to the due reuerence, and feare of his inscrutable Iudgements.

Moreouer, hauing had desire both to delight, & profite my readers, I haue sowed in this my gardain (as I may tearme it) the seede as wel of moral, as of political doctrine, and haue watered it abundantly with all kind of history, yea more perhaps then wil seeme conuenient to some curious and seuerer censurers, who may desire to haue all things restrained to the limits of their lyking; Neuertheless, I wold haue such to vnderstand if any such there be) that I haue bene the more copious in examples, for the better and more cleare confutation of Macchiauillian, & Atheistical politikes, who referring all the effects of Gods secret Iudgements, yea and of many of their owne errours to chance, are best conuincted by experience, which is cheefely deduced from history, and shewed best by multitudes of examples.

Therefore I wold haue you to think that I inuite you to the reading of this treatise, as to a gardain, in the which I hope you shal find variety of faire flowers, and holsome hearbs; wherof I wish you first to take a full view, & after to make your selfe a nosegay of what you like best, for I

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can not expect that you, or any other, will like and allow, of euery thing alike, which I treat, or teach in this Treatise, no more then it can be expected, that many guests invited to a feast, be it neuer so wel furnished, shalbe al of them contented alike with euery dish: and therefore euen as many dishes are provided, not so much that al the guests may eate of euery one, as that euery guest may haue some dish to his liking, euen so I haue proposed to my readers variety of matter in this discourse, not so much hoping that al of them will be pleased with euery thing therin, as that euery one of them may find some thing to content him

To conclude; I wold not haue you expect in this my Treatise, any curiosity of exquisit words, or fine filed phrases, or other ornaments of eloquence, because nether my declining yeares, (where with my stile is also declined) neither yet the grauity of the matter which I handle, doe seeme to me to permit any other then a plainē stile, and familiar manner of writing, accommodated to common capacity for the publike good; Besides that I perceiue by such english bookes, as I haue chanced to see, printed in England of late, that the english tongue is much altered since I came thence, and thierfore I may wel feare, that the language currant in my time (which I am forst to vsō because I neuer vsed, nor learned other) may now seeme no lesse barbarous to some men, then diuers new woords, and phrases seeme strange to me; But howsoeuer it be, I hope my louing, and courteous cuntrimen, will measure this my woork rather by the matter, and my good meaning, then by the language, or manner of composition, and that for supplement of al defects, they wil accept the abundance of my good wil, and desire of their benefit, which hath moued me to take this paines, to treat of a
necessary

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necessary subiect, neuer handled before in our tongue, for ought I know; In which respect I hope it may be the more grateful vnto them; And this being al which I haue thought needful to aduertise youtouching the Treatise following, I referre you to the preface for your further satisfaction, concerning my further intention, as wel in this first part, as in the second, which by Gods grace shal follow in tyme, if God geue me lyfe and health; And in the meane whyle, I wish you al contentment, and the abundance of Gods grace, taking my leaue with this benediction of the Psalmist. *Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Sion, & videas bona Hierusalem omnibus diebus vite tue, & videas filios filiorum tuorum, pacem super Israel.*

The last of october. 1605.

Your louing Father.

T. FITZHERBERT.



THE PREFACE, VVHERE IN

IT IS SIGNIFIED VVHO ARE POLITIKS;
Hovv they erre in Religion; and vvhat difference there is betwixt them and other heretykes; Also vvhat is the intention of the Author in this Treatise, and in the other part thereof that is to followe; And lastly some foundations are layed for the prooffe of Gods providence in humaine affaires.



MONGST many errors concerning Religion which are currant in this our vnforgunate age, none is more dangerous or pernicious then the opinion of such, as are commonly called Politikes; so named, not because they practize true and perfect policie, but because they esteeme them selues, or are of many falsly reputed, for prudent and politike men: and therefore as the Latin word *Tyrannus* which at first did signify a monarche, and absolute kinge, came afterwarde by the abuse of roial authority to signify only a *Tyrant*, and as in like manner the word *Latrones* signified at the first such as were the guards of princes, and grew in time by their disloyalty to be vnderstood of *Robbers*, & theeves; so also though the name of a *Politike* doth signify in deede such a one as practiseth that parte of humane prudence which concerneth state, and is properly called *Policy*, yet by the abuse of such as professe the same, it beginneth in al languages to be taken in euil parte, and is commonly applied only to those, who framinge a policy after their owne fancy, no lesse repugnant to reason, then to conscience & religion, change al the course of true widdome and prudence, and peruert the order of nature it selfe, preferring things lesse worthy, before the more worthy, inferiour things before superiour, corporal before spiritual, temporal before eternal, humane before deuine, the body before the soule, earth before heauen, and the world before God.

Calepin Varror.
& alij.

vvhat the
name of politike
signifieth properly.
vvhat policy is.

The name of a
politike commonly
taken in
euil part and of
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vnderstood.
Politiks peruert
the order of nature.

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*How & when
politicks as he-
reticks in the
highest degree.*

*The difference in
matter of reli-
gion betwixt
politicks & other
hereticks.*

*Politicks
ouerthrow the
foundations of
Christianity.*

*How politicks
abuse religion.*

2. Therefore whereas these *politicks* erre no lesse in religion then in polycie, they also deserue the name of *hereticks*, and are so indeede in the highest degree, when obstinacy concurrerth with their error. For others which teach false doctrine in matter of religion, doe erre only in some parte of the Catholike faith: but *politicks* erre in the whole. Hereticks either impugne our Sauour Christ, or his Saintes, or his spouse the Church, or some parson of the blessed Trinitie, but *politicks* make warre against al these, yea against Deitye it selfe. Hereticks admitting some groundes of Christian faith, doe denye and deride the rest; but *politicks* seeming to admit al, doe in deede deny, contemne, and deride al. Hereticks though they reiect some parte of true religion, yet they haue some religion; but *politicks* admittinge in shew al religions, haue in truth no religion, denying either God him selfe, or at least his prouidence in the affaires of men, which is the ground of al religion. Finally hereticks vndermine and shake the foundations of Christianity, but *politicks* doe vtterly ouerthrow it; for although they graunt, and acknowledge the necessity of religion, aswel to the institution, as also for the administration, and conseruation of commonwealth, yet they so litle consider the nature, dignity, and true effectes therof, that they preferre in al thinges, reason of state before reason of religion, as though religion were ordained only for the seruice of commonwealth; Yea, and which is more to be lamented, they vse it no otherwise then as nurfes vse fables of bug-beares to terrify litle children withal, to make them the more obedient; as though religion or beleefe of a God, were only a matter of opinion, consisting in phantasy, and imagination; and deuised to keepe men in awe, & feare of eternal punishment, to make them the more obedient to temporal lawes; in which respect those which holde this opinion care not greatly what religion be professed, so that the people perswade them selues that there is some God which punisheth euil men, and rewardeth the good, whereby they doe not only ouerthrowe al religion, but also vtterly destroy and ruyne in tyme, the kingdomes & commonwelthes where they gouerne, as shal euidently appeare in this Treatise.

3. And whereas it seemeth to me that this error proceedeth
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principally of two causes, the one; for that many men haue so great a presumption of their owne wisdom, that they measure thereby all things, as wel deuine as humane; and the other for that they know not, or at least, doe not duely consider the nature, force, fruit, and dignity of true religion in Commonwelth; I wil therefore deuide this Treatise in to two partes.

Whence the error of politics proceedeth.

This treatise diuided into 2. parts.

The contents of the first part.

The contents of the 2. part.

4. In the first, I wil shew the insufficiency of mans wit, policy, and power, for the institution, gouernment and conseruation of common wealth, with out the peculiar help & assistance of Gods grace, which can not be had with our true religion. In the second parte I wil declare that true religion is a most excellent and diuine thing, not consisting only in conceite and opinion of men, but flowing from the very fountaine of nature it selfe; as being the end whereto aswel euery man, as also commonwealth is naturally ordayned; and that therefore not only all particular actions of men, but also all policy and reason of state, is to be leueled, and squired by the rule thereof, and that nothing can be truly political or good for state which swaruerth from true religion; and lastly I wil proue that only one (to wit the Christian Catholike religion) is truly political, or fit for gouernment of states.

5. Of these two parts, I present ynto thee, good Reader, at this tyme, only the first, and although my principal intention therein, is no other, but to show the weaknes of humane policy, and the necessity of true religion for the perfection thereof, neuertheles for the better satisfaction of such as by reason of the subiect which I handle, may perhaps expect some further discourse concerning state, I haue determined to touch some political matters now and then by the way, as occasion shalbe offered, & to lay doune in the end some general aduises & rules of policy, not for men already practised in affaires of state (of whome I shal euer be glad to learne) but for such only, as are willing to apply them selues thereto, and haue no experience thereof, whome I desire to set in the high waye, & direct course of a sound and perfect policy grounded on Gods grace, and true piety, to the end they may proceede to theyr practise, with more light, lesse danger, and better successe to them selues and the princes whome they serue, and consequently to the publike

The principal intention of the author in this treatise.

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good, which depēdeth on nothing more, then on the wel handling, and good successe of matters of state.

How far the author meaneth to touch religion in this treatise.

Atheists are common enemies both to Catholics. Res. & protestants.

Why examples of miracles are alledged in this treatise.

Many notable miracles donne this last yere in Brabant.

Plutarke, in the life of Coriolanus.

The errour of policy's proceedeth partly of Atheisme.

6. And forasmuch, as one part of my subiect being Religion, and I by profession a Catholique Priest, it may perhaps be imagined that I wil touch some matters, which may be offensive or vngratful to such as profess the religion now established in our cuntry; I think good to aduertise thee, good Reader, that my meaning is not in this first part to handle any matter of religion now in controuersy betwixt protestants & Catholiques, neither yet in the latter, any furder then the same shal be necessarily conioyned with matter of policy; Only I desire such protestants or puritanes as shal read this part, to hold me excused, if for the confusion of their common enemies, and ours (I meane Atheists, for such are the Politikes whom I especially impugne) I alleadge some times some examples of Gods extraordinary assistance geuen to his seruants miraculously by his Angels, Saints, or otherwaife, seeing there can not be a more euident argument for the proofof Gods prouidence, then the same; And if any man doute whether such miracles haue bene, or maye be donne in these our daies, I wish them not only to consider those few examples of our time, which I haue had occasion to mention, but, also to enforme them selues sufficiently of the many most notable miracles shewed by almighty God the last yere, at the Image of the blessed virgin *Mary* neere to *Sichem* in *Brabant*, which are so fresh in memory, and so euident in the parties who receaued benefit therby, that they can not with any show of reason be denied. But no maruel if such things are doubted of by some which heare of them in these daies, seeing the stupendious miracles of our Sauour him selfe, and of his Apostles & seruants in all ages, haue not bene beleeued of al those that saw them, but of those only whom it pleased God to illuminate with his grace. And therfor I say with *Plutarke*, and *Heraclitus* two painim Philosophers, that the greatest parts of Gods woorkes are vknowne to men for lack of beleefe.

7. Moreouer, whereas the errour of politikes, as wel in matter of state, as in religion, proceedeth in greate part of meere Atheisme (in respect that they belecue not that God hath care of man, or takerh account of his actions, or disposeth of kingdomes,

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domes, and states at his pleasure) I haue therefore determined clearly to proue the prouidence of God in the affaires of men, and especially in the government of state, and to answer particularly the arguments of the politikes, or Atheists, against the same; To which purpose I think good also to lay some foundation of my future building, here in this preface, for the more cleare confutation of their errour in that behaulfe, wherein I meane to be the breefer, partly because some others haue most excellently treated the same matter in our tongue, and partly because the diuinity and prouidence of God is of it selfe so euident in nature and reason, that as Cicero following Plato saith. *There was neuer any people in the world so barbarous, or irreligious, but that although they knew not what God they ought to serue & adore, yet they knewe that they ought to serue and adore some God*, by whose prouidence they were to be gouerned. In which respect Plutark also saith, *That we may find some citties void of money, theaters, and of faire and sumptuous buildings, but none without temples for the seruice of God.*

A foundation layd for the proof of Gods prouidence.

F. R. P. in his resolution.

Cicero de legib. li. 1.

There was neuer any people, or nation so barbarous, but they acknowledged a Gods & his prouidence.

Plutar. li. contra Colorem. epicureum.

The general and vniforme consent of al nations concerning Gods prouidence deriued from nature.

Cic. Tuscul. quatuor. li. 1.

Aristot. de celo li. 1. sum. 6. 32.

Aristot. To. pho. li. 1. c. 9.

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8. Whereupon it followeth necessarily, not only that there is a God, but also that his prouidence disposeth, & gouerneth the affaires of men; For whence could this vniforme consent, and opinion of Gods prouidence, and his deity springe, and flow into the minds of al people & nations, in al times, and ages, but from nature it selfe, for Cicero as saith. *Omni in re consensio omnium gentium lex natura putanda est*; The consent of al nations in any thing whatsoeuer, is to be accounted the law of nature: and therefore whatsoeuer is vniuersal, and comon to al men, must needs be natural; and being natural it can not be vaine, for as Aristotle saith. *Deus & natura nihil faciunt frustra*. God and nature doe nothing in vaine: as for example, man is naturally inclined to learne, and know truth, to loue, and desire good, to hate and eschew euil, which inclynations, and desires in man were vaine, if there were no truth to be knowne, nothing good which might be loued and desired, or nothing bad which might be eschewed. And so in like sort, if there were no God to worshipp and serue, nor any deuine prouidence in mans affaires, the natural inclination of man to religion, that is to say, to the worship and seruice of God were vaine; and consequently erroneous in nature, which were absurd to say. And this is so manifest that whereas Aristotle teacheth that some things are

The preface.

*As euident to
reason that God
is to be honored,
as to sense that
snow is white.
Arnob. li. 7. con-
tra Gentes.*

euident to reason, and some to sense, he putteth for example of the first, that *God and our parents are to be honored*; Whereof saith he, *whoſoeuer douteth hath no lesse neede of punishment then he should haue neede of sense, if he denied snow to bee white.* To which purpose also *Arnobius* saith, that he which denieth that God made and gouerneth the world, hath neither vnderstanding, nor yet sight, or common sense.

*Workes of na-
ture prooue that
there is a God
and Creatour of
all things.*

9. For who is so senseles that shal behould and dewly consider the very workes of nature, their immensity, multitude, and beauty, their admirable effectes, their wonderful order, their connexion, and subordination in the heauens, in the ayre, in the elements, in the earth, and in al creatures, especially in man himselfe (in whome there appeare so many miracles of nature, such art in the composition, such wisdom in the disposition, such conformity of one parte to an other, and such perfection in the whole that he is worthily called *Microcosmus*, a litle wordle) who (I say) considereth this, and can doubt that there was some Creator and Author therof, of infinit power and wisdom; For who is so simple, that seeing a goodly pallace, of so excellent and rare workmanship, that it draweth the eyes of al men to behold it, doth not presently acknowledg it to be the worke of some notable Architect; for a notable effect can not be without a notable cause.

*Diuers conside-
rations forcing
man to acknow-
ledge a Creator
of infinite wis-
dome and
power.*

10. Furthermore (to omit many other considerations whereof I wil speake otherwhere) if a man note and consider the wonderful wisdom that appeareth in the harmonious composition of contraryeties, or as I may tearme it in the dissonant concord of contrary motions and qualities in Gods creatures; as the motions, of the sunne, and the moone, and other plannets, not only different one from another but also contrary to the motion of the highest spheere, and yet al of them caried with such a perpetual, equal, and constant course, that thereof redoundeth the vsuall and ordinary counterchange of night and day, of moethes and yeeres, of winter and sommer, and al other tymes and seasons, necessary for the production of the fruite of the earth; and the conseruation of al liuing creatures. And againe if we adde thereto the contrary qualities of the foure elements, reduced to a temperature in the constitution of al earthly thinges, where

upon

The p^reface.

upon depend the 4. contrary humours in the body of man, and al other liuing creatures, and those humours tempered also with a certaine equality wherein consisteth the health, life, and conseruation of the said creatures; If a man (I say) wil consider this, he can not imagine either that it was at first ordained, or els it stil continued by chance, seeing there appeareth therein such an infinit wisdom, that no reason, wit, or wildome of man, can sufficiently comprehend it.

11. And whereas some doe say, that it is not God but nature which worketh al this; I aske them what they meane by nature, whether it be a thing that hauing reason, and vndersting in it selfe, moueth al creatures according to the proper nature and kind of euery one of them, for in that sence God and nature is al one, in which respect he is called *Natura naturans*, that is to saye, Nature which giueth nature to al things, wherfore Seneca defineth nature thus; *Natura nihil est nisi Deus & diuina ratio toti mundo & eius partibus inserta*; Nature is nothing els but God, and a diuine reason inserted, or put into the world and into euery part therof. But if they meane by the woord Nature, a certain power, influence, or instinct which without any sence, or vnderstanding in it selfe hath an operation euen in senseles things, inclining and mouing them to a certain end; it must needs follow that the same nature, influence, or power, hath that motion force and operation from some superiour essence which hath vnderstanding, and is of infinit power and wisdom, who created, moueth, guideth, and conserueth it; In which sence Aristotle defineth nature to be; *Principium motus, & quietis*, the beginning of motion and rest, and saith, that it is to be numbred amongst those causes which doe worke for an end; whereupon S. Thomas inferreth notably that nature must needs be directed by the prouidence of God, for nothing which is void of vnderstanding, and sence can tend to a certaine end, except it be directed by some that knoweth the end, as an arrow can not tend to a certaine marke, except it be shot by some one that knoweth the marke, & in this sence nature is nothing but the instrument of God, and so Plato treateth of nature in *Timæo*, as *Marsilius Ficinus* obserueth very wel.

12. This is so euidnt in reason that by the consideration thereof the heathen Philosophers attained to the knowledge of a

How God and nature are al one, and how they are distinguished.

D. Tho. 12. 9. 85. ar. 6. Seneca li. 4. de beneficijs c. 7. The distinction of nature according to Seneca.

Nature defined by Arist. phis. li. 2. tex. 1.

D. Thom in li. 2. phis. lec. 12. Nature directed by Gods prouidence.

Plato in *Timæo*. Martij. Ficini. compend. in *Timæo*. c. 1.

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Rom. 1.

How the hea-
then philoso-
phers attained
to the know-
ledge of a Deity.

Cicero de natu-
ra deorum, li. 1.

Psal. 96.
The incompre-
hensibility of the
divine nature.

Psal. 18.

1. Tim. 6.

Arist. metaph.
A. 1024. 5.

of a deity, for as S. Paule saith. By those things that are visible in the
world, they came to understand that there was an invisible God who made
the same; knowing right well by the light of reason that no-
thing can be cause and author of it selfe, and noting such a sub-
ordination of inferiour causes to superiour, and such a con-
nexion, and coherence of all things visible on earth and in
the heavens, that they easily ascended, as it were, by degrees,
from the lowest to the highest, and so to the contemplation
of the Author and gouernour of all, whome they concluded
to be eternal with out beginning or end, of infinit wildome,
bounty, maiesty and power, incomprehensible and ineffable;
And therefore Simonides the Poët being asked of Hieron the tirant
of Sicily what God was; demanded a daies respite to answer,
& being then asked againe his opinion, craued two daies more,
and after againe a longer time, and in the end said; *That the more*
he thought vpon him, the lesse he knew what he was. And no maruaile
seing he is infinitely great without quantity, infinitely good with-
out quality, he moueth all things and is not moued, he changeth
all things, and is not changed, he is in euery place, and contain-
ed in no place, euery where present, euery where whole, in all
things, and yet included in nothing, with out all things and ex-
cluded from nothing, vnder all things, and oppressed by no
thing, aboue all things, and yet not eleuated, or sustained by
any thing, but sustaineth, and mantayneth all things, finally
being the cause, begininge, and end of all things, or rather all in
all, yet he neither is, nor can be said to be any thinge of all.

13. So that in respect of his incomprehensibility we may well
say of him with the Psalmist. *Nubes & caligo in circuitu eius.* Cloudes
and darknes doe inuiron him; and *Posuit tenebras latibulum suum.*
He hath hidden himselfe in darknes, and yet considering the
euidēt and shyning light of his deytie, most manifest in all his
workes, whereof the Psalmist also saith: *The heavens declare the*
glory of God, and the firmaments sheweth forth the workes of his handes.
We may well say with S. Paule, *Lucem inhabitat*, he dwelleth in
light; which light neuertheles he calleth, *Inaccessibilem*, inaccess-
sible; for although there is nothing more manifest then the clere
sonne of his diuinity; yet so infinit is his nature & so incompre-
hensible is the light thereof, that *Aristotle* him selfe confesseth
that

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that the vnderstanding of man can no more comprehend the deuine essence, and the proprieties thereof (though they are most manifest in nature) then the eye of the owle can behold the light of the sunne.

14. For this cause, not only our deuines, but also the olde Philosophers being not able to expresse his infinite and ineffable nature by any proper name, doe insinuate the same by many attributes; *Aristotle* calleth him the *First cause, the first mouer, and the first beginning*, to whom he ascribeth the gouernment of the worlde, which he compareth to a family, gouerned by one maister, or Lord, and to an army conducted by one General, *Mercurius Trismegistus* tearmeth him *vnderstanding, nature, necessity, the beginninge, midst, and end of al things*. *Plato* calleth him *the father, gouernour, and king of the vworld, beauty, and goodnes it selfe*. By the participation wherof al things that are good and faire, haue their name and nature, in so much that he teacheth expressly, that God is only to be beloued for him selfe, and nothinge else in the world to be beloued, but for him; and that his prouidence extendeth it selfe, not only to the gouernment of the world in general; but also to euery thinge in particular, which he laboreth to perswade by diuers symilitudes, & examples. As of a good Phisitian that hath care to cure al diseases, as wel litle as great; Of a father, or maister of a family, who looketh carefully to al things that are therein; Of a good gouernour that hath an eye & regarde to euery thinge in the Cittie: And lastly to a Captaine-General of an army, who is as it were the life, and soule thereof, and conducteth and guideth it. and euery parte of it by his directions.

15. To which purpose *Cicero* also testifieth that the whole schooles, as wel of the *Peripateticks*, as *Academicks*, did teach, that *God is the soule of the world, and the perfect wisdom and prudence which gouerneth al thinges in heauen, & in terris, quæ perueniunt ad homines*, and those things in earth which belonge to men; And the same as *Cicero* also witnesseth was the doctrine of the *Stoicks*. At which philosophers, reiected, and derided the ridiculous opinion of *Epicurus* who framed to him selfe, a fantastical conceit of a certaine Idle God, who he said had a delicate and a transparent body, and liued in such continual ease & repose, that he would not trouble himselfe with the gouernment of the world. In fauor of which

The deuine nature insinuated by the old philosophers, with diuers attributes.

Arist. metaph. li. i. Idem. Metaph. li. i. text. vltimo.

Mercur. in Pamandro cap. 3. Plato. in Timæo. Parmen. Sophis. phædro. & li. 6. de rep. Platons doctrine concerning God & his prouidence in the gouernment of the world. Plato. li. 34. de. legib. dia. 10.

Cicero Acad. quæst. li. i.

Cicero de finib & nat. deo. lib. 3.

The foolish opinion of Epicurus reiected by al other philosophers.

Cicero. de natura deorum. li. 3.

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Gen. 1.
An obiection
out of the Scrip-
tures in fauour
of the opinion of
Epicurus.
Aug de Gen. ad
lit li. 4 c. 1 & in
senten Aug apud
Prosperum 177.
The obiection
answered by S.
Augustin.

Ioan. 5.

Sap. 2.

AAs. 17.
How the word
requiescit sep-
timo die
in Genesi are so
be vnderstood.

Cicero l. 3. de nat.
Deo. 4.

The author of
nature: fountain
of al goodnesse
and wisdom.

opinion some haue obiected out of our holy Scriptures that our Lord God after the creation of al things, *Requiescit septimo die ab vniuerso opere, quod patrarat*; Rested the 7. day from al the worke that he had made; as though his rest shoulde consist in not meddling with the administration of the world, and gouernment of his creatures; To which obiection S. *Augustine* answereth thus, *Creatoris omnipotentia &c.* The omnipotent and deuine vertue and power of the Creator is the cause of the subsistence, or beinge of euery creature, which deuine vertue and powre if it should at any time cease from the gouernment of those things that it created, the very kind and nature of al things must needs peri- rith and fal to nothing. And therefore whereas our Sauour saith *Pater meus vsque nunc operatur*. My Father doth worke euen vntil this time; he signifieth the continuance of his worke in the admini- stration and gouernment of his creatures. In which respect the Scripture also saith of the diuine wisdom, that *pertransit a fine &c.* It reacheth from end to end strongly, and disposeth al things sweetly. And to the same purpose the Apostle said to the *Athenians*, *In ipso viuimus &c.* *VVe* line, *we* are moued, and haue our beginning, and being in him; that is to say in almighty God. For if he should with draw his hand or operation from vs, wee could neither liue nor moue, nor haue any being at al: and therefore it is to be vnder- stood that God did so rest from al his workes the 7. day, that he made no newe creatures; and not that he ceased to conserue and gouerne those which he had made.

16. Thus saith S. *Augustine* in answer of this cauil, whereto I also adde that, as *Cicero* saith very wel; *He which confesseth there is a God and yet denieth him the gouernment of the world, and the com- munication of his grace, and goodnes to his creatures, contradicth himselfe and destroyeth diuinity; for that he denieth to a mighty God that which is most proper to the deuine nature, and most excellent in it, yea and taxeth him most absurdly eyther with want of wisdom (if he say that God knoweth not how to prouide for his creatures) or with want of bounty and goodnes, if he say that he knoweth how to doe it and yet wil not, or els with lack of power, if he would doe it and can not.* For reason and philosophy teacheth that the author of nature, beinge the fountaine of al goodnes and wisdom, as I haue said, yea goodnes and wisdom it selfe, must

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must needs be of such infinite bounty that he wil not forsake and neglect his owne creatures; and of such infinite wisdom and power that he both knoweth how to provide for them, and also is able to doe it; not with labour and toile, as *Epicurus* foolishly imagined, but with al facility, by his only wil and word; conforme to that which the *Psalmist* saith of the creation of al things: *Ipsè dixit & facta sunt, ipse mandauit & creata sunt*; He spake the word and al things were made, he commanded and they were created; And this the *Stoicks* did shew by a very euident and familiar example of the soule of man, which with the only wil moueth and gouerneth the body and euery parte thereof as it listeth. And euen so (saie they) al things in the worlde are with al facility made moued and changed by the wil and power of God, whole deuine spirit (as *Seneca* saith) is equally disperfed throughout al the whole, *per maxima & minima*, as wel through the least as through the greatest things.

17. And now to adde a word or two of Gods particular providence in mans affaires, can it be with any reason denied, that he hath a more special care of man, then of al other things in earth, seeing he ordayned al earthly things for him, and him for his owne seruice, creating him to his owne Image, and induing him with a reasonable soule, capable of the knowledg of his deuine nature, to the end he might loue worship and serue him? This not only our holy Scriptures, but also the most learned Philosophers doe acknowledge, as *Trismegistus*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, & al *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks* who do constitute & place the end and felicity of man, in the knowledge and contemplation, loue and worship of God, yea in a perfect coniunction, amytie, and vnity with him, as I wil proue at large in the second part of this *Treatise*, where I shal purposely speake of the dignity, fruit, and necessity of *Catholike religion* in commonwealth; the consideration whereof wil afford most inuincible proofes of the infinit wisdom, power, bounty, maiesty and providence of almighty God, manifestly seene alwel in the perspicuous euidence, purity, and excellency of the Christian Catholike faith, as also in the admirable institution of the ecclesiastical monarchy, that is to say the Church of Christ, and in the conseruation thereof so many hundereth yeares together against the fury of al infernal and

Psalm 148.

No marvel that
God gouerneth
and moueth al
things by his
only wil seeing
the soule doth
the like in the
body of man.
Seneca de consolat. ad Heruand. ca. 8.
Gen. 1. & 2.
Psalm. 8.

The great care
and loue of God
towards man.

This megist. in
Ramadro ad Taurin. & ad *Alesep.*
Plato in Timæo &
li. 3. de legib. &
in *Aleliade* *Aristot.* *li. 10. Ethic.*
Iamblic. Porphyrius. *Plotinus.*
apud *Marfil Flacum* in *Compendio* in *Timæum.* c. 6.

The consideration
of religion and
of the Church of
Christ ministris
inuincible proofes
of Gods providence.

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terrestrial power, besides the manifest concurrence of a diuine prouidence in the wonderful force of holy Sacraments in Gods Church, and power of holy men both dead and liuing, and their stupendious, and miraculous workes.

How the prouidence of God in mens affaires shalbe proued in this treatise.

18. Al which as they are necessarie for the perfection of commonwelth (as I wil make it euident) so doe they infallibly demonstrate the course of Gods prouidence therein, and therefore in both respects are to be handled by me amply in the second parte of this Treatise, and sometimes touched by occasion in this first part, wherein also the prouidence of God in the disposition of mens affaires, shal be sufficiently proued, by the infirmity of man, and his natural seruitude and bondage to almighty God: by the consideration of Gods miraculous operation in the ouerthrowe of mans policy and power: by the dependance of all humane designments or actions on the wil of God: by his disposition of *States and Kingdomes*, by the punishment thereof for sinne. And lastly by the very arguments of Atheists themselves, which shal not only be clearly confuted, but also proued to be notable proofes of Gods prouidence.

The Conclusion of the preface.

Aug. soliloq. ca. 14.

A notable saying of s. August. concerning the prouidence of God.

19. And because al these pointes shalbe sufficiently debated and confirmed in the discourse followinge, I remitt thee (good Reader) thereto, and wil conclude this preface concerning the prouidence of God with s. *Augustin*; who explicateth notably this our Christian doctrine, in these wordes; for asmuch (saith he) as thou, o Lord, gouernest al thinges dwelling within them and art alwaile present in euery place, and hast care of euery thinge that thou hast made, thou art so attentue to that which I doe, and dost keepe such watch ouer mee day and night, as though thou hadest forgotten al other thinges in heauen & hadst care of nothinge but me; for the immutable light of thy light is neither the greater for seinge one only, nor the lesse for beholdinge diuers and innumerable thinges; For as thy sight doth comprehend perfectly al thinges togeather, so with the same perfection it comprehendeth euery thinge particularly, and considereth al thinges as wel as euery one, and euery one as wel as al, without diuision or diminution, or any change on thy part, &c. Thus saith s. *Augustin* of Gods particuler prouidence, which shal suffice concerning the same for this time.

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20. Now then to come to the point which I determined first to handle in this discourse, to wit, the insufficiency of all humane policy for the government of state, two things are first to be considered for the declaration thereof; The one is the natural infirmity of man; And the other, the condition and state of commonwealth; both which pointes I will handle with as great perspicuity as my determined breuity wil permit.



THE TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS SHEVING THE CONTENTS of the first part of this Treatise.

AN epistle of the author to his sonne wherein he aduertiseth him,
what he wold wish him to obserue in this Treatise.

The preface wherein it is declared who are politiks, how they erre in
matter of Religion, and how they differ from other heretikes; Also what
is the principal intention of the author in this Treatise; And finally some
grounds are laid for the prooffe of Gods providence in humane affaires.

1. For the prooffe of the imperfektion, and insufficiency of al humane policy,
the natural imbecillity of man, and weaknes of his wit, with the causes
therof are declared; And by the way it is signified what danger, and de-
triment groweth to man by selfe love, and presumption of his owne wit,
with an exhortation to humility. Cap. 1.
2. A further declaration of the infirmity of man, and the imbecillity of his
wit, and policy by the consideration of his natural bondage to almighty
God, and of his blindnes, and ignorance in his owne affaires, and conse-
quently of the necessity of Gods providence for his government, & direction,
as wel in publik as priuat matters. Cap. 2.
3. For the more ample prooffe of the insufficiency of humane wit and
policy, diuers examples are alleaged of the error of politiks, and worldly
wise men in matters concerning them selues, and their states, by occasion
whereof it is also debated how farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy,
and how true prudence, and Christian charity may concurre wth distrust,
and suspicion. Cap. 3.
4. By occasion of the former examples it is debated whether the Emperour
Charles the 5. did prudently in passing through France vpon a fauile
conduct, and of the danger he was in, and how he escaped; Also concern-
ing the errorrs of Henry the 2. King of France in the slaughter of the
Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal his brother. Cap. 4.
5. Of Errorrs committed by whole Senats, namely of Rome, and Venice
wth the conclusion of the premisses, and an admonition to politiks concern-
ing their folly and ingratitude towards almighty God. Cap. 5.
6. The weaknes of al humane policy is proued by the nature of common-
wealth, that is to say by the natural mutability, and instability therof, ex-
emplified breely in Empires, Kingdomes and other States. Cap. 6.

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The imbecility of mans Wit, and policy is furdur proued by the imperfection of al political science, With a consideration of the imbecility of law-makers, exemplified in Solons lawes, by occasion whereof a political question is debated concerning sedition. 7.
Cap. 7.

The imbecility of law makers is also exemplified in certaine Wicked, and absurd lawes of Licurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, With certaine obseruations no lesse pious then Political. 8.
Cap. 8.

The imperfection of humane lawes, is shewed by the defects incident to law; and first What law is, to what end it is ordained, and What it can performe in commonwelth. Also an exact comparison of the law of the flesh repugnant to commonwelth With political law, whereby it appeareth that political law can not suppress the carnal law. 9.
Cap. 9.

An answer to an objection made in fauour of political law, supposed to be sufficient for the suppression of vice, if it take sufficient order for the good instruction, & education of youth whereof the impossibility is shewed, and in conclusion the necessity of the law of grace to supply the defecte of political law is inferred. 10.
Cap. 10.

The insufficiency of humane policy is furdur proued by the vncertainty of the successe of mens wisest designments, and for the better explication thereof it is declared what are fate, fortune, and chance, and that according to the opinion of the best Philosophers fate doth not derogat from the freedome of mans wil, and much lesse from the providence of God; and by the way some watkin said of Astrology, and force of the starres. 11.
Cap. 11.

A furdur consideration of fate, and fortune, according to our Christian faith, and the doctrim of our holy scriptures, and how almighty God woorketh his wil in the affaires of men, by casual, and accidental meanes. 12.
Cap. 12.

Dyuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby the plots, and designments of greate politikes haue bene dissipted, and ouerthrowen; And concerning polices that for a time haue bene profitabile, and in the end haue proued pernicious. 13.
Cap. 13.

Of the force of suddaine chanches, and v unexpected euents in the overthrow as wel of mans power, as of his policy; And of the hazards, and doubtful euents of battailes, and osher enterprises of warre, and that al the successe thereof dependeth vpon the providence of God, geuing victory sometimes by secret concurrence With secondary causes, and sometimes by manifest, and miraculous meanes. 14.
Cap. 14.

For the furdur prooffe that the successe in warre depēdeth vpon Gods vvill, and providence, examples, are alcadged of miraculous victories in euery age since
since

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since our Sauiours time, With the conclusion of this point concerning chances, and vnexpected euents. Cap. 15.

16. The insufficiency of mans policy and poywer, for the conseruation of commonwelth is shewed by the consideration of Gods Iustice in the punishment, translation, and subuersion of states for sinne, vvhich point is handled in 7. chapters next ensuing; And first the Iustice of God in punishing the sinnes of men is proued by arguments drawn from nature it selfe. Cap. 16.
17. For the more euident prooue that God ouerthroweth states and kingdomes for sinne, it is first proued that they depend on his prouidence; Also it is signified for What causes God geueth the gouernment of kingdomes, or states to men; And finally for What kind of sinnes, and in What cases he punisheth, or destroyeth whole commonwelths. Cap. 17.
18. Examples of the severity of Gods Iustice vpon kingdomes, and states for sinne; And first of the subuersion of the most potent empire of the Chaldeans, and of their admirable city of Babilon, and for What sinnes the same was ouerthrowen; And that the euents thereof testified by proane authors, answered exactly to the prophesies in our holly Scriptures. Cap. 18.
19. Of the destruction of Hierusalem, and of the greate calamities of the Iewes euersince for their sinnes, and howe the prophesies of Daniel and of our Sauiour him selfe were fulfilled therein, whereby the prouidence and Iustice of God is euidently proued. Cap. 19.
20. Other examples of Gods seuerer iudgements vpon commonwelths for sinne, and particularly for negligence in the execution of Iustice vpon offenders, and for the sinnes of the flesh. Cap. 20.
21. That the three conquests of our cuntry by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, proceeded of the sinnes either of the princes, or of the people, or of both; and What their sinnes were Which deserued so greate a punishment; Also by the way it is discoursed, What greate mercy God shewed towards the Britons, and English from time to time. Cap. 21.
22. Of the conquest of the kingdome of Naples by Charles the 8. King of France, for the sinnes of the kings thereof, vvvith the conclusion inferring vpon the premisses, the prouidence, and iustice of God in the disposition of states, and the insufficiency of man for the gouernment thereof vvithout Gods assistance. Cap. 22.
23. The imbecility of mans vvitt is furder discovered by the answer of certaine objections of Atheists against the prouidence of God, and first somewhat is saide of the inscrutability of Gods Iudgements, and of mans ignorance in ordinary, and triuial things; And howe that ignorance is the mother

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ther of Atheisme,

Cap. 23.

The obiections of the Atheists are discussed, and answered, wherby it appeareth that their arguments against Gods providence are notable and euident proofes of the same; And first how it standeth with the providence, iustice, and mercy of almighty God to suffer so much sinne, euil, and mischeef in the world.

Cap. 24.

Of the affliction of good men in this life, and that the same is a notable argument as wel of Gods providence, bounty, and iustice, as of his loue to them, with much comfortable doctrine for the afflicted seruants of God.

Cap. 25.

Of the great longanimity, & patience of almighty God towards wicked men, and of the causes of their prosperity, by occasion wherof their pitiful, and miserable state is declared, with some good admonitions to them.

Cap. 26.

Of the variable, and vncertaine euents, that are common to good and euil men in this life, as why the good, and bad, do many times prosper, or are afflicted alike; Also why one man is some times punished for the faults of another, why some are chastised in this life, and others not, and finally why almighty God doth manifest his Iudgements to man in some things, and concealeth them from him in some other; And that in al this the providence of God clearly appeareth.

Cap. 27.

It is inferred ypon the premisses that no sinful policy can be truly counted wise or political, and by occasion thereof it is declared whence true wisdom is, what it is, and wherein it consisteth; As also the difference betwixt wisdom, prudence, and policy, and lastly the necessity of grace to the perfection of policy is signified; with a consideration of the dangers, and difficulties incident to matter, of state.

Cap. 28.

Certaine general rules or aduises no lesse pious then political, for the instruction of such as desire to manage matters of state, and haue no experience thereof, to the end they may deale therein with lesse danger, and difficulty.

Cap. 29.

Other general rules for a yong statift aduanced by his princes fauour to be of his counsel; as what he is to consider in him selfe, in his prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted.

Cap. 30.

What a counsellour ought to consider in his prince, as namely his conscience, his commodity, and his reputation.

Cap. 31.

What a counsellour is to consider in matters to be consulted.

Cap. 32.

For the better, and more particular instruction of yong statifts concerning

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matters to be consulted, a matter of State is debated, to wit what is to be considered in a deliberation touching the maintenance of a ciuil warre, in a forraine cuntry. Cap. 33.

34. *An other question is debated for the furdher instruction of a yong statish, to wit, whether a princes State can be assured by wicked policy, by the occasion wherof many principles of Macchiauel, and of the politikes his followers are examined, and confuted by reason of State, without the consideration of Gods iustice.* Cap. 34.

35. *The argument of the last chapter is prosecuted with the consideration of Gods iustice in punishing wicked princes by the ministry of al his creatures. Also some what is said of the enormity of murders, and Gods seuer punishment therof.* Cap. 35.

36. *It is furdher debated whether al sinful policy be against reason of state, by occasion wherof some things are obserued touching the course of Gods providence in the conseruation and destruction of states and by the way some what is said of sorcery, and how dangerous the practise therof is to princes; And finally it is concluded, that al wicked policy is pernicious to state, and that the wisdom of politikes, or Macchiamillians is nere folly.* Cap. 36.





A TABLE SHEWING BRIEFLY
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FINIS.



FOR THE PROOFE OF THE IMPER-
fection and insufficiencie of humaine policy; the natural infir-
mitie of man, and the imbecillitie of his wit, with the causes
therof are declared. And by the way it is signified, what danger
and detriment groweth to man by selfe loue and presumption
of his owne wit, with an exhortation to humilitie.

CHAP. I.



EE read in *Plutarke* that there were certaine
sentences grauen vpon the gate of *Apolloes*
temple at *Delpbos*, whereof one, was, as it
were, a salutation of the people to *Apollo*, cō-
taining a certaine profession of their faith, &
beleefe of his Deitie; which the diuel who de-

*Plutarke: vpon
this word. Ei.
grauen vpon the
gate of Apollos
Temple.*

cluded them in that Oracle, ascribed to him selfe. An other was
a good lesson or aduise of *Apollo* to the people, in recompence
therof; the first was, this word *Ei* in greeke, which signifieth
thou art, whereby the diuel who alwayes seeketh to be honored
as God, tooke vnto him selfe the proper & true title, and attri-
bute of diuinitie, alluding to the name which God geueth to
him selfe in the Scripture, to wit, *Ego sum qui sum*, I am he which
am. The other (to wit *Apolloes* lesson, or aduise to man) was
gnothise auton, know thy selfe, that is to say, know thy owne imbecillitie or weakenes.

*The diuel affe-
cteth the title
proper to Diui-
nitie.*

Exod. 6. 3.

2 Therefore to transerre this from the Gentils to vs Christi-
ans, and to apply it to my present purpose; I say that these two
sentences haue such relation, & correspondence, the one to
th'other, that by vnderstanding the first, we may come to the
consideration of the latter, and by the knowledge of the latter,
we shal the better conceaue the first. For as *Arnobius* noteth
very wel, if we know and consider that God only is, that is to
say, that he only hath essence, & being, of him selfe, as being
the first

*The knowledge
of God, induceth
mā to the know-
ledge of him selfe*

*Arnob. lib. 7.
contra Gentes.*

the first and principal cause of al natural causes and effectes, the Author, Creator, Moouer, and Conseruator of al things, we cannot, but consequently acknowledge that we haue no true essence, nor being of our selues, and therby we come also to the knowledge of our owne fraylty, and infirmity; which is the forsaide lesson that *Apollo* gaue vnto man, in saying *gnothise auton* Know thy selfe. Again this knowledge of our selues, induceth and leadeth vs in some sort to the knowledge of God; for when we wel consider our owne imbecility, frailty, and mortality, with the mutability, and inconstancy of humaine things, we easely perceauie that we are not absolute or yet haue any true being of our selues, but that we depend as al other things doe, vpon some supernatural power, that is to say, vpon the common Father, Author, and Creator of nature and of al natural things: and so we come to vnderstand, not only that there is a God, but also what is our duty, and oblygation to him, in respect of our dependance vpon him. Therefore *Plato* teacheth that to the attayning of vertue & wisedome, two things are most requisite in man, the first, to know God, and the second to know him selfe.

The knowledg
of our selues, in-
duceth vs to the
knowledg of
God.

Plato in
Alcib.

Presumption a
great impedi-
ment to man for
the knowledg
of God, and of
him selfe.

3. Now then; one of the greatest impediments that hinder man from knowing either God or him selfe, is a vaine conceite, and presumption, that many men haue of their owne wittes and sufficiency, which draweth them into infinite errors, absurdities, and dangers, both of bodie and soule: for it ingendereth in them obstinacie, arrogancy, a spirit of contention, contradiction, and singularity, indignation and disdain of other men, contempt of counsell, and of al help, humaine and diuine; and not only error, but also heresie, infidelity, and atheisme. For those that presume ouer much of their owne wittes, and measure al things therby, doe commonly beleue no more then they know, and vnderstand; and therefore seeing them selues vnable to sound the depth of Gods iudgements, or to comprehend many misteries of our Christian & Catholique faith, within the compasse of their capacitie, they fall many times into flat heresie, or atheisme.

4. This disease of presumption (for so I may tearme it being a mortal sicknes of the soule) is much the more dangerous for
that

The presumption of a mans owne will most dangerous, and why.

that it so affecteth, or rather infecteth & blindeth the vnderstanding of man, that euery one seeth it sooner then he that is sicke therof, who comonly thinketh him selfe to be very sound and wel. For reason, which in the diseases of the bodie is able to iudge thereof aright, being it selfe wel at ease, is in this case the parte it selfe that is diseased, being possessed with such a phrensie that it perceaueth no more the lamentable case it is in, then doth a madde or frantike man see his owne madnes: in which respect it is in very manie incurable; for that they take such pleasure in their owne sickenes, that they wil admit no cure, nor so much as anie counsel for their remedie.

5. And truely if we consider how general the infection therof is amongst men, though not in al a like, and how few there are that perceauce it in them selues; we shal see what cause we al haue, (for I admonish my selfe herein as wel as others) to feare least we haue some touch thereof, more or lesse. And to this purpose, let euery man examine him selfe, how often in his life, he hath held & stilly defended some false conceite and opinion of his owne, how apt he is stil to doe the like; how wel he liketh his owne doinges; how loath he is to confesse an error, or to seeme to be ignorant, or yeld to an other man: let euery one (I say) consider this wel, and he shal see what cause he hath to suspect some spice of this phrensy in him selfe, which wise men ought the rather to eschew, and abhorre, for that it is the proper disease of footes; for as our English prouerbe saith, *None so bold as blind Bayard*, nor any man more confident of his owne witt, and knowledge, then he that hath least, or none at al.

How generally the infection of presumption reigneth.

6. Whereas on the other side, the wiser a man is, the better he seeth and considereth, as wel the general imbecilitie, and weakenes of man, as his owne particulér defectes, from the which no man in this life can be free; and weighing wel how little al that he knoweth is in respect of that which he knoweth not, and how vncertaine al humaine knowledge is, & how subiect to error, he acknowledgeth his owne frailtie, & ignorance, *Non alta sapiens* (as the Apostle saith) *sed humilibus consentiens*, not conceauing highly of him selfe (nor meddling with matters aboue his reach) but limiting his conceites in al humilitie within the compasse of his capacitie, which is a necessarie & essential

No man without some defect.

Rom. 12.

*The cause of
mans natural
infirmity, and
the weaknes of
his vvill.*

*Original Iustice
lost by the fal of
Adam.*

*S. Tho. 1. 2.
q. 85. art. 3.*

*The vvill often
ouercome by sen-
suality.*

*Homer.
Hesiod.
Ouid.*

point of true wisdomē, as I wil declare more at large hereafter. But to th'end that the natural infirmities of man, and his ignorance may the better appeare, the cause thereof is first to be considered, for so we shal the better vnderstand the effect.

7 Therefore although man at his first creation, had al the powers of his soule vigorous, & perfect in their nature, prompt, and readie to the execution of their functions, as his reason & vnderstanding cleare, his wil and affection ordinate, and inclyned to good, and his sensual powers so bridled by original iustice, that they yealded due obedience to reason: Yet when original iustice was lost by the fal of our first father *Adam*, and the light of Gods grace extinguished, not only reason was much weakned, and the wil disordered, but also the sensual powers so corrupted, or rather infected, that they haue euer since runne head-long to their objects with such violence, that they commonly draw the wil after them: whereof diuers reasons may be giuen, but one or two shal suffice, to wit, that although the wil be so placed betwixt reason and sense, that it may inclyne it selfe to either, yet it contracteth a kind of frendshippe, and amitie with sensuality, a long time before it be acquainted with reason, (as we see by experience in children, who are some yeares ledde by sense, before they come to the vse of reason) whervpon it followeth, that the wil hauing already found the passion of sensuality, stronge, familiar, & pleasant, and after feeling the first motions of reason, weake, vnwonted, and disgustful, doth presently giue it selfe so fully ouer to the pleasures of the senses, that it hardly recouereth it selfe euer after; especially seing we can neuer come to the future good that reason promiseth vs, but by the conquest of concupiscence, and sensuality, the which geuing vs present payment of an apparant good (to wit pleasure & delectation) entangleth & bewitcheth vs in such sort, that we are cōtent to rest, & repose therein; yea & to yeald our selues prisoners to pleasure, and to desist from the pursuite of the future good, and true felicitie that reason promiseth vs.

8 This the Poëts represented in the companions of *Ulysses*, who returning with him towards *Ithaca*, where they were to receaue the reward of their labours, were so bewitched by the way with the pleasant, & delectable cuppes of *Cyrrus*, that they would

would passe no further, but remained with her, and were transformed into beastes, as in truth al those may be said to be, that tending to the true felicitie which nature hath proposed to man are so drunken by the way with the delight, and pleasures of the world & the flesh, that they giue them selues ouer therto, and becommine, *Sicut equus & mulus quibus non est intellectus*. Like a horse, or a mule that hath no vnderstandinge.

Vlisses companions transformed into beasts by Cyrces.

Psal. 31.

9 Wel then, the wil of man being thus peruered, what maruaile is it, if reason and vnderstanding be so corrupted therby that it be drawne to error; for we see, that as men are affected, so commonly they vnderstand and iudge: in which respect loue is called blind, for that it obscureth and blindeth the vnderstanding of man in such sorte, that it can not descerne the truth. *Difficile est* (saith the latin prouerbe) *amare & sapere*. It is hard to loue, and to be wise. For where affection beareth swaye, reason is forced to obey, and therefore no man is thought to be a competent and fit iudge in his owne cause, nor yet in the cause of those whome he dearely loueth. And for the same reason Aristotle affirmeth: that intemperance corrupteth the iudgment of man, because the wil being seduced & the affection drawne therby, the light of reason & vnderstanding is so obscured & darkned by passion, that it can not discern good from euil. And the same is also signified in the booke of wisdom, where the Holy Ghost declaring the cause why a good man is some tymes taken suddenly out of this life, saith, *Raptus est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum*. He was taken suddenly away, least malice or inordinate affection should change, or corrupt his vnderstanding. Therefore although reason, since the fall of our first father, doth stil retaine so much dominion ouer the sensual powers, that it may subdue them with the assistance of the wil, rectified & guyded by grace; yet when the wil is peruered, reason either is wholly seduced and deceaued therby, or at least remanieth so weake, and powerles, that it looseth the commaund & dominion which it ought to haue, & therefore the Poët saith; *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. I see and approue that which is best, but I followe the worst.

When mans wil is peruered by sensuality his vnderstanding is easily ledde into error.

Arist. lib. 6. Eth. c. 4.

Intemperance, corrupteth mans iudgement.

Sap. 4.

What dominion reason hath ouer the sensual powers.

Ouid. Metam. lib. 7. in pine.

10 Hereto I may adde also an other reason of the error in mans vnderstanding, to wit; the difficultie of the obiekt therof, for that truth, (which is the obiekt of the vnderstanding) is not

The difficulty
of the obiect of
mans vnder-
standing.

only inuolued, and wrapped like the kernel of the nutte, in so many shells & rindes of abstruse doubttes, and difficulties, that many times it is hardly found, but also it is so incountred with falshood and error, disguised with the shew & apparance of veritie, that the best wittes are often deceaued therewith; and therefore no maruaile if the wisest men of the world doe many times goe astray, stumble, & fal into the obscuritie of the manifold, and intricate doubttes, questions, controuerfies, perplexities, & vncertaine euenttes that daylie occurre in humaine affaires.

The opinion of
many principal
philosophers co-
cerning the im-
becility of mans
vrit.

Cicero.

Acad: quest: li.

2. &c. 2.

11. This the wisest *philosophers* did so wel consider, that many of them affirmed; that nothing in this world can certainly be knowne and vnderstood, by reason of the error in mans senses, imbecilitie of their wites, breuitie of their liues, and the obscuritie of truth; of which opinion were, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocle*., and al the new *Academicks*; in so much that *Socrates* was iudged by the Oracle, to be the wisest man then liuing, because he was wont to say, *Hoc solum scio quod nihil scio*. I know only this, that I know nothing; whereto *Archsilas* added that not so much as that could be knowne, which *Socrates* said he knewe, to wit; that he knewe nothing. And although these *Philosophers*, may seeme to haue exceeded in exaggerating the ignorance of man (thereby to repress, & correct, as it may be thought, the presumption that many men had of their owne knowledge, & wisdom) yet they sufficiently signified therby their conceit of the weakenes of mans iudgement, and imbecilitie of his wit.

The wisest men
doth often erre
without the
help of Gods
grace.

12. Therefore to reduce the extremities of opinions in this matter to a meane, I neither wholly euacuate and annihilate mans knowledge and prouidence, as they seemed to doe, neither yet with others extend, and enable it further then may be iustly granted to mans imbecilitie. For as I confesse that man (though corrupt of nature, and weake in wit and iudgment) may neuertheles, with the ordinarie concurrence, and assistance, that God geueth to his creatures, know, forsee, & determine many thinges notably, both for his priuate, and publike good; so I also affirme, that except he haue some supernatural light of Gods grace to illuminate his vnderstanding, and to rectifie, and guide his wil,

his wil, the wisest man thal many tymes absurdly erre: and that therefore it is conuenient, for euery man, how wise soeuer he hold him selfe to be, to acknowledge the same in al humilitie to almighty God, and to craue true wisdom of him, as his special gift, following the example of the wise man, in the booke of wisdom which treating of the excellency of true wisdom, and acknowledging it to be the special gift of almighty God, craued it at his handes, and withal signified notably, the weaknes of mans wit and iudgment, with the reason therof, in these wordes; *Da mihi domine, etc. Giue me (o Lord) saith he that wisdom which assisteth thy seate and cast me not of from the number of thy seruantes, for that I am thy bond slaue, and the sonne of thy bond woman, a weake man and of shorthe life, vnable to vnderstand aright what is iustice and lawe, and who soeuer is the most perfect and excellent amongst the sonns of men, he is to be accounted as no bodie, if thy wisdom doe not assist him; for the cogitations of mortal men are doubtful and feareful, and al our prouidence is vncertaine, by reason that the corruptible bodie doth aggravate the soule, and this earthly habitation doth depresse the vnderstanding,*

An exhortation to humi-
lity.

Sap. 9.

The imbecillity
of wit ac-
knowledged by
Salomon.

True wisdom
the particular
gift of almighty
God.

Proverb: 3.

Ecclesi. 6.

Rom. 12.

Arift. lib. 1. &
de anima.

13. This, and much more to this purpose saith the wise man or rather the Holy Ghost by him, teaching that true wisdom is the particular gift of almighty God, and that without the light of his grace, mans iudgment, and vnderstanding is obscure, his conceits, and designements full of doubt and feare, his prouidence, and foresight vncertaine, and therefore Salomon wisely aduiseeth. *Ne imitaris prudentia tua &c. Relye not vpon thy owne wisdom, but in all the course of thy life thinke vpon God, and he shal direct thy stepps.* And to the same purpose Ecclesiasticus saith, *Ne te extollas &c. Doe not extolle thy selfe in thy owne conceite like a bul, lest perhaps thy force and pride be beaten downe by folly, that is to say, lest for punishment of thy pride, God giue thee ouer to thy selfe, that thou maist fall by thy owne folly.* S. Paul also exhorteth the Romaines, and in them al other Christians, *Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem. Not to be wiser then a man ought to be, but to be soberly or modestly wise, that is to say; that a man goe not aboute his reach, nor (as I may tearm it) out of the sphere of mans infirmitie, nor attribute to him selfe greater perfection of nature then he hath, considering that though almighty God hath placed him in the highest degree of al those creatures that haue sense; yet he hath giuen*

*Angels may
erre in the iud-
gement of future
things depēding
on the wil of
God or of man.*

giuen him the lowest ranke of those that haue vnderstandinge; hauing subordinated him to Angels, of whome those of the most inferior and lowest order, haue an vnderstanding far more cleare, and excellent then he; and yet so neuerthelesse that their knowledge is also limited. For if we consider them in their owne nature, without that supernatural helpe of God, they may erre, and be deceaued; as in the iudgement of things to come, that depend not vpon natural causes, but only vpon the wil of God, or yet vpon the free wil of men.

*Porphyr. apud
Io. Picum Miran-
dul. contr. Astro-
logos.*

*Angels haue a
perfect and ex-
act knowledge
of al natural
causes.*

*Plutar: in vita
Catonis.*

*Plato in Pha-
don.*

*Man ordayned
to supply the
roome of An-
gells.*

Mat: 12.

14. Hereof the Philosophers were not ignorant, & therefore *Porphyrus* the Platonick, seeking to giue some probable reason, why the spirits that gouerned the *Oracles*, lyed many times. saith; that *when they iudged of thinges to come by the starres, they might be deceaued.* And yet in the opinion as wel of Philosophers, as Diuines, Angels haue a most exact, and certaine knowledge of al natural causes, & of the effects therof, hauing naturally in them selues the formes, or representations of al natural things, which therfore they behold and see with al euidency, and perspicuity: whereas man doth vnderstand nothing but by discourse, or by meanes of phantasie, & sense, both which are greatly subiect to error, in respect that they depend vpon an organ so corruptible as mans body is, which many tymes being il disposed wholly oppresseth the vnderstanding, (as we see in fooles and mad men) and doth obscure it more or lesse in al men. In which respect, *Nearchus* the *Pithagorian* (as *Plutark* affirmed) was wont to cal the body of man *pestem animæ, the plague of the soule.* And *Socrates, Plato,* and al their followers held most constantly, that the more the soule is abstract from the senses, the more clearly it vnderstandeth, and that because in this life it can neuer be wholly separate from the same, therfore it can neuer in this life attaine to perfect knowledge and true felicity.

15 This was their opinion, and being wel vnderstood, it is not dissonant from our Christian doctrine, which is, that although man is ordayned to supply the roome, and place of the Angells, that sel, and therefore is made capable of their perfection, I meane as wel of their knowledge as beatitude (in which respect our Sauour saith of soules glorified, *sunt sicut Angeli, they are like vnto Angells*) yet he can not attaine vnto it in this life, which is
but as

but as the way wherein he is disposed, led, and guided thereto by the light of Gods grace; which disposition is to be perfected, and consummated by the light of glorie in the next life. Wherefore the Apostle saith, *Ex parte cognoscimus*, &c: we knowe in this life but only in parte, or vnperfectly, but when that which is perfect shall come, (that is to say when we shall attaine to the vision of God, & perfect beatitude) then that which is vnperfect shall be euacuated; When I was a child, I spoke like a childe, I thought like a childe, I understood like a childe, But when I became a man I layed away all childishnes. Thus saith the Apostle, signifying that as the vnderstanding and knowledge of an infant, is most vnperfect, in respect of the knowledge and iudgement of a man; so is all the knowledge we haue in this life most weake and vnperfect, in respect of that which we shall haue in the next, *quando videbimus facie ad faciem*, when we shall see God face, to face, & *in lumine eius videbimus lumen*, in his light shall see light. For as s. *Augustin* saith of Angells, we shall see all creatures more truly, and clearly in the wisdom of God, then in them selues, by reason that we shall see them in their cause, and in the very arte whereby they were made.

Mans know-
ledge most vn-
perfect in this
life.
1. Cor: 13.

Mans know-
ledge to be per-
fected in the next
lyfe by the vi-
sion of God.
Ibid.
Psal. 35.
Aug: lib: de ci-
uitate dei ca: 19.

16. This I haue said to thew that he which attributeth to him selfe, any perfection of knowledge or vnderstanding in this life, exceedeth the limittes of mans nature, and taketh vpon him the knowledge of Angells, or of a soule glory. And, whereto it is no more possible for any man in this life to arriue by any natural meanes, then for a beast or an vnreasonable creature, to attaine to the knowlege & vnderstanding of a man: which I wil yet make more euident in the next chapter.

* * *

B

SEPR

A FURTHER DECLARATION OF THE INFIRMITY of man, and his imbecillity of wit, with a consideration of his natural bondage to Almighty God, and of his blindness and ignorance in his owne affaires; And consequently of the necessity of Gods providence, for his government and direction, as wel in publike, as priuate matters.

CHAP. 2.



The damage
that ensueth of
self loue and
presumption.

Proverb. 17.

Psal: 48.

A fable of a
mule moralized
in mans pre-
sumption.
Plutar in Con-
uiuio Sapient.

Selfe loue and presumption of a mans owne witte are very discomendable in al such as are infected therwith; so are they most hateful, and hurtful in those, that hauing good natural talentes, and giftes of body and minde, doe withiall flowe in wealth, dignity, and authoritie, whose vaine conceit of their owne sufficiency being seconded with the pride of their prosperity, and confidence of their power, makes them many tymes so insolent, that the wise man saith, of such kind of men: *It is better to meete a raging Beare, that hath lost her whelpes, then a foole that is confident in his folly.* For such commonly contemne both God and man, & runne such an vnbridled and exorbitant course, that they ouerthrowe, not only themselves, but also al such as depend vpon them.

2. Therefore for as much as the sayinge of the royal prophet *Dauid* is truly verified in such men, to wit, *homo cum in honore esset, &c: man when he was in honor did not vnderstand, and therefore was compared to brute beastes, and made like vnto them;* I wish it might happe vnto such men as we reade in the fable, it chanced once to a Mule in *Lidia*, which beholding in the water his owne shape, & seeing his long legges, his tall stature, his feiture (as it seemed to him) very faire & comely, his braue pack-saddle, adorned with plumes of feathers, bells, & other furniture, was so transported with suddaine delight and ioy, that first he began to braye, then to leape and kick, and after to runne: but as he was in the midst of his carriere, he chanced to remember that his father was an Ass, that his long legges & tall stature, was

giuen

giuen him to make him the more able to labour and toyle, and that his braue furniture, was but a saddle to carry a packe, and finally that he was borne, and ordeined to serue, and to beare not only burdens, but also stripes, if he did not his duty: which when he remembred, he was so confounded, that he suddainly staid his course, and retourned quietly to his accustomed labour and occupation. The like I say, I wish might happe to such as admiringe ouermuch their owne good partes, and the giftes wherewith God hath blessed them, are putt vp with such pride, that forgetting wholly both God & them selues, they run headlong to their owne ruine and perdition. And therefore to reuoke such men from their dangerous course, to walke the secure way and trodden path, which nature hath laid open to lead them to true honor and felicity, I wish that they would remember, and consider certaine things figured, and represented, in the fable of the Mule.

3. The first is, the state and condition of Man, as that rottenes and filth (as Iob saith) was his father, that wormes are his bretheren, and sisters; that he is dust, and shal retourne to dust; being replenished with miseries, he florisheth and fadeth againe within a while like a flower, and vanisheth away like a shaddowe, and neuer remaineth in one state; such being the instabillity of mans nature, that the more we fix our cogitation thereon, to find out some stay, and true being therein; the lesse we find it; euen as, the more a man presseth or wringeth water in his hand, the lesse he holdeth. In which respect *Heracitus* was wont to say, that as a man can not enter twice into one and the selfe same running water or riuer, by reason that it flecteth, and passeth away continually; so we cannot possibly find the substance and nature of man, twice in one state. For as time which measureth it, so changeth stil, that one instant succeedeth and destroyeth an other, one minute an other, one hower an other, one day an other, and the like in weekes, monthes, and yeares: so also mans substance and life, which is measured, & wasted by time, suffereth change and mutation euery yeare, euery month, euery weeke euery day, euery hower, euery minute, euery instant, vntil it be cleane consumed, in so much that our life (as *Seneca* saith) is but a continual death: for we are daylie and howerly dyinge, seing some

Iob: 17.

The instabillity
of mans nature.Plutark vpon
the vvoord Ei.Mans nature
changeth euery
minute of an
hower.
Senec. ep. 24.

parte of our life is cut of euey day, and euey hower; not only in our old age, and decaying yeares, but also in the verie flower of our youth. For though then we growe and increase in stature and strength, yet our life stil decayeth & decreaseth, seing we haue euey day so much lesse to liue. And as the voiding or emptying of an hower glasse that is continually runinge, doth not consist only in the falling of the last graine of sand, but in the whole defluction thereof from the very beginninge: so our death, saith *Seneca*, doth not consist only in the last hower of our life, when we cease to be, but in the wasting and consuming course thereof from our first natiuity: so that our last gaspe is not so properly our death, as the end and consumation thereof. For although thereby we arriue to the periede of death, yet we were goinge towards it longe before.

Seneca Ibid.

Man alwayes dying.

Aug: de verb: Dom. Ser. 1.

S. Augustines discourse of the frailty and misery of Man.

Psal: 143.

Wordly pompe and honors compared to the pack saddle of the mule.

4. In this respect. *S. Augustin* sayth very wel, that we should haue lesse cause to feare, if we were made of glasse. For what (sayth he) is more fraile and bricke then glasse; and yet we see it is kept, and may continue in hole ages. And although it be subiect to breaking by accidents, yet there is no feare that it may perish, neither by old age or sickness: whereas we feare not only innumerable chaunces, which bringe man to his end, and neuer cease to threaten his ruyn, but also the iniury of tyme which wasteth vs continually, so that we may auoid perhaps a blowe or a fall, or such other misbaps, but we can neuer auoid our end; we may shun and eschewe, those perills which are external, but internal which dayly growe within vs, we cannot eschewe. Thus saith this graue, and learned Father; which how true it is, daily experience doth demonstrate vnto vs, so that we may truely say with the Psalmist. *Homo Vanitati similis factus est, dies eius sicut Umbra praterunt.* Man was made like to a very vanity, his dayes passe away like a shadowe.

5. The second point which I would wish those men to consider, is; that al those external giftes, either of body or of fortune (as they are rearmd) which so dazel their eyes, that they cannot see their owne weaknes, may wel be compared to the braue pack saddle of the Mule; which though it be neuer so gaye and gorgeous, is but a base thinge, and hath nothing in it selfe to be esteemed, seruing onlie for the more commodious and easy bearing of the burthen that is laid thereon, yea, and

is not

is not only burthenſome in it ſelfe, but alſo if it be not wel and warily vſed, gauleth the back of the poore beaſt that beareth it, as much as would the packe it ſelfe, that is laid vpon it. Euen ſo honours, dignities, wealth, pleaſure, and al worldly pompes & commodities, that ſeeme ſo glorious in the eyes of moſt men, haue no true goodnes in them ſelues (for as *Seneca* ſaith wel If they were truly good, they would make them good which poſſeſſe them) but are ordayned to make men beare more contentedly the heauy burthen of miſeries, and afflictions incident to this life, and yet neuertheleſſe are not only burthenſome them ſelues (that is to ſay accompanied with corroſiues, croſſes, anxiety of mind, and dangers) but alſo if they be not wel and warily vſed, are more pernitiouſ to their owners and poſſeſſors, then the verie miſeries of the world, for the comfort & remedy whereof they are ordayned. For the greateſt afflictions of this life can but only ouerthrow the body, & no way hurt the ſoule, but greatly profit it, (if a man beare them patiently) but worldly wealth, pleaſures, and commodities, doe overthrow eternally both body and ſoule, if they be abuſed; that is to ſay, if they be not regarded only as thinges tranſitory, and referred principally to attayning of eternal felicity. Therefore *S. Paul* giueth this precept to *Timothy* for rich men; *Diuitibus huius ſaculi præcipe, &c.* Giue (ſaith he) this precept or inſtruction to the rich men of this world, to wit, that they looke not too high, nor fixe their hope in vncertaine riches, but in the liuing God, who doth furniſh vs abundantly with al thinges neceſſary for our vſe, and that they labour to be rich in good workes, giuing and communicating their goods freely, to the end they may make a good foundation of treaſure for the time to come to obtaine true life. Thus ſaith the Apoſtle.

6. Thirdly to proceede with the application of the fable; I would haue theſe men to remember, that their good gifts of body and mind, are not (as I may tearme it) of their owne purchaſe; but beſtowed vpon them by their Creator, not only for them ſelues, but alſo for others; no man being borne (as *Cicero* ſaith) for him ſelfe, but for the maintenance of humane ſocietic, whereof euery one is a member, and therfore not to liue in ſport, pleaſure, & idlenes; but to labour each one in his qua-

B ;

lity and

Seneca ep. 87.

For worldly wealth
and pleaſures
are accompanied
with dangers
and diſcommodities.

1. Timoth. 6.

For what end
the good gifts
of body and
mind are be-
ſtowed on man.
Cicero offic. lib.
1.

Iob: 3.

lity and degree, for the common and publike good. In which respect, Iob admonisheth vs, that, *Homo nascitur ad laborem & auiis ad volatum*; Man is borne to labour, as the bird is ordained to flye. Finally, I would wish them alwayes to haue in mind, that what soeuer dignity, excellency, and priuiledge of nature they claime to them selues; yet they nether are, nor can be free and at their owne liberty, but are by an irreuocable law, and decree of nature, perpetually subiect and bound to the seruice of God their Creator, and the author of nature, as his slaues and bondmen: yea, with such condition, that if they doe not satisfie their duty in that behalfe, they shal be chastised, and punished, not with stripes, as was the *Lydian* mule, or only with temporal paines, but with eternal; and so much the more greuously, by how much they are more potent and powerful then others. For as the booke of wisdom saith; *Mighty men shal suffer torment mightely.*

Sap. 6.

The natural bondage of man to God.

Aug: de gen. ad lit. lib. 8. ca. 11.
Isidor. Petrus.
Comestor.

Genes. 2.

Ibid.

S. Augustines
observatio vultu
God is called
Dominus in the
Scripture
(Aug. de gen. ad lit. lib. 8. ca. 11.)

7. And for as much as the explication of this point of mans natural bondage, & seruitude to God, may helpe greatly to the decyphring of the weaknes of mans wit, and his other infirmities, I thinke good to speake somewhat more particularly therof. S. Augustin and other learned Fathers haue wel obserued in the holy Scriptures, that almighty God is not called therein, *Dominus*, that is to say Lord, in the creation of any other creature but of man; and that then the Scripture saith, *Formauit Dominus Deus, &c.* Our Lord God framed, or made man of the slime of the earth. And againe afterwards, when it is declared that God did put man in Paradise, it is said; *Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, &c.* Our Lord God tooke man and put him into Paradise. Whereupon S. Augustin saith thus; *Nunc ubi ad id ventum est, &c.* Now when it came to passe that God placed man in Paradise to labour there & to keepe it, the Scripture saith: *Sumpsit Dominus Deus hominem, &c.* Our Lord God did take man and put him into Paradise, not because God is not also the Lord of al other creatures as wel as of man, but because this was written only for man to admonish him how much it behooueth him, not only to haue such a Lord and maister, but also to line in al obedience vnder his commandement, and not licentiously to abuse the power that God hath geuen him; Thus far S. Augustin.

8. To this purpose it is to be noted, that God is called *Dominus* only in

only in respect of the seruitude and bondage, that man, and al his other creatures owe vnto him. For as father and sonne, mai-ster and seruant, husband and wife, are correllatiues, and can not be the one, but in respect of the other; so also is *Dominus* & *seruus*, Lord and slaue. Whereto the Psalmist seemeth to allude, saying to almighty God; ô *Domine*, o Lord. And yeelding presently the reason why he calleth him so, he addeth. *Quia ego seruus tuus, & filius ancilla tua*: because I am thy bondman, and the sonne of thy bondwoman. And for this cause nothing is more frequent in holy Scripture then the names of *Dominus* and *seruus* applyed to God, and man. Where also to shew the nature and condition of this bondage, the same is compared to the bondage, that by the law of nations the slaue oweth to his Lord and maister. Where vpon the royal Prophet saith: *As the eyes of bondmen are vpon the hands of their Lords, and the eyes of bondwomen vpon the eyes of their mistresses: so are our eyes vpon our Lord God vntill he haue mercy vpon vs.* And S. Paul teaching Lordes & maisters how they should cōport them selues towards their slaues: *You Lordes (saith he) doe nothing to your slaues, but that which is iust & rightfull, knowing that you haue also a Lord and maister in heauen.* Signifying therby, as S. Thomas noteth, that as they were Lordes and maisters to their slaues; so is God Lord and maister to them, and to al other men. Wherein neuertheles it is to be considered, that the seruitude and subiection which man oweth to God, is without al comparison, infinitely greater, and more obligatory, then is that which any bondman by the law of nature or nations, can owe to his Lord. And therefore S. Ambrose vpon the same wordes of S. Paul, saith that he signified to Lordes and maisters, that they were not truly Lordes, but as it were in a shaddowe; (hauing only commandement of the body) and that the inuisible God, author of al things, is the only and true Lord of body and soule.

9. This bondage of man to God was acknowledged by the most ancient, & learned Philosophers. For *Pithagoras* teaching, that it is not lawfull for any man to kil him selfe, vseth the same as an euident and knowne principle, to proue his doctrine, saying. *That no man ought to depart out of the station of this life, without the commandement of God.* To which purpose also *Plato* saith: *That God is no lesse offended if a man kill him selfe, then any Lord or maister would be, if*

Lord and slaue
Correllatiues pro
per to God and
man.

Psal. 113

Psal. 122.

Coloss. 4.

Lect. 4. in cap. 3.
ep. ad Coloss.

The difference be
tweene the ser-
uitude of one
man to another,
and the bondage
that al mē owe
to God.

Ambros. in ep. ad
Coloss. ca. 4.

The ancient
philosophers ac-
knowledged
the bondage of
man to God.
Cicero de sen-
tence.
Plato de leg.

Aristot. li. 1.
poh.
The definition
of a slave.

The bondage
that man oweth
to God for his
redemption.

1 Cor. 7.

The slave and
the freeman are
both slaves
alike to God.

Ibid.

All mans affi-
on; depend
wholly on the
will of God.

1. Cor. 6.

2a Cor. 5.

be, if his slave should doe the like. The reason is, for that man being the bondslave of God by nature, is wholly his, and not his owne. For as *Aristotle* saith: *A slave is a man, that is an instrument of his maister, and wholly at his disposition.* In which respect also humaine lawes, ordaine, that a slave be held as part of the goodes and possessions of his Lord, as being wholly his, no lesse then his oxe or his asse; the which must needs be vnderstood much more to haue place in man towards God, in respect of his obligation, and subiection to him, infinitely greater then can be the obligation or subiection of one man to an other; especially if we doe adde to the former considerations, an other reason of our seruitude and bondage to almighty God: to wit, the inestimable price payed for vs by our Sauour *IESVS CHRIST*, God & man, who of his infinite bounty shed his most pretious blood to redeeme vs from the thraldome of the diuel and sinne, to the end we might serue him in the freedome of righteousnes and iustice. Whereto *S. Paul* alludeth, sayinge. *Let every man remain in his vocation vvherein he is called to the Christian faith; wert thou called beinge a bondslave: let not that trouble thee, for the bondslave that is called to the faith of Christ, is made a freeman of our Lord, and the freeman becominge a christian is a bondslave of Christ; you are bought for a great price. &c.* Thus saith the Apostle, signifying that the slave, and the freeman, are equally slaves of our Sauour Christ, in respect of the price that he paid for them both, and that the slave is no lesse made free from sinne by his vocation to the faith then the freeman. In which respect the Apostle calleth the Christian slave, *Libertum domini*. *A free-made man of our Lord.*

10. Hereupon I inferre two things, the one that seeing man is the bondslave of God, no man of what degree, quality, or condition soeuer he be, can be free or at his owne liberty, to dispose of him selfe or his owne actions, but dependeth wholly vpon the will of almighty God, his Lord. Therefore *S. Paul* saith. *Non estis vestri, empti enim estis pretio magno.* You are not your owne, for you are dearly bought. And againe in an other place. *Sine viuius mus sine morimur, domini sumus,* whether we liue or dye, we are our Lordes.

11. The other conclusion, which I inferre vpon our bondage to God, is, that no man, be he neuer so wise, rich, and potent

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The necessity of
Gods Gouvernment
& direction for
the conseruation
of man.

Eccle. ca. 11.

Ibid.

Psal. 13.

A further Con-
sideration of
mans bondage to
almighty God.

Aug. de. Gen. ad
lit. lib. 3. cap. 11.

hath sufficient meanes in him selfe for his owne conseruation, which I say, not so much in respect of the need that euery man hath one of an other (yea & many tymes, of the vilest, & basest creatures that are) as for the necessity that al men haue of the gouernment and direction of almighty God their Lord, as wel to illuminate their witt and vnderstanding, as also to prouide them of al thinges necessarie for their liues, & for their priuate, or publike good. Whereof of the Holy Ghost aduifeth vs in Ecclesiasticus, saying: *Ne dicas sufficiens mihi sum?* Say not I am sufficient for my selfe. For (as he also saith in the same chapter) *bona & mala, vita, & mors, paupertas, & honestas à Deo sunt. Al thinges good and bad, life and death, pouerty and wealth, are of God.* And although it may seeme to some, perhapps needles, and superfluous for me to offer any further prooffe of a matter so euident as this, yet for asmuch as there are ouer many, which (as I haue said before) partly for lack of faith and beleefe of Gods prouidence, and partly vpon a vaine presumption of their owne abilities, doe ascribe al the remedies of their necessities either to their owne wisdom and industrie, or to secondary or inferiour causes, and not to the first cause which is the prouidence of God. I wil therefore breifly say somewhat of this point.

12. The royal Prophet saith. *Dixi domino, Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.* I said to my Lord, thou art my God, because thou hast no need of my goods. Where he sheweth the reason why he calleth him his Lord, and his God, to wit, for that almighty God being the first cause, the very fountaine of goodnes, the beginninge and end of al thinges whatsoever, is so absolute of him selfe, that he hath no need of man or any thing else. Whereas man hauing no substance, being, or goodnes, but that which he hath of God, dependeth wholly vpon him, as al other creatures doe. And therefore doth worthily acknowledge him for his God (that is to say) for his Creator, Author, and Conseruator; and oweth him al subiection, seruitude, and bondage, as to his natural Lord and maister. Wherevpon it followeth necessarylie, that he nedeth his assistance, helpe, and direction, not only as his creature, but also as his seruant, and bondslaue. Wherevpon also *S. Augustin* saith, *Deus nostra seruitute non indiget, &c.* God doth not need our seruitude or

C

bon-

bondage, but we neede his gouernment and commandement, that he may both imploy vs, and also keepe and conserue vs: and therefore he is our true and only Lord, because we serue him, not for his good and comodity, but for our owne good and conseruation Thus far S. Augustine.

Aristot. polit. li. 1.
A Lord or a slave
by nature according to Aristotle.

13. This also apareth by the reason of the natural bondage of one man to an other, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, who saith: That a seruant or slave by nature, is he, that is not of him selfe sufficient and able to gouerne him selfe, but hath neede of the direction and gouernment of an other; And that a Lord, and maister by nature, is he, that doth so excel in wisdom, that he is able to guide and direct both him selfe and others, and that it is profitable and necessarie for a bondslave to be gouerned by a Lord and maister, in respect that he can not sufficiently gouerne him selfe.

The absolute necessity of Gods help and direction for man, and vniuers.

14. This being true in a kind of natural bondage of one man to an other (whereof Aristotle treateth) much more forcible, and euident is the reason in the natural bondage of al mankind to God; for that no man needeth so much the helpe and direction of an other man, as al men need the assistance and help of God. Neither is any mans wit so farre inferiour to the wit of an other man, as al mens wittes and vnderstandinge are inferiour to the infinite wisdom of God, whose helpe and direction is absolutely necessary for euery man, for two reasons especially.

The first Reason

All things necessary for mans life depend on the will of God.

15. The one, for that the things that are necessary for mans life and conseruation, are nether in man him selfe, nor in his power, but depend wholly vpon the wil and pleasure of God; which no man can doubt of, that considereth the doctrine either of Christians or of Paynim Philosophers, or the consent & custome of al nations, or yet manifest experience. For who seeth not how little it auayleth any man to toyle, and labour, in tilling the ground, in sowing, planting, or in traffique by sea, or land; if God do no giue heate, cold, raine, windes, and faire weather in their seasons, wholesomnes of ayre, encrease of the fruits of the earth, yea and the fruits them selues?

Psalme . 103.

16. Therefore the kingly Prophet saith of almighty God; That he waiereth the mountaines from aboute, to the end the earth may bring

bring hay for cattle, and herbes for the vse and seruice of man: bread to strength his hart, and wyne to make him merry and oyle to exhilarate his ioy, and that when he openeth his hand, al things are filled with his bounty, and when he turneth away his face, they perish and turne to their dust. Thus saith the royal Prophet. And this dependance of man on Gods prouidence for al things belonging to his conseruation, was signified amply by almighty God him selfe to the people of Israel, when he gaue them the law vpon mount Sinai, *Leuit. 26.* promising them, that if they kept his comandements, he would giue them rayne in due season, and that the earth should bring forth al kind of herbes and plants, that their trees should be laden with fruite, that their vintages, & haruests should ouertake one an other, with such aboundance, that they should not be able to consume the old store, before they should haue new: they should liue in peace, and security, & that neither noysome beasts, nor the sword of the enemy should molest them: of al which he also threatned them the contrary, in case they would not obey him, and afterwards he fully performed the one, and the other, blessing them with peace and plenty when they serued him, and punishing them with famine, pestilence and warre when they offended him.

17. For this cause we Christians by our Sauours instruction and commandement, doe daily pray vnto God, to giue vs, *Panem nostrum quotidianum*, Our dayly bread and sustance: And do vse not only priuate but also publike prayers, processions, fastinges, and mortifications in al cases of necessity, aswel to auert Gods wrath, as to obtaine his grace and benefits for the common wealth, whereof admirable, and miraculous effects haue bene and are many tymes seene amongst Christians, for the vndoubted proofe of Gods prouidence in al things belonging to our conseruation which I could confirme, by many most manifest examples in al ages, but three or foure thal suffice for this time, because I am also to touch this point hereafter.

18. In the yeare of our Lord 590. there was such a cruel plague and pestilence in Rome, that al the inhabitants of the citie were almost destroyed therewith; for remedy whereof *S. Gregory* the great (then newly chosen Pope) commanded that publike prayers, & processions should be made for some dayes; whereby

Lut. 17.

The miraculous effects of publike prayer & processions in cases of necessity amongst Christians.

The experience of Gods prouidence in the reliefe of menne & sinners, shewed by examples

A great plague in Rome remedied by publike prayer an. 590. Baron. an. 590. Gregor. Turonens. li. 10. c. 1. hist. France.

Gregor. in Reg-
istro in princ.
Indict. 10. &
Greg. Turon. li.
10. Baron. an.
190.

the wrath of God was appeased, in such euident manner that S. Gregory did also ordeyn other solemne processions to giue God thanks for the benefit receaued; as appeareth in his owne workes, besides the testimony of other approued authors. And at the same tyme (as constant fame hath euer since reported) there publicly appeared an Angel putting vp his sword vpon the topp of *Moles Adriani*, now called by the same occasion the Castle of *S. Angelo*.

The siege of Con-
stantinople mi-
raculously ray-
sed an. 717.

19. Also in the yeare of our Lorde 717. the *Syracens* and *Arabians* beleiged *Constantinople* three yeares together with a huge army and nauiie, but at length through the prayers of *S. German*, (who then was liuing and *Patriarke* therof) and the frequent processions of the people, made in the honor of the blessed virgin *Mary* patronesse of that cittie; the armie of the Infidels, was for the most part consumed with famine, cold, & pestilence, and the nauiie wherein those which remained, meant to haue retyred them selues, was with a fiery haile that fel vpon it from heauen, sunk and vtterly destroyed, excepting ten shippes wherof siue came vnto the handes of the Christians; God so disposing for his owne greater glory, that the particulers thereof might be knowne. In memory of which notable miracle there was a feast instituted, & yearly celebrated, to giue God thanks for the same, as appeareth not only in *S. Theophanes*, *Cedrenus* and others, but also in the *Martirologe*, and *calender* of the Greeks.

Beda. de. 6. stat:
in fine: an. 718.
Paul. Diac. li. 6.
ca. 47.

S. Theophanes
Cedrenus,
Menologium Ba-
silij. 15.
August.

litteræ annus.
an. 1594.

The great
drought in the
land of Chio,
and the mira-
culous remedy
therof by pro-
cessions of Chri-
stians.

20. But to omit many other examples of ancient tyme, and to come to our dayes, with in the memory of man, it chanced of late in the yere of our Lord 1594. that there was so greata drought, and danger of a general famine in the Iland of *Chio*, which is now vnder the Turke, that the people thereof despairing of humaine help, determined to haue recourse to the diuine. And therefore. for as much as the inhabitants thereof were of foure seuerall professions of religion, one of Turks, another of Iewes, the third of schismatical Greekes, & the fourth of *Romaine Catholiks*, they al agreed to implore the mercy and fauor of almighty God, by publicke processions, euery one according to the custome of their religion, which the Turkes performed first, the Iewes next, and the greekes next after, without any comfort or releife; but the fourth day that the *Romane Catho-*

likes made their proceſſion, it pleaſed God to giue them ſuch ſtore of raine, that their neceſſitie was remedied, and the Chriſtian Catholique religion greatly confirmed, to the confuſion both of the Turkes, and Greekes and the conuerſion of many of them. And now againe of late in the yeare 1603. not yet full two yeares agoe, the people of certaine townes in the Ilandes of *Philippinas* lately conuerſed to the Chriſtian faith by the Fathers of the Societie of *I e s u s*, were in like manner in great feare of famine through an exceſſiue drought in al thoſe partes, and releiued by the like meanes with abundance of raine which fel the ſame day that the proceſſion was made, whereas other people of the townes and countreyes adioining (who vſed not ſuch meanes to obtaine Gods fauor) receaued not the like benefit, as it is teſtified by late letters from thoſe partes, newly printed by publike authority.

*Litteræ annuæ an.
1603.*

*An exceſſiue
drought in the
Ilands of Philip-
pina releued
an. 1603.*

21. Hereto I alſo adde an other moderne example where of I my ſelfe was an eye wignes in *Paris* about the yeare of our Lord 1587 at what time there was ſuch a continual drought, for many monethes together, that a general famine was greatly feared, whereby the Magiſtrates ſpiritual, and temporal were moued to ordaine that the reliques of *s. Genouefa* Patronelle of *Paris* ſhould be caried in ſollemne proceſſion, as at diuers other times they had bin in other publike neceſſities, with manifeſt benefit to the citie of *Paris*, whereto the ſucceſſe was anſwerable alſo at this time. For whereas there had not bene one drop of raine in many monethes before, it began the ſame day of the proceſſion in the afternoone to raine abundantly, and ſo continued many dayes after, where with the people were wonderfully comforted. And I remembre wel that ſome of our country, who during the preparation for the proceſſion ſteſt greatly at it (ſaying it would now be ſeene what wonders *s. Genouefa* could worke) were much confounded, as ſome of them vnto whoſe handes this treatiſe may come, if they be yet liuing, cannot but remember.

*A great
drought in
France, reme-
died by prayer
an. 1587.*

22. This I haue ſaid (as I alſo ſhal haue occaſion to ſay more other where) to ſhewe the manifeſt experience of Gods prouidence in our affaires, and our dependance there on for our conſeruation, which may alſo be confirmed not only with the do-

The content of
all nations is the
voice of nature
Cicero, Tuscul.
quest. lib. 1.

Oblation of the
first frute after
haruest gene-
rally vsid in
Aristotiles tyme.
Arist : eth. lib.
3. ca. 9.
Ibid. ca. 12.

The providence
of God the nurse
of mankind.
Plato lib. 2. de
leg. & lib. 10. de
rep.
Plutar. in his
Tratise vvhv O-
racles ceased.
The testimony
of Seneca con-
cerning mans
dependance on
the providence
of God.
Seneca. li. 4. de
benef. c. 6.

Virg. Eclog. 1.

ctrine of the most learned Philosophers, but also with the vn-
iuerſal consent and opinion of all nations (which Cicero calleth:
the voice of nature) ſeing the general cuſtome of all people in all
ages, hath bene to craue all kind of temporal benefites of God
by publike prayer and ſacrifice, as all histories doe teſtifie. To
which purpoſe Aristotle ſignifieth that the vse was in his tyme,
and had bene from all antiquitie, to ſacrifice to God preſently
after harueſt, to offer vp vnto him the firſt frutes of his owne
giſtes, in thankes giuing for the ſame. And he alſo teacheth,
that man oweth to God a filial loue as to his father, becauſe he
receaueth of him his eſſence, being, & nourishment. In which
reſpect alſo Plato calleth the providence of God: *Matricem gen-
ri humani*; The nourse of mankind. And Plutarke in like manner
ſaith: *It is that louing and charitable mother, which bringeth forth, and
conſerueth all thinges for the vse of man.*

23. Therefore to omit infinite other teſtimonies of Philoſo-
phers which might be alleadged, I conclude this point with the
ſamous Seneca, who to confute the Athieſtes of his time, and to
ſhewe withall their ingratitude towards almighty God their
creator and conſeruator, rehearſeth many benefites that man
hath receaued of God, aſwel generally in the heauens, as alſo
particularly euery one in his owne perſon, & then addeth theſe
wordes. Seing thou doeſt greatly eſteeme (ſaith he) theſe
giſts, why art thou ſo vngrateful, not to acknowledge thy
ſelfe a debtor to him that beſtowed them vpon thee? Whence
haſt thou the very breath that thou draweſt? Whence this
light, wherby thou diſpoſeſt of thy actions; whence the
blood wherin thy vital heat, and ſpirits are conſerued? Whence
theſe exquisite ſauors, meats, and ſauſes, ſo abundant that
they euen tyre, and cloy thy appetite? Whence theſe prouo-
cations of languishing pleaſures? Finally, whence haſt thou
this very eaſe, reſt, and repoſe wherin thou walloweſt and
waſts thy ſelfe? If thou be grateful, wilt thou not ſay, with the
poet: *Deus nobis hec otia fecit, namque erit ille mihi ſemper Deus*; that
is to ſay, God gaue me the ſame, and he ſhal be my God for euer.
And a little after he addeth. But if thou ſay that not God, but
nature hath giuen thee all this, doeſt thou not vnderſtand, that
thou doeſt but change the name of God, and call him nature, to
whom

whom thou mayst apply what name soeuer expresseth any heauenly force, or effect; for so many may his names be, as he giueth gifts. *Ergo nihil agis, ingratisime mortalium.* Therefore, o thou most vngrateful of al mortal creatures, thou dost but, tryfle when thou sayest that thou art a debtor vnto nature, and not to God: for God is neither with out nature, nor nature with out God, but both is one, as if thou shouldst haue receaued a benefit of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, and wouldst say, that thou art not a detter to *Seneca*: but to *Annaeus* or to *Lucius*. Dost thou not see that thou chāgest not thy creditor, but his name? Euen so; what-soeuer thou callest God, be it nature, fate, or fortune, al are but diuers names of one God, according to the diuers vse and exercise of his power. Thus far *Seneca*; reproving notably the ingratitude of Atheists, as *Cicero* also doth, saying, *That he deserueth not the name of a man who inioying those things which the earth produceth for his vse, is not thankfull to God for the same.* Thus much for the dependance of man vpon the wil & prouidence of God for his conseruation, which is one of the two reasons that I intended to yeeld, why Gods help and direction is absolutely necessary for man.

24. The other reason is, because mans wit is so weake and blind, that he knoweth not what is good and conuenient for him selfe, and much lesse for others. where vpon the Poet saith: *Quod quisque vitet, nusquam homini satis cautum est in horas*; that is to saye: *No man is so wyse, and wary that he knoweth at al tymes what to a voyde.* And the booke of *Ecclesiastes* saith to the same purpose. *Quid necesse est &c.* What needeth a man desire or seeke thinges aboue him selfe, seing he knoweth not so much, as what is necessary and conuenient for him selfe, in his life and in the daye. of his peregrination.

25. Therefore *S. Hierome* compareth almighty God, to a wise Phisition, who giueth not to his patient hurtful thinges, though he desire them neuer so instantly. And liketh man to a sick man, who many tymes desireth that which would be his death if it were granted him. In which case, *Mery* (saith he) were cruelty: *Quia voluntas tua contra te petit.* Because thy owne wil desires against thee. Wherefore *Plato* giueth sound aduise neuer to craue of almighty God absolutely any thing that pertaineth to our temporal state, but with condition, to wit, if it be conuenient for vs, for that as *S. Hierome* also saith in an other place; *Id quod, oportet*

orare

ibid. c. 7. & 8.
The ingratitude
of Atheists sa-
yed by *Seneca*.

He that is vn-
gratfull to God
deserueth not
the name of a
man.

Cicero. de legib.
li. 2.

The second rea-
son of mans in-
sufficiency to
prouide for him
selfe, to wit be-
cause he know-
eth not what
is conuenient
for him selfe.
Horat. li. 2. odes
13.

Eccles. 7.
A sound ad-
uise of *Plato* con-
cerning what
man should
craue of God.
Hierom. in. li.
Habac. ca. 1.

Ibid.
Plato in *Aleibi-*
ade 2.
Hier. in. ep. ad
Ephes. li. 2. ca. 4.

Roman. 8.

orare nescimus, & sepe contra nos petimus, estimantes esse pro nobis: We know not what it is conuenient to pray for, and many tymes we craue those thinges that are against vs, thinking that they be good for vs. And the Apostle him self saith also to the same purpose. Spiritus adiunat. &c. The spirit of God doth help our infirmity, for wee know not how, nor what wee should pray.

Matt. 20.

26. This is manifest by the vaine and foolish desiers of many, yea of the wisest, that with and earnestly desier some tymes such thinges as are most pernitions for them; In so much, that it may wel be said vnto them, as our Sauour said to his two Apostles who desired to sit the one on his right hand, and the other on his left: *Nescitis quid petatis*: You know not what you may aske; Wherefore Plato comendeth a certaine poet called *Ion*, who when he heard his freends other whiles craue of God such thinges as were not conuenient, was wont to pray thus. *O Iupiter giue vs good thinges, whether we aske them or no, but those thinges that are euil giue vs not, though we craue them neuer so much*. And these foolish desiers of men, the Poetes signified by the fable of *Phaeton* who hauing by his importunity, obtained of his father *Phaon* the guiding of his chariot, burnt both the world and him selfe. And Cicero also signifyeth the same by an other fable of *Thaesus*, who craued of Neptune three withes, whereof one was the destruction of his owne sonne *Hippolitus*, which being obtained, he remained al his life after most sorrowful and inconstolable.

A vryse prayer
of a Pagan Poet.

Plat. in Alcib. 1.

Ouid. meram:
li. 1. & 2.

Cicero. offic. lib. 3.

The Conclusion
of this chapter
inferred the
necessity of Gods
prouidence for
mans conserua-
tion.

27. Scing then man is so weake of power and wit, that of him selfe, he neither can sufficiently prouide for him selfe, neither yet knoweth what is conuenient for his owne estare, it followeth necessarily; that the prouidence of God his Lord and Creator is most needful for his conseruation and direction, throughout the whole course of his life; not only in his priuate and particuler affayres, but much more in publike matters, pertaining to the gouernment of the common welth: for the better prooffe whereof, and of the insufficiency of al humaine wit and policie, I wil laye downe some examples of the errors of some famous Politickes, who by their owne imprudence haue eithet ouerthrowne, or else greatly indangered, them selues and their estates.

FOR

FOR THE MORE AMPLE PROOFE OF THE insufficiency of humane wit and policy, diuers examples are alleaged of the errors of Politikes, and wordly wisemen. By occasion whereof it is also debated, how farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy, and how true prudence & Christian charity may concurre with distrust and suspicion.

CHAP. 3.



LEWIS the eleuenth King of France, one of the most polyticke Princes that France euer had, being at warrs with his owne brother Charles duke of Normandy: Francis duke of Britany: and Charles duke of Burgundy; and desiring greatly to seperate the last from the other two, to the end

Philip. de Comines de reb. gest. Lodouici. II. in cap. 33.

Lewis the 11. of France ouer taken in his owne policy.

he might the better be reuenged on them, solicited him by his Embassadors to come to conference with him, which the Duke yealded vnto, so that the meeting might be in a towne of his owne in the frontiers of Flanders and France, for his better security: where with the King was wel contented. The meeting therfore being appoynted at Peronne (whither the Duke was come with his army) and safe conduit sent to the king by a letter of the dukes owne hand, the king went thither without any forces or guard, to shew the confidence he had in the Duke, to the end to oblige him the more, and to gayne his good wil. But the Duke seeing now his enemy in his power, and vnderstanding at the same time that Liege was reuolted from him by the solicitation of certaine Embassadors of the king, tooke him prisoner, and would not release him vntil he had recouered the towne of Liege, whither he forced him to accompany him with no smal danger of his person. And in the end hauing made him graunt to some hard conditions in fauor of his confederates (against whome the king had especially plotted that conference and treaty) he released him.

2. Now then who seeth not in this example, how grossly this great Politike erred in two things, wherein it might be presumed

The manifest error of King Lewis.

sumed that a man of any experience could not haue bene de-
ceaued. The one, that hauing employed certaine agents or em-
bassadors, to stirre vp the towne of *Liege* against the *Duke*, he
did not countermaund it, when he resolued to put him selfe into
his handes; for who could be so simple, as not to consider that
if the practise should take effect (as it did) whiles he should be
in his power, not only the peace and amity which he desired to
make would be hindered therby, but also his person endan-
gered. For that the *Duke* should haue iust cause to detaine him,
at least vntill he had done him reparation of the wrong.

3. The other error was, that he would vpon any security or
safe conduit, put him selfe to the curresey & mercie of his enemy,
without an vrgent, and ineuitable necessity; knowing how litle
assurance is many tymes in wordes or oathes, when present com-
modity either priuate or publike is offered by the breach thereof.
Besides that, his owne rule (which he was wonte to say, was
al the latin he would haue his sonne to learne, to wit, *Qui nescit
dissimulare, nescit regnare*. He which knoweth not how to dissem-
ble, knoweth not how to raygne) might haue moued him to
haue doubted in his enemy, that which he practysed him selfe,
and was apt enough to suspect in his best frinds. And this he had
iust cause to feare in the *Duke of Burgundy*, whome he had decea-
ued before by a false composition, which he made with him at
Conflans, & brake presently after; whereby he had both incyted,
& also taught him to repaye him with money of the same stamp.
Wherein may be noted as wel his notable error, as also Gods
prouidence and iustice in punishing his double dealing with the
like, according to the saying of our Sauour; *Qua mensura, &c.*
What measure you shal make or giue to others, the same shal be measured,
or made to you againe.

4. No lesse notable an example both of the one and of the
other, may be obserued in *Cesar Borgia* duke of *Valence* whose
great wisdome *Machiauel* so much admireth that he maketh him
a mirrour, and patterne for a prince, whome he might more
iustly haue made a mirrour of mischeife and patterne of al pesti-
dioufnes, cruelty, and impiety. This *Cesar* being after the death
of his father spoyled of al the estates that he had by force and
fraud layed togethether in Italy, and in danger as he thought of
his life,

What learning
Levres II.
requyred in his
sonne.

Matth. 7.

Machia. prince.
Cesar Borgia
Duke of Valence
the paterne of
machiauels
prince: over-
throwne by his
owne policy.

his life, or liberty at least, by the displeasure of *Pope Julius* the second that then reigned, resolved to fly for his security to *Hernando Goncales*, general in the kingdome of *Naples* for *Ferdinando* King of *Aragon* and *Castile*; forgetting, or not considering, the manifold causes of offence that he had giuen to him, and to the King his maister in sundry occasions, and so trusting to his safe conduct, he put him selfe into his handes, and was shortly after sent by him prisoner into *Spayne*, by order from the King; whereof *Goncales* excused him selfe, pretending that his fair and safe conduct ought not to hinder his execution of the King his maisters commandement, against whome he said he could giue no security: and so the Arch-politike of his tyme who had by subtilty & treachery, ouerthrowne very many, was him selfe by Gods iust iudgment ouerreached, and (as I may tearme it) tript in his owne play, to his vtter ruine & ouerthrow, as vpon another occasion shalbe declared more amply hereafter.

5. Therefore what was become of al his accustomed craft? where were al those profound polycies, that excellent iudgment, that sharpnes of wit, those rare inuentions that made him such a worthy patern of *Machiauels* prince? for whether we respect true wisdom, or the common craft and subtilty of worldly men (which is now commonly called *machiauiillian* polycie) he erred in the principles of both; for subtilty and craft, which excludeth al charity, teacheth so to distrust, as neuer to trust, nor to pardon an enemy, nor to leaue to hate, hurt, & reuenge, when oportunity is offered, notwithstanding any reconciliation. Besides that, the mallice of men so farre extendeth it selfe in such cases, that politikes hold it not secure for him that doth offend any man, to trust him euer after: To which purpose the Italian prouerbe saith *Chi offende, non perdona mai*, whereby it is signified, that he which doth any notable iniury to an other man, can neuer after with his owne safety trust him, or yet spare him if he may ouerthrow him, for feare that at some tyme or other he may seeke to be reuenged; so that this Arch-politike according to the rules of his owne art and profession, should haue neuer put his life into the hands of one whome he had once offended, and much lesse of an open enemy reconciled.

How farre a
man may trust
a reconciled
enemy.

6. And as for true wisdom though it euer keepe it selfe within

within the boundes of charity, and teacheth vs not only to pardon, but also to loue our enemyes, yea and to doe them what pleasure we conueniently may; yet it so ioyneth the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the doue, that it warneth vs to beware of them, and not to trust our liues or states in their handes;

Seneca.
A reconcyled
enemy not to be
trusted.
Ecclesiast. 11.

when we may auoyd it, remembring euer the counsel of Seneca; who saith. Neuer beleene that he wil be faithfull vnto thee, who of an enemy is become thy friend. Which also the Holy Ghost teacheth in the booke of Ecclesiasticus; where it is said. Neuer beleene or trust thy enemy, for as old Iron groweth euery day more rusty then other; so increaseth his rancor; and if he humble him selfe, and crouch vnto thee, yet haue an eye vnto him, and keepe thy selfe from him; place him not neere vnto thee, least he put thee out of thy place, and make thee know to thy cost, how true are my woordes. And againe to the same purpose, Salomon

Proverb. 26.

saith in his parables. When thy enemy shal speake softly vnto thee (that is to say) shal flatter thee or speak thee faire, then trust him not for then his hart is ful of mischief. In al which the Holy Ghost instructeth, and aduiseeth vs to be wary, but not malicyous; to be circumspect, but not suspitious; to haue an eye to a reconciled enemy, but not to hate or hurt him, or to reuenge old wronges. Therefore Salomon couerpeyeth the foresaid doctrine with preceptes of compassion, & charity towards our enemyes, saying.

Proverb : 24.

When thy enemy falleth, be not glad therof, and let not thy hart reioyce in his ruyn least our Lord seinge it, be displeased with thee, and turne his

Proverb : 25.

wrath from him. And in an other place; if thy enemy (saith he) be hungry, giue him meat, if he be thirsty giue him drinke, and thou shalt cast coales vpon his head and our Lord shal reward thee, Thus far this

Rom. 12.

kinge and prophet, whose wordes s. Paul also recyteth, and our Sauour confirmeth by his commandement; saying; Loue your enemyes, and doe good to them which hate you. &c.

In what man-
ner we may
distrust our
enemyes.

7. Thus then we see how true wisdom, and Christian charity concurre, and how the prudence of the serpent, is to be ioyned with the simplicity of the doue, in so distrusting our enemyes that we leaue not to loue them, and yet louing them so, that we trust them no further then may stand with our owne safety, euer fearing the malice of mans nature, which is so abused and hidden, that no man can be assured of his best friend, and much lesse of a reconciled enemy. In which respect, it is

wisdome

wisdom so to loue and trust our friends that we remember withal, that they may become our enemies; And therefore Seneca aduyseth vs so to liue, that our actions may be as iustificable before our friends as before our enemies To which purpose also the Holy Ghost in the booke of Ecclesiastes saith: *Ab inimicis tuis seperare, & ab amicis tuis attende*. Seperate thy selfe from thy enemies, and beware euen of thy friends. And in an other place; *A filijs tuis & domesticis attende*. Take heede of thy owne children, and of thy howsould seruants; which neuerthelesse is not to be vnderstood, as though a man should trust no bodie, which were not only a miserable case, but also extreme folly. For as Seneca saith. *It is as foule a fault, and as great a folly in a man, to beleue and trust no body as to beleue and trust every man: and many,*

Seneca. ep. 9

Eccles. 6.

Eccles. 31.

Seneca. ep. 3.
No lesse folly to
distrust al men,
then to trust
every man.
Plut: in Dion.

8. Therefore in this point of confidence, and diffidence the wisdom consisteth (as al vertue doth) in the meane, to wit, that we nether trust, nor distrust al men, nether commit our liues and whole estate to any mans wil and pleasure, but only in case of necessity, and then also to make discrete choyce of approved, wise, and vertuous friends, but neuer of a reconcyled enemy. And in this sence it is wel and wisely said; that *Diffidentia est mater securitatis*; Distrust is the mother of security.

How distrust
may be called
the mother of se-
curity.

9. But now perhaps you wil aske me how the rule of perfect charity, and of true prudence can agree herein, seeing charity as S. Paul saith: *non cogitat malum*; doth not thinke any euil that is to say (as S. Chrysostome expoundeth it) suspecteth no euil; how then can I distrust my reconcyled enemy, but I must suspect that he wil betray me? Whereto I answer, that two things are to be considered in charity, the one that it beginneth at a mans selfe, for no man is bound so to loue an other, that he hurt him selfe: the other is that as S. Paul testifyeth also of charity, *non agit perperam*: it doth nothing foolishly or vnadvisedly. For as S. Chrysostome sayth, expounding the same place, *Charitas non est temeraria, &c*: Charity is not rash and heady, for it maketh

How distrust
and suspicion
may stand with
true prudence
and charity.

Cor. 13.
Chrysost: hom.
33. in. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 13.

a man wife, graue, and constant.

How suspicion
is excluded from
prudent circum-
spection.

10. Now then to shew how suspition is excluded from this prudent circumspection, which charity admitteth, it is to be vnderstood, that I may be wary and circumspect, though I doe not suspect, but only vpon a general supposition of mans ordinary frailty and malice, and the inscrutability of his hart, I may in a doubtful case take the surest way; to wit, that although, I verely hope that my reconcyled enemy be so good, and honest a man, that there resteth no malice in his hart towards me, neuertheless I wil be so considerat and prouident, that put the case he should haue the wil to hurt me, yet he shal not haue the opportunitye or occasion to doe it by any act of myne: in which sense our english prouerbe may be wel vnderstood, which saith, *If my freend betray me, I beshrew him, but if my enemy betray me, I beshrew my selfe.* And this aduised and wary proceeding is so far from breach of charity, that it standeth wel with al kind of loue and friendshippe, betwixt frind and frind, father, and child, brother and brother, man and wife, prince, & subiect. And therefore in respect that it seemeth to include some kind of suspition, and withal admitteth al charitable affection, it is called by some, *Beneuola suspitio*, a friendly or louing suspition: in which sense *S. Chrysostome* saith, *Maleuola suspitiones sunt calumniantium; beneuola suspitiones sunt gubernantium*; Malitious suspicions are proper to Calumniatours; beneuolous, and friendly suspicions belong to Governours.

Chrysost. hom.
de S. Susanna.

11. Therefore to returne to duke *Valentin*, hereby we may see that he was destitute, not only of true wisdom, but also of al wit, and reasonable discourse, when he, in whose handes, no brother or frend could euer be secure, expected security in the hands of his enemy, and perswaded him selfe that faith should be kept with him, who had neuer kept it with any man. But because I shal haue more occasion to speake of him hereafter, I will passe to a moderne example of mans ignorance and weaknes, in the miserable end of *Monsieur Chastillon*, Admiral of France massacred at *Paris*, who for the great opinion of his wisdom and prudence, had the conduct of al the affayres of the protestants in France some yeeres in the first troubles in the tyme of King *Charles the 9.*

Monsieur Cha-
stillon. Admi-
ral of France
sought his owne
destruction.

12. When

12. When after some yeares of cruel warre in France betwixt the Catholikes, and the Protestants peace was concluded in the year 1570. & for the better assurance therof, a mariage agreed vpon betwixt the most Christian King that now raygneth, then called King of *Nauarre*, and the sister of *Charles* the 9. then King of *France*, al the cheife heads, and leaders of the protestants were inuited by the King to the court, aswel for the solemnization of the mariage, as for the confirmation of the peace, wherevpon there was held an assembly of the protestants at *Rochel*, to determine whether it were conuenient that they should al goe to the court or no, and it seeming good vnto them that some of the principal, especially the *Admiral* should stay at home to preuent the worst, in case there should be any double dealing on the Kinges part; the *Admiral* only was of opinion that it was conuenient they al, & especially he him selfe should goe, & alledged many reasons to that purpose; and finding them neuertheless vnwilling therto he put them in mind how oft he had yealded to them, contrary to his owne opinion in diuers consultations, and therefore requested them, that in this they would condescend vnto him, not doubting but it would turne to the publike benefit of their cause. Wel, to be breife, they yealded vnto him, rather to satisfie his importunity then for any liking they had therto, and so he went with the rest, and within a few dayes after their arriual at *Paris*, both he and they al (excepting some 2. or 3. that escaped by chance) were slayne, by order of the King.

13. Who seeth not here an euident example of mans ignorance & weaknes, in the *Admiral*, who hauing in so many occasions before this tyme of his ouerthrowe, shewed him selfe so prudent and prouident, that he could nether be overcome by force, nor circumuented by fraude, had not now so much wit, as to follow the wise aduise of others, but thought it safe and secure for him and them to aduenture (as a man may say) al their goods in one bottome, yea and without any necessity to put them selues to the mercy of a Soueraigne King whome they had so highly and so many wayes offended. And this may be the more wondered at in the *Admiral*, for that in the beginning of the second troubles he wisely foresawe the like danger, and inconuenience

The massaker of
Protestants at
Paris a. 1570.

The error of
the *Admiral* of
France.

Estien, Pasquier
lib. 5. epist.

uenience to him selfe, and warely auoyded it. For, the King hauing got some inkling of the Protestants intencion to make new broyles, and fearinge most the Admirall in respect of his great iudgement and experience, both in matter of warre and peace, sent vnto him *Monsieur du Tore* his cosen, to aduertise him that he had great and important affaires to communicate with him, wherein he would gladly haue his aduise, and therefore desired him to repaire to the court with speede; The Admirall hearing the message, and suspecting (as it should seeme) that the King ment no good towarde him, said to *Monsieur du*

The answer of
the Admirall of
France to the
King.

Tore that he should tel the King from him that there were no *Count Egmonds* in France; meaning that he wold not suffer his head to be cut of so easely as *Count Egmont* had done lately before in *Flanders*. And this was al the answer he would giue him, whereby it appeareth how circumspect he was and suspicious of the King, when as yet he had giuen him farre lesse cause of offence then afterwarde when he had the second time rebelled against him, yea and forced him to make adishonorable peace, and yet

The first blow
that God giueth
a vicke a man.
When he wil
destroy him, is
in the brayn.

not withstanding he could not be dissuaded from putting him selfe and al the rest of his frends into his hands; so blind is the

wit and iudgement of man, when God determyneth to punish him, for then the first blowe that God comonly giueth him, is in the braine, whereby he

taketh from him his iudgement, that he may runne headlong vpon his owne ruine, and as the Psalmist saith of

the sinner, be ouer reached in his
owne ploss and inuentions.

* *
*

Psal. 9.

BY 00

BY OCCASION OF THE FORMER EXAM-
ples it is debated in the next chapter, whether the Emperour
Charles the 5. did prudently in passing through France,
upon a safe conduit; and of the danger he was in, and how
he escaped. Also the error of Henry the 3. King of France,
in the slaughter of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal.

CHAP. 4.



T shal not be amisse to consider here, by the oc-
casion of these examples, whether the most va-
liant, prudent, and pious Emperour Charles the
5. committed an error or no, when after many
yeares warre, betwixt him, and Francis the
first of that name King of France, and the sayd
Kings disgrace at Pavia, & his imprisonment in Spaine, he passed
norwithstandinge through France vpon a safe conduit giuen him
by the King, to giue remedy to the tumultes lately before rayfed
in Gant: wherein the good successe, as wel of his safe passage as of
the speedie pacification of those troubles, may seeme to be no
smale argument of his prudent designment; neuerthelesse waigh-
ing the matter according to reason of state, & not according to
the successe (which depending wholie on the hand of God is
many times good & fortunate, though the counsel and design-
ment be imprudent) I can not approue his resolution therin, for
the reasons aboue declared, and the extreme danger that he ex-
posed him selfe vnto, and the smalle profit he could expect to
reape therby, in comparison of the dammage that might haue
succeeded to him and his estate, if he had bene made away, or
detained. For although it imported him very much, presently to
quench that fire kindled in Flanders, before it should growe to
a greater combustion; yet the danger therof was not so great, as
would haue bene the inconuenience of his death or imprison-
ment, if it should haue chanced.

*The passage of
Charles the fifth
through France
into Flanders.
Surius in com-
mentario rerum
in orbe gestarum
anno. 1539.*

2. For; the Reuolte of the coutry might haue bene remedied

E

ether by

ether by force, or perhaps by faire meanes, as long as he had life and liberty: but the other had bene remediles, and the greatest detriment that could betalle him; & therefore not to be aduentured vpon, but only when it could not be auoyded. And this no doubt, was his owne opinion when he came into France, being admonished of his great danger, not only by his sister then *Queene of France*, but also (as some men thinke) by the Kings owne sonne the *Dolphin*, who in respect of the good affection he did beare him, from the time that he had bene hostage for his father in *Spaine*, cast him selfe vp behind the *Emperour* vpon his horse, at his first arriuall before he alight (vnder couler to giue him a familiar welcome) & clapt him vpon the thowlder saying vnto him openly and merily; *Tellde thy selfe Emperour*; but after tould him secretly in his eare of the Councells resolution to stay him, whereupon the *Emperour* thinking it necessary to gaine *Madame d'Estampes* (who was greatly fauored by the King, and thought to be his enemy) tooke occasion as he was talking with her to let falle before her a rich diamond as it were by chance, and when she of curtesy tooke it vp to restore it vnto him, he would not receaue it againe at her handes, but intreated her to accept it as his gift, whereby (as also by his good perswasions) it is thought he procured her frendshippe, which cōcurring with the indeauors of his sister the *Queene of France*, and his owne good diligences done with diuers of the Councell, was thought to facillitate his escape.

3. But who, or whatsoeuer was the meanes therof, it is not to be doubted, but that it proceeded principally from the prouidence and mercy of almighty God towards him. To which purpose it is to be considered that it was reported not only by his owne seruantes, but also by the Embasadours of *Flanders* that attended vpon him in al that iorney, that he spent 2. or 3. howers euery night in praier vpon his knees, & asinuch euery morning secretly in his chamber; in regard whereof and of the great seruice he had done, and was to doe to Gods Church, it may be presumed that God did specially fauour & protect him, whereof it pleased his Diuine majesty also to giue publicke testimony by deliuering him twise whiles he was in *France* from euident danger of death; the one time from stireling in a smoake, that

The dangers
that Charles the
5. escaped in
passing through
France.
Surius ibidem.

Surius Ibid.
The great deuotion
of Charles
the fifth

vpon

Upon a suddaine was raised in great abundance by an arteficial fire, upon a steare, as he was going from his chamber, and another time from the fall of a great borde that light some part of it upon his head and brake it. And although it might haue bene conceaued that these thinges proceeded of some practice (in which respect the king would haue punished the authors thereof by death, for the better satisfaction of the Emperour) yet he would not suffer it, but obtained their pardons.

4. By these dangers, & the happy escape of the Emperour (inferiour in wildome to no prince in his time) three things may euidently be gathered. The first his error: the second his infirmities and weaknes of mans wit: the third, Gods most merciful and prouident care in the preseruatiō of his seruantes, whome he suffereth some time to erre and to fall into great dangers and difficulties; partly for their humiliation, and to exercise their faith, patience, and confidence in him, for their greater merit; and partly to make manifest aswel to them selues as to al others, the louing care he hath of them, and that as the Psalmist saith;

Why God suste
fereth his ser-
uants to fall into
dangers.

Salus iustorum à Domino, & protector eorum in tempore tribulationis. The health & saluation of iust men, is from our Lord, and he is their protector in the time of trouble. Here then may al Princes learne of this prudent and pious Emperour, what is their best remedie in like cases of danger, to wit, to haue recourse, as he had, to almighty God, and to craue his assistance, reposing them selues alwayes upon his merciful prouidence, and saying with the worthy King and Prophet. *Oculi mei semper ad Dominum, quoniam ipse euellet de laqueo pedes meos*, that is to say; My eyes are alwayes vp n our Lord, for he wil deliuer my fete from the snare.

Psal. 36.

Psal. 24.

5. I might adde to the errors in this kinde, diuers other examples, notorious in this age, but I omit them for breuityes sake, to speake a word or two of Henry the 3. King of France, and of his error and want of iudgment in the slaughter of the Duke, and the Cardinal of Guise, whereof I am able to say much of my owne knowledge, for that I was at the same time in his court and pallace at Blois in the seruice of his mother; and wondered not a litle to see & heare, many that were accompted very wise men, applaud to the Kings act, as most prudent and necessary, in so much that when any man vrged that it was against con-

The error of
Henry the third
of France, in the
slaughter of the
Duke & Cardo-
nal of Guise.
anno. 1588.

science to kil them in that manner especially the Cardinal, it was commonly answered, *That reason of state required it.* Which truly moued me to thinke euen then vpon writing some discourse concerning the necessary concurrence of the reason of state, with conscience and religion, though I haue not had opportunity to performe it vntil now.

The great affection of the people of France to the duke of Guise and the Cardinal.

6. Neuertheles leauinge apart the consideration whether the act was in it selfe lawfull or no, and weighing the circumstances therof, only according reason of state; I thinke no man wil denie, that the King knowing the auersion, and alienation of his people from him selfe, their exceeding great affection to the Duke of *Guise* & to al the princes of his family, and the confederacy of al the principall townes of *France* with them; yea and with the *Pope* and the *Catholike King* (for the defence of *Catholike Religion*, in respect of the fauor that the King of *France* had shewed to the protestants both at home and abroad) no man (I say) wil deny, but that he should in al reason haue sufficiently provided him selfe of money and forces, before he resolved to kil the *Duke*, & especially the *Cardinal*, in such an odious manner as he did, whereby he was sure to incurre the censures of the Church, and thereby to giue a sufficient pretext ~~to himselfe~~ to his owne subiects to take armes against him, and to forreine Princes to assist them.

The revolt of the principal townes of France against Henry the third.

7. But he was at that time so vnprovided of al meanes, to repress the fury of his enemyes, & to defend him selfe, that a principal man about him, who at the first did greatly approue his act, tould me within a few dayes after, that he had greatly ouerthott him selfe, in doing it at such a tyme, when he had nether any principal towne at his commandment, nor forces in the feilde, nor money in his purse, which was indeed most true, as I can testifie vpon my owne knowledge. For as for the townes, one of the cheife and next vnto him, to wit, *Orlean* whereof he accounted him selfe most sure (by reason that the gouernour therof was wholly at his deuotion & the *Citadel* in his hand) was the very first that declared it selfe against him, within lesse then 2. dayes after the act; the example wherof *Paris*, *Roane*, and al the *Parlamental*, and other principal townes presently followed, in so much that there neuer passed 3. or 4. dayes but there was newes of the

of the reuolt of some one great towne or other; wherupon ensued so great necessity and pouerty, not only to the King, but also to al the nobility in his court, that I thinke the like hath seldom bin seene in the court of any prince. For the townes seazing presently, & intercepting in their iurisdiction al the kinges rents, and receits, and the goods and reueynewes of al such as were with him, reduced them to such necessity, that they were forced to coyne their plate into money, and yet neuerthelesse within a while they had not wherewith to buy them selues meate; In so much that the greatest and richest prince of France, was forced to borrow of one of his owne chaplins al the money he had, which was but 30. crownes as the preist him selfe told me) and the Queene was constrained to send away almost al her Ladies, and maydes: (who in respect they were women were suffered by the townes to passe) and the King for his parte was so bare of money, as I vnderstood by one of his treasurers who was my great freend, that for the remedy of his necessity, and to furnish the expence of his remoue to *Tours* (whither he was forced to flye) he had no other meanes but to make 3. new officers, vpon condition to prouide him amongst them 10. thousand crownes, which was al the stock and store he had for that present to susteyne the wayght of so great a warre, as he had by his owne ouersight drawne vpon him selfe.

The great misery and necessity of the King of France, and al his court.

8. And for his forces, it appeared presently how weake they were, for al his guardes and such other souldiers as he then had readie, or could leauy in 2. or 3. monethes space, being sent to *Orleance* to assit the *Cittadel* (which held for him against the towne) were so few in numbet, that vpon the first newes of *Monsieur du Mayenes* march thitherward with no more then 3. or 4. thousand men, they abandoned the *Cittadel*; yea and the King him selfe was fayne to flye downe the riuer in al hast to *Tours*, where after some time he was forced (for want of other remedy) to take the resolution to ioyne with the Protestants, which though it increased his forces, for the present, yet it so redoubled the hatred and fury of his enemyes, that it did accelerate his distruction, which shortly followed, as I shal haue occasion to declare more particularly other where.

Henry the 3. of France his confederacy with the Protestants and the success thereof.

9. Herein thou maiest obserue (good reader) how this great

King (who in cunning subtilty and al Machiauellian policy was inferiour to none in this age) erred neuertheles most absurdly in that which a man would now thinke a child would hardly haue bene deceaued in; so easely is an error seene when it is past, and so hard to be foreseeene, and preuented, especially where passion reigneth, from the which very few men, or none are free in matters that touch them selues. But because I shal haue occasion to speake also hereafter of other errors of particuler men, I wil ad to the former some examples of the errors of whole Councells and Senates.

OF ERRORS COMMITTED BY VVHOLE
Senats, namely of Rome, and Venice, with the conclusion
of the premisses; and an admonition to the Politikes, concerning
their folly and ingratitude towards almighty God.

CHAP. 1.



HAT marueile is it that particuler men, be they neuer so wise, be ouerseene in matters of state, seeing that the most wise and grauest Senats haue also erred therein many tymes, whereof I wil for breuityes sake, alleadge only 3. or 4. examples. Cirero reporteth that the Senat of Rome hauing taken great sommes of money of certayne tributary citties to make them free, forced them after to pay their old tribute without restoring to them the money that they had payed for their freedome, which he saith was; *Turpe imperio*; A shame to their empyre; *Piratarum enim* (saith he) *melior fuit finis quam Senatus*; For the faith of pirats, was better then the faith of the Senat.

2. This then being so great a fraude that in any wel gouerned commonwelth it could not passe unpunished in private men, must needs be a foule and shameful fault in a whole Senate, not only for the iniustice of the fact, but also for the error they committed in gouernement, to wit, in giuing to their sub-

*An error of the
Senate of Rome.*

*Cicero li. 3. de
officijs.*

iects

jects an example of fraudulent, and deceitful dealinge, which being, as it were, authorised by their publike act, would the more easily insinuate it selfe into the commonwelth, to the great detriment therof. To which purpose Cicero saith; *Princes and governors, when they offend, doe not only endamage the commonwelth, in that they are corrupted them selues, but also in that they corrupt others, and hurt more by their euil example, then by the offence it selfe.*

Cicero. lib. 3. de legibus.

3. Seeing then nothinge can be more pernicious to any state then that fraud and iniustice should haue course therin (for, as Cicero saith *Faith is the foundation of iustice, and iustice the stay of state*) the Romane Senate did erre most absurdly in opening the gate to al kind of cosenage in the commonwelth by their owne example, besides the losse of reputation which must needs follow therof to their empyre, as wel with their owne subiects, as also with their freindes and confederates; a thinge so dangerous to state, that the same Senat in former tymes, being better aduised, did make restitution and reparation of like wronges to recouer their credit with their confederates and freends, and therefore they restored to the *Ardeatis*, a peece of land which the people of Rome had against al reason and equity adiudged and taken to them selues some yeares before, when the said *Ardeatin*, and the *Aricinians* being in controuersie for that land, had remitted them selues and their cause to their iudgment.

Cicero; offic. lib. 1. & 2.

4. Likewise at other tymes the Senate resolved to deliuer most notable men, to their enemyes, rather then to infringe iustice, and incurre the infamy of fraude, and deceite; In which respect, T. *Veturius* and *Spurius Posthumus* both of them Consulls and T. *Mutius*, and *Quintus AEmilius* tribunes of the people were deliuered prisoners to the *Samnites* rather then the Senat would ratify the peace they had made with them; Besides that the famous Consul, M. *Anulinus Regulus* being taken prisoner in *Africke* & dismissed vpon condition that the prisoners of the *Carthaginians* should be also deliuered, was by his owne motion sent back by the Senat, because they nether thought good, to deliuer the prisoners, nor yet to lose their credit, and reputation of iustice, by recouery of their Consul, contrary to the condition.

Restitution made by the Senate of Rome, to the *Ardeatines*. T. *Liuius*. Dec. 1. li. 4. Idem. Dec. 2. li. 3.

The great care the Roman had of their credit and reputation.

Cicero. li. 3. de officijs.

5. But perhaps you wil say that the error which I here re-
proue

proue, was committed when the commonwelth was growne to corruption, and declyned from the integritie of vertue and iustice wherein it flourished in former tymes; therefore let vs consider the same commonwelth in her purity, I meane in her beginninge aboute 120. yeares after the expulsion of the Kings. For although the *Senat* did at that tyme giue many notable examples of singuler prudence and exact iustice; yet it failed somtymes in both, to the great dammage of the state.

*An other error
of the Roman
Senate.*

*The seige of
Clusium by
the Gaules.*

*Livy.
Dec. 1. li. 5.*

*Rome sacked
and spoyled by
the Gaules.*

6. When *Brennus* the Brittain (as some say) being Capitaine of the *Gaules* that passed into Italy, beseiged a towne called *Clusium*, beyond the Alpes, and demanded of the inhabitants some parte of their terrytory; the *Clusians* finding them selues to weake to resist them, craued succour of the *Romans*, who sent Embassadors to treat peaceably with the *Gaules* in their behalfe, during which treaty and seige, there chanced to passe some acts of hostility betwixt the *Gaules* & the *Clusians*, wherein the *Gaules* perceiued that the Roman Embassadors contrary to the law of armes, had borne armes against them, and killed a principal personage of theirs; wherevpon they presently sent to *Rome*, to require the Romanes to punish their Embassadors for reparation of the wronge which they had done them; But the Senators although (as *Livy* confesseth) they knew wel enough that the *Gaules* demanded no more then was reasonable, and yet they were partly so partial in the behalfe of their Embassadors, and partly so confident of their owne forces, that they not only refused to doe them iustice, but also made the same Embassadors Generals of an army to be sent to succour the *Clusians*. Vpon the knowledge whereof the *Gaules* were incensed with such fury, that calling God and man to witnes of the wrong, they presently raised their seige from *Clusium*, and went directly in al hast to *Rome*, and by the way ouerthrew the army of the *Romanes*, entred the cittie, sacked, spoyled, and burnt it, with the greatest damage & disgrace to their state, that euer the *Romans* receiued, in the space of aboute 110. yeares after that *Rome* was built, I meane vntil the first sack thereof by the *Goths*.

7. The which may be ascribed partly to Gods iust iudgment in punishing their iniustice, & partly to their error, in that they so much contemned so huge an army of so valiant people, as to
exale

exasperate them by open iniuries, & to draw them vpon them selues with redoubled fury, whereas they should in al reason of state, haue sought to pacifye and diuert them by al conuenient meanes, considering that he is not wise that feareth not the doubtful euent of warre, especially at home, where the victory of an enemy is most dangerous, and in this case most of al, where the whole state was to be aduentured against an outragious multitude of desperat vagabonds that had nothing to loose; so that this error was no lesse costly to the commonwelth then inexcusable in the Senate.

8. Hereto I might ad diuers examples, of the Senat of Venice to the which Guicciardin saith, it is fatal some yeres to be deceaued diuers tymes. But two examples shal suffice; the first may be their resolution to make league with Lewis the 12. King of France, to assist him in the conquest of Milane against Lodouicus Sforza Duke thereof, following the opinion of Antonius Grimanni, which Guicciardin saith proceeded partly of passion, and partly of a desire to enlarge their dominions, by ioyning Cremona to the rest of their states in Italy, notwithstanding that Marchio Trevisano had dissuaded the same with most strong and pregnant reasons, representing vnto them by examples then fresh in memory, how dangerous it would be for them, to bring the french into Italy, and to haue so potent a neighbour in the state of Milane as a King of France, whereof they saw the effect shortly after, when King Lewis had it in his possession; For then were they in such feare of his forces, that they durst deny him nothing that he demanded of them, as Guicciardin noteth, in their deliuering of Cardinal Ascanius brother to duke Lodouicus, and of Baptista Viscount and diuers other noblemen of Milane who had put them selues into their protection, vpon their publike safe condict, with expresse mention of safeguard against the French.

9. An other error of theirs more dangerous, and damnable vnto them then the former; was, their great ouersight, as wel in their vnaduised proceedings towards their confederate and freend Francis the first of that name, King of France, as also in the iniuries which they did to the Pope, & the Emperour Maximilian, whereby they draue them al, that before were diuided, to vnite them selues with the King of Castile and diuers other prin-

Guicciard: hist
li. 4.

Ibid. li. 4. hist.

The error of
the Venetians
in making
league with
Lewis the 12.
of France.

Guicciard. li. 4.
in fine.

Guicciard: li. 8.
initio.

The error of
the Venetians in
ioyning with
K. Francis of
France.

ces against them in the league of *Cambray*. And neuertheles when the *Pope* demanded of them the restitution of a towne or two of his, vpon condition not to enter into that league, nor to ratify the same, but rather to procure the dissolution therof, they refused it, by the perswasion of *Dominicus Treuisano* Procurator of *S. Marks*, though other of the grauest and wisest *Senatours* were of contrary opinion: Therefore the issue of the matter was, that al these princes ioyning their forces together according to their agreement, spoyled them of al their possessions in Italy, and deuided the same amongst them selues and had prosecuted their victory further, if the *Pope* had not bene a mediator for them, and procured their peace vpon their humble submission to the Emperour, whome they most wronged.

A consideration
of mans imbecil-
lity, and weak-
nes of wit, and
of the need he
hath of Gods
direction.

10. Seing then these famous and renowned *Senates* consisting of so many wise and graue men, haue committed so grosse errors to their owne great preiudice, and danger of their state; what assurance can any man haue of mans wit, plots, & desyguments if he confide either in him selfe alone, or in the only counsel and iudgment of man. And therefore considering what I haue here before discoursed concerning the condition and state of man, his natural subiection, seruitude, and bondage, to his Lord God and Creator, his dependance vpon his holy wil and providence, his frailty and imbecillity, his blindnes of wit, his weaknes of iudgement, his frequent errors, be he neuer so wise; and lastly his necessity in respect of al this, to craue, and haue his Lord and creators assistance, direction, and protection; how vngratful and simple are those men that presume so far of their owne wits and sufficiency, that nether for their priuate, nor for publike affayres, they make any account of Gods heelp or assistance: vngratful (I say) for that hauing good partes and talents, and many temporal blessings, which nature and reason teacheth them not to be (as I haue said before) of their owne purchase and prouision, but of the liberality and bounty of almighty God, they doe neuertheles so admire the gift, that they forget the giuer, and so enioy the benifit, that they doe not so much as thanke him that bestowed it vpon them; yea and insteede of thanks, prayse, honor and seruice, which they owe him, doe render him contempt, dishonor, and disseruice. And ther-

The ingratitude
of such as do not
acknowledge
the bounty of
God towards
them.

therefore no meruaile if almighty God, in punishment of so great ingratitude, doe giue them ouer many times, to a reprobate sense, to the end, that as they offend him by an ouerweening of their owne wisdom, so they may be punished, yea and perrish by their owne folly; This ingratitude of man, *s. Augustine* worthily calleth: *the roote of al spiritual euil, the drie and burninge wind that blasteth al our corne, and stoppeth vp the fountaine of Gods mercy towards vs.*

Aug. lib. Soliloq

11. But herein appeareth not only the ingratitude, but also the extreame folly of such men (be they accompted neuer so wise) seeing that their weaknes and imbecillity is so manifest (euen to them selues if they list to consider it) that they may easily perceauce that they are not absolute of them selues, but that they depend vpon a higher power, and yet neuertheles they are so vnadvised, as to cast them selues into the innumerable dangers, and difficulties of this world without regard, yea with contempt and offence of him, on whom they depend, and who only can direct, and guid them aright; wherein they may be compared to some simple & self-willed fellow, that wil needes put him selfe to sea in a terrible tempest without a pilot, or vndertake a iorney through a dangerous desert in a darke night either without a guide, or else hauing a deare and louing freend to guide him, vseth him so vnkindly, and contemptuously by the way, that he forceth him to forsake him in the midst of the wildernes, and so perrisheth worthily through his owne folly, and ingratitude.

The extreame folly of such as trust wholly in them selues.

12. Therefore I conclude with this notable sentence of *s. Augustin*, speaking to man. Thou receauest (saith he) the benefit, & dost not acknowledge th'author therof; the gift is manifest & though the giuer be hidden, yet thy owne reason may teach thee, that it is not thy due, but the gift of another: And therefore whosoever the giuer be thou maist thinke, that as he hath bestowed exceeding much vpon thee; so he hath loued thee much, seeing he would giue thee so much; And this being so, what extreame folly is it, not to seeke and desyer the loue of such a potent and kind louer, and what peruerse ingratitude, and impiety is it, not to loue one that loues thee so exceedingly? If then thou loue and esteeme his gifts, loue him that bestowed them vpon thee,

Aug. li. 4. meditat.

A notable discourse of s. Augustin concerning the ingratitude of man towards God.

„ thee, and loue them as thinges that are subiect to thee; and as
 “ thinges that should serue thee, as pledges of thy spowse, as gifts
 “ of thy freend, as benefits of thy Lord; and so as thou maist euer
 “ be mindful how much thou art his debter, yea and loue his gifts
 “ not for them selues, but for his sake, not togeather with him,
 “ but for him; & lastly loue them so, that thou maist loue him, by
 “ them, and aboue them. Thus saith this famous and learned Fa-
 ther, which I wish almen would print in their hartes, and pra-
 ctise in their workes, for so should their, counsell and delibera-
 tions be more free from error, and their actions from il successe;
 the which many tymes is not so properly the fruit of mans infir-
 mity, as a punishment of God for sinne, as it may appeare by the
 examples already alleadged, and shal more plainly hereafter,
 when I shal purposely treat of Gods iustice.

Chap. 16. 17. 18.
 19. 20. 21. 22.

*THE INSUFFICIENCY OF MANS WIT,
 and policy, for the gouernment of commonwelth, is proued by
 the nature of commonwelth, to wit, by the natural mutabilitie,
 and instabilitie therof, exemplified briefly in empyres, king-
 domes, and other estates.*

CHAP 6.



Hitherto I haue laboured to shewe the insuffi-
 ciency of mans wit for the gouernment of com-
 monwelth by the natural infirmity of man;
 now I wil proue the same by the nature of
 commonwelth it selfe, which is a thinge so
 mutable, so intricate, so full of difficulties, so
 subiect to accidents, vnpossible to be foreseene and preuented,
 and hanging, as a man may say, vpon so many gymmols, that no
 humane wit or power is of it selfe able to assure & establish it.

2. For the prooue hereof, we are first to consider the natural
 mutabilitie and instabilitie of commonwelth, which consisting
 of men, must needes be subiect to the same mutation and cor-
 ruption, whereto al men and humane thinges are subiect, by an
 inuiolable decree and law of God, the author of nature, who
 hath

*The natural
 mutability and
 instability of
 commonwelth.*

hath irreuocably ordained, that whatsoeuer is compounded either naturally of elements, or artificially by the industrie of men shal be dissolued; and that whatsoeuer groweth and increaseth shal decreate & perish. And therefore we see that al earthly thinges haue their beginning, their growth and increase, their state and consistance, their declination and decay, & finally their dissolution. For besides infinite external causes by the which they are sooner or later corrupted, and consumed, every thinge breedeth in it selfe an internal sicknesse, which in the end doth inuitably bring it to corruption. The Iron and other metallis, breed a rust; the corne & other fruit, a worme; the cloth; a moth, mens bodies and other liuing creatures, diseases which destroy them in the end; and so in like sort, commonwelth ingendreth in it selfe disorders, discord, and dissention, which sooner or later bring it to ruine.

3. For the better explication hereof, and of the nature of commonwelth, it is further to be noted, that as the health and integrity of every thing that is compounded of different and contrary qualities consisteth in the equal temperature of the said qualities; so of the distemperature and inequality therof, groweth the corruption and dissolution of the said compound. For where there is a continual conflict of contrarieties (every one working according to his owne nature and propertie) it can not be, but that in time one wil abound, and an other decay, one weare and wast an other, and so in the end one ouercome, and extinguieth th'other, whereby the composition must needs sooner or later be dissolued.

*The nature of
commonwelth*

4 And this we see verified, not only in al natural bodies, compounded of contrary humors, or elements (as in men, beasts, hearbes, trees, plants, and such like) but also in the politike bodie, that is to say in commonwelth it selfe, consisting in the combination of persons of different sexes, orders, degrees, and qualities; as of men, and women, prince and subiect, rich and poore, noble and base, bound and free, good and bad, and of innumerable particuler men, differing amongst them selues in profession of life, faculties, trades, and occupations, in manners and affections, and yet al vnited, and combined together in the communion of one law, and gouernment. Wherefore euen as

*Wherein and
of whome a
commonwelth
consisteth*

mens bodies, being compact of contrary elements and affected with different, and contrary humors, are so much the more healthful, sound, and durable, by how much the sayd humors, are better and more equally tempered amongst them selues (which neuertheless can neuer haue such an exact and perfect temperature, but that in time they wil consume one an other, and consequently destroy the bodie with the affect) euen so the politike bodie, that is to say the commonwelth, is so much the sounder, and flourisheth the longer, by how much the temperature of the different orders and degrees therein, is better, and more equally composed. which temperature *Plato* calleth: *A harmony consisting in an equal and concordant disparity, or inequality, wherwith the commonwealth is (as it were with a certaine bond) knit and vnited in it selfe.*

Mat. 2. de repub.

5. But forasmuch as it is not possible, that the sayd politike harmony and consonance, can be for euer preferred in the continual discord & conflict of contrary degrees, humors, inclinations, affections and passions; it must needs follow that the bond, that is to say, the harmony being interrupted and broken, the commonwelth shal fall to disorder, and consequently to decay: As both *Aristotle* and *Plato* do teach, and is also most manifest by the experience of al ages and tymes, and of al kingdomes and commonwelthes, either past, or present, as (to say somewhat breely of both) we see euidently in the ancient kingdomes of *Iuda*, and *Israel*, of *Egypt*, *Macedony*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Lacedemony*, and in the commonwelth of the *Carthaginians*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and such others, al of them famous in tymes past, and some of them flourishing no lesse in al kind of learning and humane wisdom, then in armes and military discipline, and now vtterly perished; in so much, that there is scant any monument or memory of them. And hath not alſo the like chanced to the mighty & potent empyres of the *Assirians*, the *Medes*, the *Greekes*, and the *Romans*, whereof the last, which was also the mightiest of the rest, had so many changes in a few ages, to wit in 600. yeares space, that it receiued al formes and kinds of gouernment, passing first from *Kinges* to *Decemuires* that is to say, ten gouernours: from the *Decemuires*, to *Kinges* againe; from them to *Consuls*, from *Consuls* againe to *Decemuires*, from them to the *Tribuns* of sol-

Arist: li. 5. Poli.
ca. 11.
Plato. de Rep.
li. 3o.

The desolation
and ruine of
many auncient
kingdomes.

The often change
of gouernment
in the Roman
Empyre.
Tit. Linius.

of soldiars, from Tribuns to Consuls, from them to Perpetual Dictators, from Dictators to Triumviri, and from them to Emperours, vnder whome the Empyre being miserably rent, and torne with ciuill warrs, became in the end to be a pray, and spoyle to al barbarous nations.

6. And if we looke to the kingdomes & commonwelthes which stand on foote at this day, as namely our owne country, and what changes and mutations there haue bene therein, since it was first conquered by the *Romans*, how many kinges it hath had at once, to wit 7. how oft it hath bene conquered by strangers, as by *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, what ciuill warrs, and bloody battailes there haue bene since the last conquest, first in king *Stephens* tyme, after in the *Barrons* warrs, and after againe betwixt the howse of *Lancaster* and *Torke* for the space of aboue 30. yeares, wherein we read that one only kinge, to wit, *Edward* the 4. was present and fought him selfe in 8. or. 9. seuerall battailes, and that during the same tyme there were slayne & banished 80. Princes of the blood royal. And againe if we ad therto the deposicions, expulsions, imprisonmets, & murders of Kinges in diuers ages, and tymes, and the frequent rebellions of the subiects against their princes, for exactions, extortions, and innouation of religion. And if we also consider in *Scotland*, our next neighbour the like or rather greater reuolutions, which haue caused the violent or vntymely death and distruction of 8. or. 9. kinges and regents, in these 2. last ages. And great mutations and domestical diuisions which haue miserably distracted, & almost ruined *France*, no lesse heretofore at diuers times, then now of late; As also the most frequent or rather continual commotions in *Flanders*, seldome or neuer quiet in times past, and in great garboile at this present. And againe if we cast our eyes somewhat further to the countries next adioyninge, as to the Empire in *Germany* very potent in former times, and now much decayed; or to *Spain*, first subiect to the *Romans*, after to the *Goths*, and then conquered by the *Mores* (solicited and brought in by the Spaniards them selues) then diuided into 6. or. 7. seuerall kingdomes and states, and now at length after continual ciuill warre for 6. or 7. hundred yeares together, reduced againe not many yeares agoe to one monarchy. Finally for bre-

The diuers mutations in Britany since the *Romans* conquered it. Polidorus virgilius in hist. Angl.

Philippus Comminus in hist. de reb. gest. Lodouici. c. 50.

The reuolutions and diuisions in the Realms of Scotland France Flanders, and other kingdomes adioyning. Ioan. Lasseus de Orig. Scot. Froyssart. Poplinier. Froyssart. Mercurius Belgicus.

Roderic. Tolan. Ioan. vassus.

The often changes and innovations of diuers States in Italy.
Blond. Sabel:
lib. Sigonius
Onicciard.

for breuities sake (to range no further abroad then *Italy*) if we weigh the innouations that haue succeeded therein, as wel in this last age (by the bloody wars betwixt the *French* and the *Spanish* for the states of *Milan* and *Naples* subiect sometimes to *Kinges* and *Princes* of their owne, and now made prouinces to *Spainne*) as also the mutation in former times, not only in the said states, but also in *Rome* it selfe, taken, and sacked, or at least besieged 13. or 14. feueral times, and in al other partes of *Italy* miserably distressed, spoiled, and ruined, partly by the frequent irruptions, and inundations of barbarous nations, (as *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Huns*, and *Lumbards*) and partly by inuasions of Germane Emperours, and lastly by domestical and ciuil wars, proceeding otherwhiles of the ambitions of tirants in many particuler cities, and sometimes of the furious factions of the *Guelfs* and *Gibelins* (which for some yeares filled al states, cities townes, yea and priuate howses with cruel slaughters and murders of parents, kinsfolkes, frinds, and of al sortes of people) sometimes againe by populer tumults and seditions, whereby there hath bene noted in *Genua* ten notable changes of that state in the space of 30. yeares, sometimes the common people preuailing against the nobility; and some times the nobility against the people, by which meanē they are now brought to so low an ebbe, that wheras they were able in times past to hold Competence with the state of *Venice*, yea and tooke the Duke of *Venice* prisoner in a battaile at sea) wherein they had 200. gallies of their owne (they haue not now past 25. and the same also waged and paid by the Catholike Kinge if I say) we weigh and consider al this, we may drawe from hence 2. notable documents.

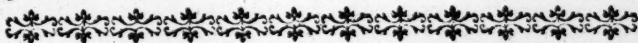
Two Documents concerning the mutability and change of States.

Seneca. praefat. in lra. natural. quest.

7. The first the casualty and vanity of al humane power; honor, dignity, dominion, and glory, seeing they doe not only perish sooner or later, but also are subiect, whiles they last to such mutation, and accompanied with infinir corrosiues and afflictions, which consideration may iustly moue vs to eleuate our cogitations from al earthly delights, to the contemplation and desire of the heauenly, that are ineffable, incomperhensible, and eternal. For as *Seneca* saith; nothing is more coniecktable then man, if he do not raise and eleuate him selfe above him selfe.

8. The other document is, that considering the natural mobility,

mobility, inconstancy and infirmity as wel of commonwelth as of man him selfe, and of al earthly creatures; no humane wit, or power, is more able to defend any kingdome, or commonwelth from declination, and decay, then to preserue a man from al sicknes and mortality, or other earthly thinges from corruption.



THE VVEAKNES OF MANS VVIT AND policy, is further proued by the imperfection of al political science, with a consideration of the imbecillity of lawmakers exemplified in Solons lawes. By occasion vvhherof, a political question is debated concerning sedition.

CHAP. 7.



IN the last chapter I shewed the insufficiency, of mans wit for the gouernment of state, by the natural mutability and instability of commonwelth: now I wil further proue the same by the defects and imperfection of humane policy.

VVherein humane pollicy principally consisteth.

And whereas the policy of man (for as much as concerneth gouernment of commonwelth) consisteth either in the institution, and the execution of good lawes, or in wise counsellis, deliberatiōs, plots, & desyguments; I wil first speake of lawes, and shew their insufficiency for the establishment of state, not only in respect of the infirmity of the lawmaker, but also for the imperfection incident to lawe it selfe; I wil speake of either a parte, and first of Lawmakers.

2. For this purpose I with thee (Good reader) to remember what I haue proued before in the beginning of this Treatise concerning the imbecility of mans wit, which I haue declared to be such, that no man can without the light of Gods grace, sufficiently knowe and vnderstand what is conuenient & necessary for him selfe: which I made manifest, not only by reason, and the authority of holy scriptures and graue authors, but also by euident examples of the errors of great politikes, and wisemen, who haue bene either ruined, or at least greatly endangered by

ca. 2. bu. 14.

ca. 3. 4. &c. 5.

G

the

Cicero de Diu-
inatione.

The diuersitie of
wills & humors
in euery com-
monwelth.

the meanes whereby they thought to profit, and aduance them-
selues, Whereupon I may wel inferre with the prouerbe; *Qui sibi
semitam non sapit, an alijs monstrabit viam*? he which knowes not
the way him selfe, can he teach it to an other; that is to say, he
that knowes not what is good and fit for him selfe, can he be
able to iudge & determine what is conuenient for other men, es-
pecially for a whole commonwelth? To this purpose it is to be
considered, (as I haue signified before) that there are such mul-
titudes of people, such difference of degrees, qualities and con-
ditions, and such puerfity of wills, humors, and affections in
euery commonwelth, that no humane wit is able to reduce them
to that perfect temperature, and harmony which is requisite for
the conseruation of ciuill vnity and amity, to the end that al may
continually concurre in the obedience of one lawe, in one kinde
of gouernment, and liue therein contended each one in his vo-
cation, in security, peace, and plenty, which euery lawmaker or
gouernour of commonwelth ought to procure.

3. This may partly be iudged by the gouernment of a family
be it great or litle, which is many times turned vpside-downe,
and disolued by the peruerse humor of some one, or two, not
corrigible by any council or chastisement of the head therof;
What meruaile is it then, if in whole kindomes and common-
welthes, amongst so many thousands of different persons, and of
different humors, there are many so exorbitant and turbulent,
that no wit, nor power of man can be able to tame or temper
them? And doe we not see many times, that the couetousnes, or
the lust, or the treason, temeritie, or folly, or the ambition of
some one man endangereth or ouerthroweth a whole empyre?
The kingdome of *Macedony* was lost through the couetousnes of
Perseus king therof; the treason of one count *Iulian* offended by
the lust of *Roderike* King of *Spayne* (who deflowred his daughter)
was the cause that the *Mores* conquered *Spayne* and posselt it,
6. or 7. hundreth yeares. The temerity of *Terentius Varro*, when
he was *Consul* of *Rome* and gaue battaile to *Annibal*, caused the
great ouerthrowe which the *Romans* receued at *Canne* to the
great danger of their commonwelth, which in the end was vt-
terly ouerthrowne by that ambition of *Iulius Caesar*.

4. But what should I speake of a King of *Macedony* or a King
of *Spayne*,

One man often-
times the cause
of the destruc-
tion of a whole
Empire.
Plutar. in Paulo
Emilio.
Roderic. Tole-
tan. li. 5. de reb.
Hispan. c. 14. 15.
16. 17. 18. 19.
Iulius Dec. 3.
lib. 2.

Plutar. in Iul.
Caesare.

of *Spain*, or a *Consul of Rome*, or a *Iulius Caesar*, when the turbulent humor of a base fellow, or petty companion such a one, I meane, as a *Blacksmith*, or a *Iacke Cade*, or a *Iacke Straw* hath bene able to put al *England* in a garboyle, to the great danger of the state? Seing then one fault or error of some one man, may ruyne, or endanger a kingdome, how shal mans wit or policy be able, sufficiently to preuent the inconuenience that must needes growe by the infinit faultes and errors, which in tract of tyme are comitted in euery commonwelth, by so many thousands as are therin, through the folly or malice of men.

The Garboyle and tumult in England raised by Iacke Cade and his fellowes. 1546. Haul. holinshed.

5. Furthermore if we consider what the politike science, (whereby commonwelths are instituted, and gouerned) is able to performe, and how far it may extend it selfe, we shal easely see how litle perfection and establishment any state can receaue by the lawmaker or gouernour therof, be he neuer so politike. For whereas other sciences & artes were (as *Aristotle* teacheth) inuented by some, augmented, and amplified by other, and brought in time to perfection, it falleth out otherwayse in the politike science, which is so vncertayne and varyable, that although the rules & precepts therof were many hundreth yeares agoe deliuered by most famous *Philosophers*, and explicated, and amplified since by infinit authors ancient and moderne; yet both reason and experience sheweth that it neuer arriueth, neither can arriue to perfection. For nether one and the selfe same policy is fit for al commonwelthes (as one art or science is fit and conuenient for al kind of men) nether is commonwelth so durable in one manner and forme of gouernment, that the selfe same policy wil euer serue for the same; seing al comonwelthes are subiect to mutation, and many tymes one is engendred by the corruption of an other, euery one requiring different lawes, and a different policy.

Arist. li. 2. Element. ch. c. ultimo.

The Imperfection of al political science.

6. And although the commonwelth doe remaine in one forme of gouernment, as either in a *monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, or a *Popular State*; yet such is the variety of times & instability of the humors and affections of men, that new lawes and different policies wil be necessarie thereto. And therefore where as the *Romans* had 4. kind of lawes as *Cicero* testifyeth, one was *De abrogandis legibus*, to abrogate and repel lawes; by the vertue and

Four kind of Lawes amongst the Romans.

Cicero de leg.

authority wherof, many lawes made by very wise men, were afterwards by their posterity annulled and repealed, as vnprofitable and vnconuenient.

7. The same may be obserued in the very lawes of God, which haue varied according to the different state of man and tymes, as it is euident by the lawe of *Nature*, the lawe of *Moyse*, and now lastly the lawe of *Grace*. The reason whereof *S. Augustin* giueth saying; That it is not to be wondered at, that God made different lawes, in different tymes; seeing that in one day, and in one house, and in one man, one thing is conuenient to one member, and another to another, and one thing to one man, and, another, to another: and that the thing which is expedient now, wil an hower hence be vnlawful and inconuenient; Whereby it appeareth that time which breedeth certainty of iudgment and experience in men for the perfection of other sciences and artes, doth so change, and abolish lawes and pollicies, that it causeth in lawmakers and gouernours, ignorance, error, and confusion.

8. For this cause *Plato* affirmeth expressly, that no man be he neuer so excellent of wit, or neuer so prudent and practised in affaires, can be able without the inspiration and assistance of God, to make sufficient lawes for the perfect establishment of a commonwelth. And therefore in the institution of his owne written commonwelth, and of the lawes thereof he craueth helpe of almighty God, and otherwhere saith. That as brute beastes can not be happily gouerned by beastes, without the help of man: so man can not be wel & happily gouerned by man, without the help of God. And againe in an other place he teacheth; that as men cannot liue without lawes, so neither could men haue had sufficient lawes, from *Prothemus* (that is to say from the prouidence of man) if *Iupiter* him selfe the creator of al, had not sent *Mercury* to men with lawes, to be the interpreter of his diuine wil. Wherby he signifieth mystically after his manner, that without Gods special assistance, no wit nor prouidence of man can suffice to institute, and conferue any state or commonwelth, either by the meanes of lawes or otherwise.

9. This also *salomon* knew and acknowledged, who therfore craued wisedome of almighty God for the gouernment of his people, ady

Aug. li. 3. con-
fess. c. 7

God: inspiration
necessary for the
making of good
Larres.

Plato. 4. de le-
gibus.

Idem, in Minoe.
Idem in Prota-
gora.

3. Reg. 3.
2. Paral. 1.

ple; adding; *Quis enim potest iudicare populum istum; populum tuum hunc multum?* For who can without thy helpe iudge, and governe this thy people, so many in number. And againe Give me o Lord that wisdom which assisteth thy seate, for I am a weake man; *Et minor ad intellectum iudicij et legum;* And not of capacity to understand what is iudgement and lawe; Thus said this prudent King, considering, and humbly acknowledging his owne infirmity, in respect whereof almighty God gaue him greater wisdom, wealth, honor, and glory, then euer had any earthly Prince.

10. But now for the further prooffe of this matter, let vs examine some of the lawes of 3. or 4. of the most famous lawmakers that euer were; that by the discovery of their errors, the weakness of mans wit in the institution and administration of commonwelth, may the better appeare. And whereas some haue founded & instituted commonwelthes indeed, and some only in writing, *The lawes of four famous lawmakers examined and re-* to serue for patternes for others; I wil speake here only of 4. of *proued.* greatest fame, of either sort two, as of Solon the Athenian, Licurgus the Lacedemonian, Plato called the Deuine, and Aristotle maister to Alexander the great.

11. When the commonwelth of the Athenians, hauing bene governed for many yeares togeather by the lawes of Dracon, was fallen to decay through the excessiue couetousnes & rigour of rich men, whome the poorer sort (being loaden with debts & not able to pay them) were forced to serue as slaues by sentence of the iudges, (wherevpon there arose daily infinite tumults and seditions) it seemed good to them al, to recommend the reformation of their whole state to Solon, a man so highly esteemed for his wisdom, that he was accounted one of the 7. wisemen of Greece, who perswading him selfe that it could not be conueniently reformed, except the poore were releued & eased of their debts, resolued to abolish & cancel al contracts and obligations of debts past, imparting his minde therein first to some of his intire freends, who seing his resolution, borrowed great store of money, & employd it in land, wherevpon it followed that when Solon published his new lawe (which he called *seysasthia* that is to say *A discharge of debts*) they remained exceedingly enriched, their creditors defrauded, and he much suspected of deceit, as to haue had secret intelligence with his frends, and part of their gaine.

The Reformation of the commonwelth of the Athenians by Solon.
Plutar. in Solon.

Two foule errors of Solon about the reformation of the Athenian commonwealth.

Cice. offic. li. 2.

Great iniustice committed by Solon.

Ibid.

How Solon might haue reformed the commonwealth without the breach of iustice.

Cicero Ibid.

The wisdom of Aratus in reforming the city of Sicione.

12. And although it seemeth that therein he had wronge (for he lost by his one law, as some write 15. talents which were owing him) yet he can not be excused in 2. thinges the one in that he caused not his frends to restore the money which they had guilfully borrowed, and the other, that without examination of the particuler causes and reasons of euery mans debt, he ordayned a general abolition of al debts good and bad; whereby aswel those which were able to pay, as the vnable were discharged, and al creditours without difference defrauded, contrary to al equity and iustice, which (as Cicero saith speaking of the like case) requireth aboue al thinges that euery man haue his owne, and that he had equal regard to the right, aswel of the rich, as of the poore (which saith he) is no way obserued; *Cum locupletēs suum perdunt, & debitores lucentur alienum*; When rich men loose their owne, and debtors gaine that which belongeth to other men; Besides that in this case the necessity was not such to breake iustice so notoriously; for that the inconuenience might haue bene remedied otherwise, without iniury to any, as partly by the meanes, which he him selfe also practised, to wit, by rayling the money, and partly by borrowing some great sommes with the which he might haue made at least some composition with the creditours, in behalfe of the debtors & haue repayed the money after in time by penalties, confiscations, and some moderate taxes, whereby the poore might haue bene for the present releued, and no man wronged.

13. Therefore Cicero greatly commendeth Aratus, who when the cittie called Sicione had bene 50. yeares opprest by tyrants, and he him selfe banished with 600. others of the richest men therein, first found meanes to kil the tyrant, and after hauing called home al those that were banished, and finding difficulty in restoring them to their goods and liuings (which were in the possession of other men had bene in 50. yeares space alienated by many contracts, and bargaines of sales, dowries, leases and such like) thought it not conuenient either to take the said liuings from those that possessed them, or yet to leaue the other vnatisfyed. And therefore he borrowed agreat some of money of Ptolomeus King of Alexandria, & examining euery mans cause, & making an estimate of the landes, so delt betwixt the parties

that

that for ready money some of them were content to leaue their possession, & others to sel their right, and surcease their clayme, wherby peace and concord was made, al men satisfied; *Et sic par est* (saith Cicero) *cum Ciuibus agere, & non alijs sua eripere, alijs dare aliena*; so it is fit to deale with subiects, and not to take from some their owne, and to giue it to others to whome it doth not belong; as Solon did who therfore was to be blamed, not only for errour, but also for iniustice.

Ibidem.

14. I omit other errours, of Solon which might be obserued in the forme of his commonwelth, to come to the examination of one of his lawes, by the which he ordayned, *That whoe soener in any publik sedition should be neutral and take neither part, should remayne euer after infamous*; his reason was, for that he thought it not conuenient that any man should so much loue his owne ease, as not to participate of the trouble of the commonwelth whereof he was a member. Which reason, together with the lawe, *Plutark*, worthely and wisely reiecteth, for that it would be an assured meanes to put (as it were) fyre to gunpowder, and to set al the commonwelth on a flame, without hope of any internal remedy; For (saith he) *euen as in a sick-body, al the hope of helpe with in it selfe, is to be expected from the partes that are sound (and therfore when the body is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedy but from abroad) euen so in a politike body sicke with sedition al the internal remedie is to come from the whole and sound partes therof*; that is to say; from such as are neutralls, who may labour with the one part and with the other to compound the quarrel; for otherwise where al is in tumult no remedie can be expected; except it come from abroad. And therfore *Plutarke* houldeth it for the higheft and principal point of politike science in any gouernour, to know how either to preuent seditions, that they neuer growe, or else quickly to appease them, when they are growne, be they neuer so litle. For euen as the least sparke that is, may fall into such matter, that it may set a whole house on fyre; so the least ciuil sedition may fall amongst such persons, & in such time, that it may put a whole commonwelth in combustion, and vterly ruine it; and for this cause, wise gouernours haue an eye not only to dissentions concerning the commonwelth and publike matters; bur also of priuate quarrells, though it be amongst

meane

An absurd lawe of Solon forbidding neutrality in a publike sedition. Plutar in Solone.

Idem, in his booke of instructions for such as deale in matters of State.

Solons lawe reiected by Plutark.

Ibidem.

A principal point of politike science either to preuent seditions, or quickly to appease them.

meane men, for that many times they redound to the publike detriment: wherof *Plutark* recounteth a notable example.

Plut. Ibidem.
A story of the
dissention of
two young men
of Syracuse.

15. Two young men of *Syracusa* were so great freends, that the one of them being to goe abroad vpon an occasiō, recomended vnto the other the care of his concubyn; the other in his absence, being ouercome with loue and lust, abused her; in reuenge wherof, his freend at his retourne corrupted the others wife, by which meanes there grew a great quarrel betwixt them, and the matter comming to the notice of the *Senat*, a wise *Senator* gaue counsel to banish them both, least their priuate quarrel might breed some publike sedition; But his aduise was neglected, wherypon it followed that the freends of either taking their partes, made within a while such a tumult and ciuill warre in the citty, that the whole state was ouerthrowne therby.

Phil. de Com.
Cron. du roy
Louis ca. 138.
The danger that
groweth to a
prince by main-
teining diuision
amongst his
subiectes.

16. But as al priuate quarrells may proue dangerous to the commonwelth, so most of al when they growe betwixt great personages. In which respect, *Philip de Comines* blameth greatly such princes, as doe not seeke to compose dissentions and quarrells amongst some of their greatest subiects, but rather nourish them by fauoring one party more then the other, wherein they doe no other (saith he) but helpe to set their owne howse on fier.

Warre in En-
gland betwixt
the K. and Earle
of Warwicke.
Ibidem.

17. Wherof he alleadgeth 2. notable examples, the one of the Queene of *England* (wife to Kinge *Henry* the 6.) who taking part with the Duke of *Sommerſet* against the Earle of *Warwicke*, was a special cause of that warre, which the Earle made many yeares togeather, against the King and house of *Lancaster* to their vtter ouerthrowe, and therefore (saith he) the Queene should haue done much more wisely, if she had shewed herselfe at the first indifferent betwixt the two parties, and helped to agree them.

Henry the fifth
of England
crowned in
France.

18. The other example which he alleadgeth, is, of *Charles* the 7. King of *France*: who when he was *Dolphin* tooke parte with the Duke of *Orleance*, against the Duke of *Burgundy* in a priuat quarrel of theirs. In reueng wherof the Duke of *Burgundy*, called *Henry* the 5. King of *England* into *France*, and helped to crowne him, and his sonne after him kings in *Paris*.

19. And whereas *Philip de Comines* seemeth to take it for no incon-

inconuenience, that a young Prince should sometimes for his sport, and pleasure nourish some iarrs & quarreles amongst the Ladies and gentlewomen of his court, I can not but dissent from him therein: for that womens iarrs may make mens warrs. And experience hath taught that mutations haue sometimes hapned in States by womens quarels. As in Rome where *Fabius Ambustus* hauing married his two daughters, the elder to a noble man called *Sulpitius* (who was after made Consul) and the younger to a plebeian called *Licinius Stolo* (who by the lawes was not capable of that dignitie) it chanced that a disgust fel betwixt the two sisters, for that the younger visiting the elder (who was then wife to the Consul) and houlding her selfe to be contemned of her in respect of her meaner estate, lamented so pirtfully to her father, that to appease her, he practised with the people to make his sonne in-law *Licinius Stolo* Consul, in derogation of the ancient law and custome, which excluded the plebeians from the Consulshippe. And although the cheife Senators opposed them therro, with might and maine, as to a great nouelty, and a matter very preiudicial to the dignitie of the Senate, yet he preuailed, & not only procured a decree, that from thence forward the plebeians might be *Consuls*, but also obtained the election of *Licinius Stolo* his sonne in-law. And this was done to satisfy the disdaine of a woman against her owne sister.

20. But more dangerous & lamentable was the quarrel of two sisters in-law in England in the time of *Edward the 6.* whereof the one was *Queene Catherine Parre*, lately before wife to King *Henry the 8.* and then married to the Lord *Thomas Seymer* *Admiral of England*; and the other was the *Duches of Somerset*, wife to the Lord *Protector of England* brother to the *Admiral*. These two Ladies falling at variance, for the precedence which either of them challenged, the one as *Queene Dowager*, and the other as wife to the *Protector* (who then gouerned the King, and al the Realme) drwe their husbands into the quarrel, and so incensed the one of them against the other, that the *Protector* procured the death of the *Admiral* his brother; whereupon also followed his owne destruction shortly after: for being deprived of the assistance & support of his brother, he was easely ouerthrowne by the *Duke of Northumberland*, who caused him to be conuicted of felony

H

and be-

Phillip de Comines reproveth for allowing in a young Prince to nourish quarrels amongst the Ladies in his court.
Plin. de vitis illust.
liv. dec. 1. lib. 6.
The troubles that often arise by the disension of women.

The disension betwixt the Duches of Somerset and Cath. Parre in England.

Sander. de schismate Anglie. lib. 2.

Aristot. Politic.
ca. 2.

and beheaded. Loe then what inconueniency followed of the falling out of two women: therefore Aristotle wisely aduiseeth Princes to haue care, that their wiues doe no disgraces, nor giue iust cause of disgust to the wiues of their subiects, for that (saith he) commonwelthes haue bene ouerthrowne by such meanes.

A quarrel be-
gon betwixt
two boyes in
Italy, caused
much blood-
shed.

Tateagnora hist.
maadi par. 1. l. 15.

21 But what maruaile is it if the quarrels of women may be dangerous to the commonwelth, seeing a famous and pernicious faction in Italy, began by the occasion of a quarrel betwixt two boyes, whereof the one gaue the other a box on the eare: in reuenge whereof the father of the boy that was stricken, cut of the hand of the other that gaue the blowe, whose father making the quarrel his owne, sought the reuenge of the iniurie done to his sonne, & began the faction of the *Neri*, and the *Bianchi*, that is to say, black & white, which presently spred it selfe throwout Italy, & was the occasion of spilling much Christian blood. Whereby we may see how necessarie it is for gouernours to haue an eye to quarrels, though amongst meane persons: and how dangerous it is for a Prince to make diuision in his state betwixt great personages, to ballance & counterpeise one of them with an other, to the end they shal not conspire against him as *Machiauel*, counselleth absurdly, following the old tyrannycal precept. *Si vis regnare diuide. If thou wilt raigne make diuision.* As though it should be alwaies in the Princes power to moderate the same at his pleasure, whereof no mortal creatur can assure him selfe, (be he neuer so wise or potent) And therefore we may say of such dangerous courses, as saith the booke of Ecclesiasticus. *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo. He which loues danger shal perish in it.*

The danger of
Machiauels do-
ctrine concerning
diuision
Arist. 1. 5. Politic. 11.

Ecclesiast. c. 3.

In what cases
Neutrallitie is to
be allowed, or
disallowed.

22. Neuerthelesse to retourne now to *Solons* law (which comdemneth neutrality in publike seditions or factions) although in some cases the said law would be pernicious to commowelth, yet in some other I hold it so necessary, as that no man could doe his duty either to God, or his country, except he should put the same in practise. As for example, if the quarrel were for matter of religion, or touching either the seruice of God, or the publike good of the commonwelth, or for the iust defence of the lawful prince, and gouernour thereof; in which cases al neutrality were vnlawful. For when there is question of Gods seruice, to be neutral, were nothing else but to betray Gods cause, and to declare

Neutrality vn-
lawful in diui-

declare a mans selfe to be his enimie, according to our Sauours saying. *Qui non est mecum contra me est, & qui non colligit mecum, dispergit*; He which is not with me is against me, he which gathereth not with me, scattereth. And therefore the neutrals in that case, & those whome the Holy Ghost calleth *Repidi*, men that are luke-warme, of whome the Scripture saith in the person of God; *Vitium est aut calidus, aut frigidus, sed quia tepidus es, euomam te ex ore meo*: I would thou vvert either hot, or cold, but because thou art but luke-warme, I wil therefore spit thee out of my mouth.

sions concerning Gods seruice.
Luc. 11.

Apocalip. 3.

Neutrality condemned in matters concerning the iust defence of the Prince or commonwelth.

Neutrality in priuate quarrels commended.

Plut. in his instruct. for such as deal in matters of state.

Arist. polit. li. 2. ca. 10.

23. Againe in the other case, where the controuersie concerneth the good of the commonwelth, or the iust defence of the head therof, neutralitie were in effect treason, and should merit notonly the note of infamie (as *Solons* law ordayned) but also any rigorous punishment whatsoeuer. And therefore in al such cases, al men are bound in conscience and duty without delay, to declare at least their good wil & affections to the maintenace of the iust cause, and when perswasions wil not suffice, then to employ al their force, yea & their liues for the suppression of the seditions, rather then to suffer them to preuaile.

24. But in other cases (as when some particuler mens priuate dissention doth growe to a publike sedition, or when the contention is not betwixt the head and some of the members, but betwixt the members them selues) to adhere to either partie (as *Solons* law commanded) were no other then in steede of water, wherewith to quench fyre, to cast in oyle to nourish & augmet it, to the great danger and detriment of the whole state. Therefore in such a case, the neutral & indifferent man may best helpe to remedie the disease of the commonwelth, putting on (as *Plutarke* saith) the buskin of *Theramenes*, which serued for both feete, that is to say, dealing indifferently with both parties to draw them to composition, not for his owne ease, or to auoid the participation of the publike or common calamitie (as *Solon* in his law supposed of al neutrals) but to extinguish the fyre kindled in the commonwelth, or at least not to minister further matter thereto by any act of his. This then we see how *Solon* erred in his lawes, & ordinances, though *Aristotle* seemeth to preferre him before al other law-makers, censuring and controuling al the rest, and excusing him in that, wherein others reprehended him,

Plato i. de legib.

and concluding him to be an excellent law-maker, as also Plato doth, who for patternes and examples for al such as shal institute common welths and lawes, propoeth *Mino*, *Solon*, and *Licurgus* of which last I wil therfore speak next.

*THE IMBECILLITY OF LAWVMAKERS IS
also exemplified in certaine wicked and absurd lawes of Licurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, with certaine obseruations no lesse
pious then political.*

CHAP. 8.

Plat. in Licurgo.



*Of the lawes of
the Lacedimo-
nians reformed
by Licurgus.*

LICVRGVS was no lesse famous for his royal birth, then for his great wisdom, and moral vertue, who being brother to *Polidectes* King of *Lacedemony*, succeeded him in the kingdome at the earnest request of the people (in respect that his brother left no yssue, but only his wife great with child) and being earnestly solicited by her to marry with her, with promise to destroy the child in her wombe (to the end that his kingdome might be the more assured) he did not only refuse it, but also when the child was borne, & proued a Sonne, he proclaimed him King, taking only to him selfe the tutele of him, and the gouernment of the realme during his minority, with intention in the meane time to reforme it, being growne to great corruption, and al most vtterly decayed; & therfore he abolished most of the old lawes, and ordained new, by the vse whereof the *Lacedemonians* flourished many yeares aboue al the rest of the Grecians, in so much that they had the dominion of al *Greece* for some time.

*How Licurgus
erred in framing
his common
welth rather
for warre then
for peace.*

2. Neuertheles if we examine his commonwelth and the lawes thereof, we shal find, that he failed both in true prudence, and in moral vertue, For whereas a good law-maker ought to frame his commonwelth no lesse to religion, iustice, and temperance, then to fortitude, that it may stand & flourish, as well in time of peace, as in time of warre, his lawes rendred principally to make the people valiant, and warlike, whereupon it fol-

it followed that the Lacedemonians flourished so long as they had warres, and when they came to enjoy peace, they selle to decay with in a while (as *Aristotle* noteth) wherby the error of *Licurgus* evidently appeareth. For as peace is not ordained for warre, but warre for peace, as motion and labour is ordained for rest (in which respect *Cicero* saith: *Warre is so to be undertaken, as that peace may be attained thereby*) so in like maner a commonwelth is rather to be framed and ordained for peace, then for warre; And yet so for both, that it may stand by both. In which respect the commonwelth of the *Athenians* as *Plutarke* noteth, chose *Pallas* for their patronesse, who was called both *Polemica* & *Politica*, that is to say, *warlike* and *ciuil*: as also the *Thebans* had for theirs, *Harmony*, which was held to be the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, wherby they signified, that the harmony of cōmon-welth consisteth in the consonance, and coniunction of military and ciuil discipline; which also *Iustinian* signifieth in the institutes of the ciuil lawe, saying: *Imperatoriam maiestatem, &c. It is conuenient that the Imperial maiesty, be not only decked, and adorned with armes, but also defended with lawes.*

Arist. poli. li. 2. ca. 7.

Cicero. offic. lib. 1.

Plutarke in phocione & pelopida.

Iustinian. Institut. in proemio.

Aridiculous lawe of Licurgus. Plutar. in Licurgo.

Idem. Ibid.

3. But in the commonwelth of the *Lacedemonians* this was no way performed; For, the lawes of *Licurgus*, tending only to make them stronge, laborious, and valiant, could not make them religious, iust, and truly temperate, which for ciuil discipline and peaceable gouernment is most requisite. For, as for lawes tending to religion, we find none made by *Licurgus*, nor any religious act of his, but only one more ridiculous, then religious, as that he dedicated an *Image* to laughter, which he made a God, or at least would haue to be worshiped for a God, to make the people merry at their publike feastes, and meetings. And as for lawes pertaining to iustice, he made few, and one amongst the rest, which opened a great gap to iniustice, and to al cosonage & deceit; for he ordained, that it should be lawful for any man to steale any kind of meate (so that he were not taken or discovered in the doing of it) and that boyes and children should haue so litle allowed them to eate, that they should be forced to prole, and steale for their better prouision, to make them thereby the more industrious, nimble, and quick of spirit, and others more wary & watchful to keepe wel that which they had, in so

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much

much that he which could steale most cunningly was most commended.

*Cunning theft
and deceit al-
lowed in the
lawes of Licur-
gus.*

4. But who seeth not that this was the next way to fil the commonwelth with theeves; For is it likely that those who from their infancy are brought vp instealing, & pilfering trifles, wil afterwards (when they haue got the habit & hability therof) forbear to steale thinges of greater importance? or can theeves practise their occupation with more safety any way to become in the end most expert, and thereby pernicious to the commonwelth, then with the warrant, and vnder the protection of the law? seeing the penalty which was ordained for them that were taken with the maner, was not inflicted for the iniustice of the fact, but for their lack of skil and dexterity in the performance, which must needs make euery one labour to excel in the act of theeuery: Finally when the law not only permitteth, but also induceth men to deceaue, some times and in some thinges, doth it not also dispose, and as it were, direct them to deceaue, as ofte, and how soeuer they may? Therefore good and wise law-makers, seeke to preuent euils, and to cut of the occasions of vice, and not to minister matter or occasion there to, which in our corrupt natures, needeth a bridle to restraine it, and not a spur to prick it forward.

*Idem.
Ibid.*

Iustin. li. 3.

Plin. Ibid.

*Absurd lawes
of Licurgus ten-
ding to Lasci-
uities.*

5 And this may also be said in respect of an other lawe of Licurgus inducing to intemperancy, and al kind of incontineny. For although he ordained some thinges notably for the education of youth; tending as it seemed, to the repression of concupiscence, and dissolute life, (as a very spare and homely diet, hard bedding of reedes (or as some write) no beds at al, continual labour and exercise, one only garment, for the whole yeare, and such like) yet it appeareth that his meaning was no other therin but only to make them able to endure the labour, and toile of warre; For he ordained other lawes so much in fauour, and furtherance of lust, & of al carnallity, yea in the worst kind, that it may iustly be said, he made his whole commonwelth worse then a Burdel; For he instituted certaine wrestlings and dances, and other exercises of boyes and wenches naked, to be done in publike at diuers times in the yeare, in the persence both of young & old men, which what effect it might worke in

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the mindes and manners of their citizens, any man may easely iudge; especially seeing both their lawes & customes, permitted that men should be enamored of boyes, which was held for laudable and necessary for their good education, it benignly presumed that their louers would carefully instruct them in vertue.

6 Furthermore adultery which was punished with death, not only by the lawe of *Moses*, but also by the law of the *Romans* and other nations, as a thing pernicious to commonwelth, was not only permitted, but also approued by *Licurgus* his law; ordaining, that if an old man married a young wife, she might with her husbands licence make choice of any young man that she liked to haue a child by him, which her husband brought vp as his owne. And if a valiant, or vertuous man (as good soldiers were termed there) liked well of an other mans wife, he might demand leaue of her husband to haue issue by her, which was not denied, but thought conuenient for their commonwelth to maintaine there in a good race, and breed of valiant men, as *Plutark* signifieth in defence of this law of *Licurgus*.

7. This then being soe; what maruaile is it that al sinne of the flesh and beastlines raigned more in *Lacedemony*, then any where els in *Greece*, as *Aristotle* witnesseth? Nay what wonder is it that almighty God of his iust iudgment plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable ouerthrow in the plaine of *Leuctra*, where they lost the dominion of *Greece*, by the occasion, and for punishment of a horrible rape, committed by two of their citizens, as I will declare more at large when I come to treat of Gods iustice.

8. And for the present, to conclude concerninge *Licurgus* and *Solon*, I will not stand vpon other things reprobued by *Aristotle* in the lawes of *Licurgus*, seeing it is euident ynough by that which I haue touched before, that these two mirrours of law makers (for so were *Solon* & *Licurgus* accounted of al antiquity) may serue no lesse then others of meaner marke, for examples of mans infirmities, and of the weaknes of his wit in matters of commonwelth; to whome I will now adde *Plato*, & *Aristotle*, who though they founded no common welthes as the other 2. did; yet they framed in writing ether of them one, in the which they laboured to shewe, both the excellency of their owne witts, and the perfe-

Leuit. 20. lox
Iulia.

Adultery permitted by Licurgus amongst the Lacedemonians.

Plut. in Licurg.

Arist. li. 2. pol. ca. 7.
The ouerthrow of Lacedemonians in the playne of Leuctra, by Gods iust iudgement for their sinnes of the flesh.
Plut narrations am. tor.
Diodorus Siculus. li. 17. ca. 14. ca. 20. nu. 3.

Licurgus and Solon accounted by antiquity the mirrours of Lawmakers.

perfection of humane policy, wherein neuertheles they euidently shewed the imbecilyty and imperfection of both.

Plato lib. de re-
pub.

The impious
Larves of Plato
in his common-
wealith.

9. For what can be more absurd, or more impious, then the community which Plato ordained in his commonwealthe, not only of goods and possessions, but also of women, to the end that no man should haue any thinge proper, or peculiar to him selfe; in so much that fathers and mothers should not knowe their owne children, nether yet any child know his owne parents, whereby he thought to establish in the commonwealthe such a perfect vnity, that no man should be able to say, this is mine, or this is thine, but euery one haue a general care of al; where as if that law were put in practise, the vtter ouerthrowe of commonwealthe, and of al humane society must needs follow thereon.

Promiscuous &
beastly procrea-
tio in the Larves
of Plato.

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Arist. polit. lib. 2.
c. 1. 2. 3. 4.

A nother most
absurd Platoni-
cal law.

10. For matrimony being taken away, and such a promiscuous and beastly procreation introduced, the natural loue betwyxt parents, and their childeren, brethren, kinnsfolkes, and alyes, and al consanguinity, kindred, & affinity would be quite abolished: horrible incest betwene kinnsfolkes, bretheren and sisters, father and daughter, mother and sonne; (which al nations abhorre) would ordinarily be committed, & in occasion of quarrells, which some times could not be auoided, one brother would kil another, the father, the sonne, & the sonne the father, for lack of knowledge one of another; besides many other great inconueniencies declared very perticularly, and at large by Aristotle, in his politiks, who also proueth verie euidently that the vnity which Plato sought to establish in his commonwealthe by this law, would not follow thereon; Whereby appeareth his double error; Al which I omitte for breuities sake, to speake a word or 2. of another law of his; who hauing ordained that young men should, for increase of their strength and agility of body, exercise them selues naked at certaine times and in certaine places, appointed for that purpose called *Gymnasia*: commanded also (not as *Licurgus* did, in *Lacedemonia* that young girls & wenches should dance naked amongst boies) but far more absurdly, that women in the flower of their youth, should dance, runne, wrestle, ride, & doe al exercises with younge men naked, as wel as they; which (saith he) whosoever misliketh vnderstandeth not how profitable it is for
she com-

the commonwelth.

11. But who could imagine that the prince of philosophers (for so was *Plato* esteemed) could so farre forget him selfe, as hauing instituted and framed his commonwelth to al kinde of vertue as to the only meanes to arriue to perfect felicity (for which purpose he gaue notable documents, and precepts, and made excellent lawes concerning al vertues, & amongst the rest touching chastity) who (I say) considering this could imagine that this professor, maister, and teacher of vertue, this commander, and commander of chastity, would not only permitte, but also ordaine a thing so contrary to his owne profession, to the end of his commonwelth, and to his owne lawes, precepts, and counsels, as the lasciuious aspect of naked women? wherby the fier of concupiscence being kindled in men, and the bridle of natural modesty taken from women, what else could follow thereon, but al beastly dissolution, and carnallity of life as wel in the one as in the other.

Plato contrarie to him selfe.

12. For precepts are giuen, & lawes ordeined in vaine against incōtinēcy, when the occasiōs, prouocatiōs, & nourishmētts thereof are permitted? which whosoever vseth to admit, plaieth with the flame, as doth the flye, and cōmonly is burned therby. For how many doe we see daylie ouercome with vice (and especially with that of the flesh) because they wil not forbear the occasions? we may put fier to straw when we wil, but we can not quench it when we wil, it is in our power and choice to combat with our enemy; but the victory is not in our handes: and so we may easely enter into the conflict, and admit the allurements of sinne when we list, but can not so easely ouercome it, nor yet retire our selues when we list. And therefore in this kind of combat, the veriest coward gets the victory, that is to say, he which fleeth at first, or rather dareth not abide to see so much as the face of his enemy: in which respect the holy ghost aduiseeth vs; *Fugite a fornicatione; flee from fornication, and iuuenilia desideria fuge; flee & auoyd yōubly desire & againe; sicut a facie colubri, fuge peccata: As from the face of a serpent, so flee & runne away from sinne.* For whosoever delighteth to admit the occasions, whosoever (I say) doth not shut vp the dores, and windowes of his eyes & eares to the inticements of lust, but is cōtent to entertaine them into the

Lawes ordeined in vaine against vice, when the occasions thereof are permitted

1. Cor. 6.

2. Tim. 2.

Eccles. 21.

secret cabinet of his hart, though he were stronger then *samson*, holier then *David*, wiser then *salomon*, let him make account to be vanquished as they were.

13. Therefore *Aristotle* *Plato* his scholler, knowing how easely men are corrupted, by the hearing & sight of wanton and lasciuious objects, & especially children, (whose first impressions of good or bad are hardly remoued euer after) ordaineth in his written commonwelth, that they shal be kept from the hearing of wanton talke, and from the sight of lasciuious comedies, and such other representations as may moue them to carnal cogitations, which inflame concupiscence to al disordinate appetites, In respect wherof he commandeth that the magistrats shal not suffer in the commonwelth, any dishonest images, or wanton pictures, which may represent any vncleane or lasciuious act to the beholders; which when I consider, I can not but lament the litle care that is comonly had thereof in Christian commonwelthes; where not only most mens mouthes ouerflow with dishonest and beastly talke, but also al places are furnished with wanton and lasciuious pictures and images, as with special ornaments which also many keepe in their bed-chambers, and most secret closets and retraites, to the end they may satiate their libidinous eyes, and prouoke their spent, and languishing lust with the frequent and greedy aspect thereof. I am ashamed to say the rest, and haue saied this by the way, constrained by the iust griefe, which I conceaue of so great an abuse, which hauing bene disallowed, and forbidden by *Paynims*, is neuerthelesse permitted amongst Christians.

14. But to retourne from whence I digressed, I conclude that these *Platonical* lawes had bene more fit for a *sardanapalus* or a *Heliogabalus* if they had written of commonwelth, then for *Plato*, who professed him selfe to be a phisition of soules, a reformer of manners, a teacher of temperance, and the schoolmaister of al vertue; so blind is man (be he neuer so wise) with out the light of Gods grace.

15. But perhapes some may thinke that *Aristotle*, his scholler (who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vnderooke to censure and syndicate him and al other lawmakers before him) saw clearer in matter of lawes, and commonwelth

then

An excellent ordennance of *Aristotle*, forbidding wanton talke, and lasciuious pictures. *Aristot. lib. 7. polit. 17.*

Arist. lib. 2. polit. 6. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

then they; let vs then examine him a litle, and we shal find that he erred more absurdly then any of them.

16. This may appeare by two of his lawes: whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame childe, he should cast it out like a whelp and expose it to perrish. And the other was, that if a man had aboue a certaine number of children, (which number he would haue to be determined according to euerie mans ability) his wife should destroy the fruit in her wombe, when she found that she had conceived. Wherein he shewed him selfe more vnnatural and inhumane then the very bruit beastes; For as Cicero saith very wel; *These two things can not agree together, to wit, that nature would haue procreation, and that it would not haue the creature when it is borne to be beloued, and conserued, the which appeareth (saith he) euidently in bruit beasts, whose labour and care in the conseruation of that which is borne of them is such, that we may acknow'edge the force and voice of nature therein. Wherefore, it is manifest, (saith he) that as we naturally shunne and abhorre al kind of greife; so also we are naturally moued to loue the issue of our bodyes.* Thus saith Cicero; who also other where saith; *Whyer as it is common to al liuing creatures to haue a care of these thinges, which they haue brought forth, nature hath giuen specially to man a loue to his children, and a care to provide them al thinges necessary:* Thus saith he and common experience teacheth it to be true.

17. What then can be more dissonant from reason and nature, then that a man who is borne and naturally inclined to clemency, humanity, and piety, should shewe him selfe, vnkind, & inhumane, not towards beasts, but towards men, not towards strangers, friends, or seruants, but towards his owne children, & that for no fault of theirs, but for some defect or deformity of body which they could not remedy; and ought rather to moue a man to compassion, and pittie, then to cruelty? Besides that such corporal defects do not for the most part hinder the operation of the mind, and vnderstandinge; and therefore it may very wel happen by the execution of this inhumane law of Aristotle, not only that a father shal be depriued of a sonne, but also that the comonwelth shal loose a necessary and notable member. For (as Seneca saith) *Ex casa vir magnus exire potest, & ex deformi humilique corpusculo formosus animus; & magnus. A notable man, may*

Two absurd lawes of Aristotle.

Arist. lib. 7. politic. cap. 16.

Ibidem.

lib. 3. de finib.

Cicero offic. lib. 1.

Ibid.

The absurdity & inhumanity of Aristotles law ordering the exposition of lame & deformed children.

Seneca ad Lucilium, ep.

Deformity of body doth not preiudice the beauty of the mynd.

come out

come out of a poore cottage, and a beautiful and high mind, out of a low and deformed body.

King Crasus ver-
y deformed of
body, yet a wise
and excellent
Prince.
Gueuerra in vita
Marci Aurelij.

18. Could corporal imperfections and deformities exclude *Æsop* from the number of philosophers? or take from *Crasus* the reputation of a most excellent and wise prince? who inuited *Anacharsis* the philosopher to come to his court wrote of him selfe, that although nature had made him deformed, crooked backt, one eyd, lame of a leg, a dwarfe, and as it were a monster amongst men; yet he thought him selfe so monstrous in nothing, as in that he had no philosopher in his court, and of his council.

Guliel. Malmas-
bury li. 2. ca. 10.

19. The like may be said of a notable, though very deformed, Bishop of *Cullen*, of whose great wisdom and vertue, *William of Malmbury* giueth testimony declaring the occasion of his aduancement to that greate Archbishopricke in this manner. An Emperour of Germany (saith he) being a hunting, & wandering by chance with very few or none with him in a morning (vpon the Sunday before lent, called *Quinquagesima*,) came to a poore parish church dissembling him selfe to be a soldier. and desired to heare masse; the parish preist being a man so deformed of body that he was *Pene portentum nature*, almost a monster of nature said masse before him, and as the Emperour wondered with him selfe, that almighty God, who is of infinit beauty & maiesty, would suffer so deformed a creature to serue him in such a high and deuine mystery, it chanced that the priest reading the verse of the Tract, which was that day; *Scitote, quoniam Dominus &c.* know you that our Lord is God, and that he made vs, and not we our selues, pronounced the same in such a different tune and voyce, from that which he had read before, that the Emperour tooke it as thing ordained by almighty God, to answer his cogitation, and began to haue such a reuerent opinion of the priest, that hauing enformed him selfe after masse, of his great vertue, he made him Archbishop of *Cullen*, much against his wil. In which charge he behaued him selfe with singuler commendation, as wel for the temporal as spiritual affaires, and left behind him a notable memory, both of great wisdom, & also of singuler sanctity, & holines of life. &c. Wherby appeareth the absurdity of *Aristotles* lawe. For if it had bene in force where this deformed Bishop was borne, the

A storie of a de-
formed priest
made Archb-
shoppe of Cullen.

Psal. 99.

church

church had wanted a notable pastor, and the commonwelth an excellent, and principal member.

20. Furthermore it is manifest by *Aristotle* him selfe, that this law of exposition of children is most vniust, and iniurious to the commonwelth: For whereas he proueth in his *Ethics*, that a man may not kil him selfe, he affirmeth amongst other things, that he which besides the course and forme of law doth hurt another, who nether defendeth him selfe nor hurteth him, doth iniury to the commonwelth. Therefore how much more iniurious is it, to destroy an innocent child, that can nether defend him selfe, nor hurt any other, and might in time doe notable seruice to the commonwelth.

21. The like also may be said of the other law of *Aristotle*, concerning abortion, or the destruction of the childe in the mothers wombe, being a thing punished seuerly by al good lawes, as iniurious not only to nature, but also to commonwelth, which is depriued therby of a designed cittyzen, as *Cicero* tearmeth it, speaking of a Woman of *Miletus* in *Asia*, who hauing procured abortion of her childe a litle before her time of trauel, was condemned to death. *Neque iniuria (saith he) quia designatum reip. viuem sustulisset; And very iustly for that she had made away one that was designed to be a cittyzen of the commonwelth.* In which respect the ciuil law doth greiuously punish al wilful abortion after conception, whether the child haue life or no, inflicting death if the childe were already quick, and other waies banishment with confiscation of the goods of the offendours, if they be noble or of counte, and condemnation to digge in the mines if they be poore, Besides that our Canonists doe teach it to be a mortal sinne. either to procure abortion after conception (though the childe be not quick) or voluntarily to hinder conception, or to cause sterility because it is (say they) *Contra bonum prolis generandae*; Against the good of generation, which nature ordaineth for the continuation of mankind, and maintenance of humane societie.

22. Therefore whereas *Aristotle* him selfe aduiseeth that the abortion be procured after conception, before the child haue life, (adding this reason, for that (saith he) to doe it after were *nefas*, a wicked act) his reason excuseth not his absurdity in this law,

li. 5. *Ethic. ca. 12.*
Aristotle argueth him selfe.

The absurdity of Aristotles lawrs concerning the destruction of chuldren in their mothers wombe
Arist. li. 7. Pol. c. 16.
Cicero orat. pro Cluentio.

ff. de penis. l. si aliquid. parag. qui alortionis.

Siluester verb. Abortus.
Armilla ibid.

Arist. ibid. vii sup

Aristotle confuted by his owne assertion.

and condemneth him of wickednes in the for act, concerning the exposition of children. For if it be a wicked act to kil a quick child before it be borne, much more wicked and cruel is the act to expose it to destructiō & death after it is borne, when it hath more sense and feeling of hurt, and naturally moueth more to compallion.

An obiection answered.

Exod. 2.
Plur. in Romulo.
Instin. lib. 1.

23. But perhaps some may say, that he which exposeth and layeth forth a child dorth not kil it, for that it may hap (as many times it hath) that the child may be taken vp by some other and nourished, as it chanced, to *Moyse*, *Romulus*, & *Remus*, *Cyrus* King of *Persia* and diuers others; wherto I answer, that although the prouidence of God, ouercome many times the malice of man, yea and turne it to good; yet mans offence is neuer a whit the lesse; nether can a chance that hapneth after an act, alter the nature of the act; I meane, it can neither rectify it, if it be il done, nor make it il, if it be wel done. And therefore I say, that seing reason and the law of nature commandeth, (as I haue shewed before) that euery one haue a special care of the life and conseruation of his children, he which not only forsaketh his owne child, that hath not any way offended him, but also exposeth it to peril of death, can not be excused of vnnatural dealing, inhumanytie, & impiety, though some stranger should chance afterwards to proue more humane and pyous towards it, then the father him selfe.

*Macrobius lib. 2.
Saturnal c. 4.*

Herods owne sonne slayne among the Infants.

24. Wel then to conclude this point, I say of *Aristotle*, as *Augustus Caesar* said of King *Herod*, (when he vnderstood that amongst the innocents which he caused to be killed after the birth of our Sauour, one of his owne sonns was slaine) *It is better (saith he) to be Herods pig then his sonne.* And this he said, for that pigs were not killed in *Iudea* because the *Iewes* did not eate any swines fleish. And euen so I say, it were better to be a beast in *Aristotles* commonwelth then a man, for beasts should be assuredly cared and provided for by their dammes, whereas the children of men should be in danger to bee forsaken both of father and mother, and so to perrish.

An other absurd error of Aristotle.

25. And here I can not forbear to say somewhat of an other constitution of his, which I know not whether it were more absurd or ridiculous. Thou maist remember (good reader) that

that I made mention a litle before of a notable law of his forbidding in his commonwelth, the vse of lasciuious pictures, & images, lest young men, and especially children might be corrupted in maners by the sight therof; neuerthelesse he excepteth in the same law the Images and pictures of certaine Gods; In Whome (saith he) the custome also vnder lasciuiousnes; meaning no doubt the painted and grauen stories of the adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and *Venus*, and other Gods and Godeffes, set forth euery where amongst the Painims, as wel in publike places, as in their priuate howses, and temples. Wherein may be obserued the ridiculous absurdity of this great philospher, not only in matter appertaining to religion, (which I remitt to be examined other where) but also in matter of cōmonwelth, yea & concerning his owne law before mencioned; for what would it auaille to take away al other wanton pictures, & representations that might corrupt the mindes of youth, when he expressly alloweth the vse of the lasciuious pictures of the Gods, which must needs corrupt them much more, and as it were instil in to them vicious affections & desires together with their religion, yea by the example of their Gods, by the imitation of whome they could not but hope to attaine aswel to perfection of vertue, as to eternal beatitude, & felicitie beleeuing as they did, that they were true Gods?

Lasciuious pictures and images of Gods absurdly allowed by Aristotle.

26. For how could any man be perswaded that adultery deserved punishment or was not a great, yea a diuine vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa* in shape of a bul, violating *Læda* in forme of a swanne, & entring in to the howse of *Danae* by the loouer like a goulden shewer; Would not any man that should be religiously deuoted to these Gods, be animated by the sight therof to doe the like; yea and children learning their religion, and not only hearing, but also seeing euery where by pictures and Images, that such acts were committed by their Gods, could they imagine that the same were euil, and not to be imitated? This is very wel declared by *Lucian* of his owne experience, who in his dialogues maketh *Menippus* say thus; *When I was yet but a boy* (saith hee) *and heard out of Homer and Hesiod of the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and seditions of the Gods; truly I thought that those thinges were very excellent, and beganne even then to be greatly affected towards them, for I could not imagine that*

Mens mynds corrupted amongst the gentils by the sight of the lasciuious pictures of their Gods.

Lucian. in Menippo.

the Gods

Terent. in Eunuc.

the Gods them selves would euer haue committed adultery if they had not esteemed the same lawfull and good. Thus saith he. And the like signifieth also Cherea in Terence who beholding a table wherein it was painted how *Iupiter* deceaued *Danae*, when he came in, at the top of the howse, saith, that he was greatly encouraged to deflower a young maide by the example of so great a God; *At quem Deum?* (saith he) *Qui templa cæli summa sonitu concutit. Ego homunculi hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci & lubens?* But what God was this? marry he which shakes the highest temples of the heauens with thunder, and therefore might not I that am but a poore wretch doe the like? yes tru'y I did it and that with al my harte.

Aristotles absurdum manifest.

27. Loe here the effect, that the sight of such lasciuious pictures of the gods must needes worke in the mindes of such as should behold them, and be with al religiously affected towards them. And therefore *Aristotle* permitting these, and forbidding al other, to pretient the corruption of youth, might be compared to one that should make a law to forbid the burning of howses, except it were with some artificial or wild fier, that could not be extinguished; For such may be said to be the fier of concupiscence kindled in the minds, of men or of children, by religious acts, or representations which make impressions that neuer after can be rased out againe, so long as the affection to the same religion remaineth. But hercof I shal haue occasion to say more in the second parte of this Treatise, when I shal treat of the dammage which false religion breedes in commonwelth; and therefore for this time I conclude, that *Aristotle* failed, and erred no lesse, or rather much more absurdly then the other lawmakers whose errors he censured and controuled.

The weaknes of mans wit and the imperfeciō of lawes inferred vpon the premises.

Cicero de rep. in fragmentis.

28. Hereby 2 things appeare euidently; the one, the weaknes of mans wit when it is not supported and directed by the grace of God; and the insufficiencie, and imperfeciō of humane lawes, through the weaknes of the lawmakers who intending many times to make good and wholesome lawes for the benefit of the commonwelth: doe ordaine thinges very inconuenient and preiudicial thereto; which *Cicero* obserued in some of the wisest men of his time; I can tel you (saith he) of *Marcus Cotta* whose lawe concerninge priuate indgments, was abrogated by his owne brother the same yeare that it was made, and the lawes *Licinia*, and *Mutia* made by

2. most

2. most wise Consuls, were in the iudgements of all men not only unprofitable, but also pernicious to the commonwelth, as also the lawes called *Liuiæ* were abrogated by the Senate in an instant. And in like manner, I hold the *Lex Scia*, and *Apulia* to be nothinge worth. Thus far Cicero. The like whereof might be exemplified in euery commonwelth, but this shal suffice at this time concerning lawmakers. And now let vs consider law in it selfe, what it is, to what end it is ordained, and what it can performe in commonwelth for the perfection and establishment therof.

THE IMPERFECTION OF HVMANE LAWES is further shewed by the defects incident to law: And first what law is, to what end it is ordained, and what it can performe in commonwelth. Also an exact comparison of the law of the flesh (which is contrary to commonwelth) with political law, wherby it appeareth that political law can not overcome the carnal law.

CHAP. 9.



LAW speaking generally of all law, as wel written as vnwritten, defineth it to be; A reasonable rule leading and directing men to their due end, for a publique good, ordaining penalties for them that transgresse, and rewarde for them that obey, And Cicero more breefly thus: Law is (saith hee) the highest or chief reason grastied in nature, commanding those things which are to be done, and forbidding the contrary. And againe. Law is the force of nature, the vnderstanding and reason of a wise man, the rule of right and wronge. And speaking more particularly of written law, he saith it is; The reason and vnderstanding of a wise man, who ordaineth in writing what he thinketh good, by way either of comendement, or of prohibition. Lastly the *Ciuitians* most breefly, & properly define it thus. *Lex est sanctio sancta, iulen. honesta, prohibens contraria.* Law is a holy decree, (that is to say a decree which ought not to be broken) commanding good and holy things, and forbidding the contrary.

Plato in *Mino.*
de rep. & de leg.

Cicero. li. 1.
de. legib.
Idem.
ibid.

The definition
of law.

Accurs. in instit.
ff. de legibus. &
Senatus consult. 3.

2. This

Plato de leg.

Cicero l. 3. de leg.
Larv is the soule,
and life of the
common welsh.

All larves defe-
ctive.

Larves written
or unwritten.
idem.
ibid.

The magistrate a
speaking larv,
and the larv a
dūme magistrate

The imperfectio
of written
larves.

Arist. ethic. li. 5.
c. 10. Iulian. li. 19.
ad edictum. ff. de
legib. & senatus
constit. 3. & Iu-
lian. li. 29. digest.

The imperfecti-
on of unwrit-
ten larves.

Better to be go-
uerned by good
larves, then by
the wil of the
best man, and
why.

Arist. polit. li. 3.
c. 12.
where good
larves governe
God doth gover-
ne.

2. This law Plato calleth, the soule that giueth forme and life to the cōmonwelth, & the ancor that staieth & assureth it: & Cicero saith that neither any house nor citty, nor nation, nor yet humane kind could stand with out it.

3. Neuertheles how excellent or necessary soeuer it is for commonwelth, yet it is to be vnderstood, that al lawes what soeuer (that are meely humane) are defectiue and insufficient for the perfect gouernment of a state. For whereas humane lawes consist ether in written statutes & decrees, or in the commandments and ordinances of a wise magistrate (which magistrate Cicero therfore calleth *A speaking law*, as he also calleth the law, *A dumme magistrate*) it is euident that nether of both apart, nor yet both concurring, can suffice.

4. As for the first, wheras written lawes are vniuersal, and concerne the actions of men, which are infinit and particular, it is not possible that any lawmaker should extend his lawes so far, that they may sufficiently prouide for al cases that may occurre, but that he must leaue place for the determination and iudgement of men according to equity, as not only *Aristotle* but also the *Ciilians* them selues doe teach, and the experience is daileie seene therof in the necessity of interpretation and mitigation of lawes, in dispensations and in appellations from law to conscience, whereby the imperfection of al written lawes sufficiently appeareth. And as for the ordinances of wise magistrats, it is manifest by that which I haue said before concerning the errors of wise gouernours and lawmakers, that the weaknes and blindness of mans wit, and the corruption of his nature is such, that he can nether see so cleerly in al cases, nor yet be so void of affection and passion, that he shalbe able alwaies to determine, decree, and iudge according to equity. In which respect *Aristotle* disputing whether it were better that a commonwelth should be gouerned by good lawes, or by the wil of the best man, preferreth the gouernment of lawes before the other, saying, that *The larv* is as it were a pure and cleare vnderstanding: whereas the vnderstanding of the best man is ioyned with sensual appetite, whereby it may be corrupted. And that therfore where the law gouerneth, there God gouerneth with the law, but where man gouerneth, be he neuer so wise and vertuous, there a cruel beast (to wit concupiscence and passion)

passion) entrench in to the gouernment with him, and many times obscureth his vnderstanding, and peruerterth his wil. For which cause the magistrates ought in al cases, wherein the meaning of the law is cleare, to iudge and determine, according to the pre- script therof (as the Ciuil law it selfe ordayneth) and Cicero saith, that *as the magistrate gouerneth the people, so should the law gouerne the magistrat.* Therupon I infer that seing no law-maker can so sufficiently provide for the gouernment of commonwelth by the letter of the law, but that he must haue infinit cases, yea and the interpretation of the lawes themselues to the determination and iudgment of men (who are also on their parte defectiue, to wit subiect to passion and error) it followeth that nether the law without the magistrate, nor the magistrate without the law, nor yet both cōcurring, can suffice for the perfect gouernmēt of cō- monwelth, but that the one can not sufficiently supply the defects of the other. And therefore I conclude, that there is no sufficient meanes and assured, to establish any state by humane lawes.

5. This wil be more euidēt if we consider what are the spe- cial ends wherto lawes are ordained, & what they can performe. Two things are principally intended by them: the one the ad- ministratiō of iustice by the decisiō of causes, controuersies, and sutes, betwixt party, and party; the other is, the reforma- tiō of manners, and repressiō of vice, for that it is pernicious to commonwelth. Of the first, I haue already spoken sufficiētly, hauing declared as wel the weaknes of the lawmaker, and magistrate, as the imperfection of the law in the determination of causes, and therfore I wil enlarge my selfe here a litle further concerning the later, which is suppressiō of vice and reforma- tiō of manners, and wil declare that humane lawes can not su- ficiently performe, either the one, or the other.

6. For if lawes were able to reforme mens manners, or to repress vice, they must doe it either by *precept* or by *prohibition*, or by *permission* or by *rewarding* or by *punishing*: for in these fūe thin- ges consist al the force of humane lawes, as the Lawiers them- selues do testifie. As for the two first, to wit, *precept* & *prohibition*, they are altogether vnable and insufficient to bring the cor- rupt nature of man to any perfection of vertue. For what other help haue we therby but only the knowledge of our duty; which

*As the magi-
strate should go-
uerne the people
so should law
gouerne the ma-
gistrate.
Iulian li. 5. digest.
ff. de legib. & Se-
natus. constit. 3.
Cicero de leg. li. 3.*

*No sufficient
meanes to make
a perfect com-
monwelth by
human lawes
or magistrates.*

*Two principal
ends wherunto
humayne lawes
do tend.*

*ff. de legib. & Se-
natus consult. tit.
3. Iulior. li. 5. E-
timolog.
The force of hu-
mane lawes
consisteth in
precepts probi-
bition, permissi-
on, reward and
punishment.*

Arist. lib. 2.
Ethic. cap. 4.

Seneca ep. 95.
Preceptes alone
little availe to the
obtaining of
vertue.

Rom. 7.

Seneca. ep. 95.

Rom 7.
Prohibition of it
felle rather hurt
th then other
ways

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A Treatise concerninge part. 1

knowledg alone as Aristotle saith, helpeth little or nothing to vertue; yvberof the praise and commendation consisteth in action, and operation. For it nothing availeth though we know neuer so much, if we doe not put our knowledg in practise. And as it little profiteth a sick man to knowe what meate is good for him, when he hath such a loathing to it that he can not eate it; euen so the corrupt nature of man hath little help or remedy by the knowledge of his duty, when vertue is so loathsome vnto him, that he can not brooke it. For as Seneca saith; *Nihil proderit dare precepta, nisi prius amoneris obstantia preceptis*. It is to little purpose to giue precepts except thou first remoue the obstacles therof. Therefore the poet saith truely.

----- si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit inuitum, noua uis, aliudque cupi do,
Mens aliud suadet, uideo meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

That is to say, I would be better if I could, but a new and strange force drayeth me against my wil, and sensuality perswades me one thinge, and reason an other; I see and approve the better, but I followe the worse. Also the Apostle speaking in the person of our corrupt nature testifieth the same saying *Scio quia non habitat in me &c.* I know that there dyvellish no goodnes in me, that is to say, in my fle h. for I haue a good wil or desire, but I can not performe it, for I doe not the good which I desire to doe, but I doe the euil which I would not doe. Thus far the Apostle: wherupon it followeth that the precept & prohibitiō of the law (wherby we haue only the knowledge of good and euil) little availeth vs for the attaining of vertue, except the infirmity and corruption of nature be cured by some other meanes. For *Animus* (saith Seneca) *ut ad precepta possit ire, soluendus est*: that is to say The soule must be loosed from the bonds that tie & entangle it, or other wise it can not followe the good precepts that are giuen. But what, if the prohibition of euil doth hurt also, if it be not otherwaies helped?

7. This the Apostle proueth clearly to shew therby the infirmity of the Mosaycal law considered in it selfe without Gods grace; *Peccatum* (saith he) *non cognoui, &c.* I knew not sinne but by the law, for I knew not concupiscence, but because the law said, thou shalt not couet. And sinne by the occasion of the commandment hath wrought al concupiscence in me: thus far the Apostle. And how true this is,

common.

comon experience may teach vs; seing nothing is more proper and peculier to the malice of mans nature, then the desire to doe that which is forbidden, and commonly for no other reason, but because it is forbidden, which the poet signifieth elegantly, saying,

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipsa potestas

Semina nequitie languidiora facit. &c.

Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata:

Sic interdictis imminet aeger aquis.

Ouldius. 3. de
arte amandi.

He which hath leaue to sinne, sins lesse, for the liberty to sinne weakeneth the very roots and seedes of sinne: we alwayes strue to doe that which is forbidden v^s, like to the sick man, y^e ho thrusts most after forbidden water; And an other Poët saith to the same purpose *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.* Mankind runneth head longe to sinne when it is forbidden him; For euen as a torrent or land-flood running a violent and precipitous course, and meeting with any stop by the way becomes the more furious, and with redoubled force makes it selfe way, and beareth downe al before it: Euen so mans corrupt nature, being carried headlong with vnbridled desires, and finding it selfe repressed or hindered with any law or comandment, breaketh downe the bankes and bounds of duty with redoubled fury, in such sorte, that it committeth double offence: to wit, it doth not only do the euil that it desireth, but also breaketh the law, as the Apostle insinuateth saying; *Ex ira operatur.* &c. The law worketh or causeth wrath, for vvhether there is no law, there is no breach of law. Wherevpon Saint Augustine saith, The letter of the law killeth, for it makes a man rather know euil, then escheyv it, and by that meanes rather encreaseth then diminisbeth sinne, for that mans concupiscence, or vnlawful desire is accompanied also with the breach of the law; Wherby it appeareth that law in comandng or forbidding, helpeth not sufficiently to the reformation of mans corrupt nature.

Mans corrupt
nature thrusteth
after thinges
forbidden.
Horatius. 1.
Carminum od. 3.

Rom. 4.

In decerpis es
August.

8. And can *Permission* or conniuece with euil (which is an other point of the law) worke any greater effect? who seeth not that the same doth nothing else but bewray the imbecillity and imperfection of law, seing it is forced to permit that which it gladly would and should remedy, but can not. And therefore I wil proceede to treat of *Revvard*, & *Punishment*, wherein as *Solon* was wont to say principally consisteth the gouernment of com-

Permission sho-
weth the imbe-
cillity of law.

Isidor. li. 5. Etimolog

cōmonwelth. And Isidorus saith, *legis pramio aut pœna Vita moderatur humana*. Mans life is wholly governed, by the reward or punishment of the lawe.

Of reward and punishment.

9. Now then for as much as these two haue al their operation about the effects of vertue or vice, that is to say about good or bad actions (which are only rewarded and punished by law) and not about the causes and rootes therof, to wit the good or bad habits or affections of the minde (from whence spring al good or euil actions) it is manifest, that though they may be motiues to good, yet they can not be effectual and sufficient meanes to worke it. For so long as the cause remaineth, so long wil the effects followe therof at one time or other

10. For as trees are yeerely cropped, and vines lopped, yet whiles the rootes remayne found, they bud a fresh, and bring forth new bowes, leaues and fruit; euen so, although euil and sinful acts be punished in wicked men, yet if the causes from whence they proceede (to wit the inordinate affections and passions) be not taken away, they produce the same effects sooner or later, openly or secretly. For what commonly followeth of the punishment of a vicious act, when the habit of the vice remaineth, but that the offendour sinneth more warily an other time? and how often doe men offend the lawes with out punishment, yea with out any feare or danger therof. *That man* (saith Cicero) *who feares nothing but a iudge and a witnes, vvhil he not doe in the dark, or vvhil he finds a weake and rich man alone, of vyhome he may haue the spoyle?*

Cicero de leg.

11. Futhermore how many wayes may the pennalty of the law be auoided? Some escape it by their power (in which respect *Anacharsis* compared lawes to the spiders webbe which takes only the litle flees, whiles the great-ones breake through it) and some againe avoid it by corruption either of the Iudge, witnes, or iurie; and some by fauor and freendship, and others by negligence of officers, which doe not excute the lawes, and some by the Princes pardon. But what shal we say of such as offend the law not only with out punishment, but also with reward? And to the end that this may the better appeare, and that with al we may see what force law may haue for the suppression of the malice of mans nature, let vs consider the force of a contrary

Plut. in Solon.

How many wayes the penalties of political lawes may be escaped.

trary law, which in euery commonwelth encountreth and impugneth political law, to wit, the law of the flesh, whereof the Apostle saith; *Videō aliam legem, &c. I see an other law in my body repugnant to the law of my mind.* And for as much as this lawe hath also her precepts, prohibitions, rewardes, and punishments, let vs put it in ballance with the ciuil and political lawe, weighing the one with the other, that we may see whether wil be like to ouerweygh in man voyd of Gods grace; and consequently in commonwelthes that relye only vpon humane policy and power.

Rom. c. 7.

An exact comparison of political law, with the law of the flesh to shew the advantage of the later.

Whereunto the political and carnal lawes do tend.

The statutes of the political and carnal law

12. It is therefore to be considered, that the carnal law flowing from the very bottome of mans corrupt nature, is so much stronger, and more forcible then the other, to moue and draw him; by how much it is more internal and familiar with him, and the end or scope therof more agreeable and consonant to his corrupt humour, wil, and affection. For political law tendeth only to *Bonum Verum* and *bonum commune*. A true good, and the common good, consisting in solid and perfect vertue, whereas the carnal law tendeth to *bonum apparens*, and *bonum priuatum*. An apparent and priuat good, consisting only in a mans owne profit, pleasure, and delectation, wherto euery one is of his owne corrupt nature inclined.

13. The like may be said also of the statutes and decrees of the one and the other, that is to say, their precepts, and prohibitions, consisting in commandments, negatiue, and affirmatiue, wherein the carnal law hath also the like aduantage, in respect of the greater facility of the precepts therof, and the difficulty of the thinges it forbiddeth. For whereas the ciuil and politycal law commandeth vs to loue our neighbours as our selues, and to prefer the publike good before our priuate, to be temperate, and continent, not to steale, not to deceaue, not to commit fornication, or adultery: the law of the flesh being opposite in al, commandeth the contrary, as to loue our selues better then our neighbour, to prefer our priuate good before the publike, to steale, and deceaue for our commodity, to commit fornication, and adultery for our pleasure, and to conclude al in one precept, it saith, *Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas; Eat, drink, and be merry, for after death ther is no pleasure.*

14. These statutes of the carnal lawe the Holy Ghost layeth downe

Sap. 2.

downe notably in the booke of wildome, speaking of wicked men in these wordes: *Dixerunt impij &c.* The Wicked sayd, let vs enjoy the goods that we haue, and vse the creature in this time of our youth without delay. let vs fill our selues with wine and oynments, and let vs not loose the flower of the time, &c. let vs leaue every where the signes of our mirth, for this is our part, and this is our lot; let vs oppresse the poore witt man, and let vs not spare the vviddow, nor haue respect to the hoary haires of any; and let our strength be the liuy of iniustice. Loe here the statutes of the flesh, which how much more consonant and agreeable they are to mans corrupt nature, and how much more ealy to be performed then the statutes and decrees of the political law, that command and forbid the contrary, I need not to declare.

Mans prompt-
ness to learne
evil.

Seneca ep. 75.

Ibid.

15. For who knoweth not that to learne vice a man hath no need of any great wit, or of a Councillour or of cōpulsion? who is so simple that hath not wit enough to be wicked? whereas to be vertuous we need not only wit, and capacity, maisters and teachers, but also lawes, stripes, prisons, gyues, and gibbets; and yet (as *Seneca* saith) *VVe may thinke vve profit wel if vve be none of the worst;* so that he which is either left to his owne corrupt nature, or hath no other then humane helpe, is drowned in vice and sinne, before he come within a kenning of the port of vertue. *VVe are* (saith *Seneca*) *taken vp by the way, vve labour to come to vertue, being already entangled and intercepted by vice;* And no maruaile, seeing men voyd of grace, (for of such I speake) haue neither sufficient armes to defend them selues, nor refuge where to saue them selues. For reason which is their only weapon not being strengthened by grace, is so weake and brickle, that it breaketh at the first blowe, and morall vertue (wherein consisteth al their hope & refuge) is so hard to be attained, that a man receaueth many deadly woundes of his enemy, before he can arriue where it is. Besides that, his danger is the greater, for that this war is so domestical, and intestine, that he is not secure from him selfe; for that he is to fight not only with the world and the diuel. but also with his owne passions and affections, in so much that his greatest feare may be, lest he him selfe betray him selfe, and render him selfe prisoner to his enemies.

16. Furth rm ore we see that our procliuity to vice and our auersion from vertue is such, that as it sufficeth to flesh a dog only

vice easily
learned and
vertue very
hardly.

only once vpon a sheepe, to make him a sheepe-werryer as long as he liueth; euen so one only taste of vice is enough to make a man vicious euer after; whereas many acts are required to the attayning of the habit of any one vertue, and so late his freendship with sensuality the mother of vice, and so late his knowledge, and vse of reason which leadeth to vertue, that he hath gone halfe the way to vice, before he know where vertue dwelleth: by meanes wherof he commonly groweth to be vicious very early, to wit, in his childehood, and vertuous very late, if euer he proue vertuous at al; for the way to vertue is longe and ful of difficulties, but the way to al kind of vice is easy, & as *Salomon* saith, *Complanata lapidibus*; euen, and wel paued, short, and gone in a trice; *Haud procul illa habitant, brevis est uia qua sit eundum*. Vice dwelleth not far from us, the way is short, and al in descent. Wherevpon the poet saith, *facilis descensus auerni*, the descent to hel is very easy. Finally of these two wayes our Sauour saith, *Lata porta et spatiosa uia est, &c.* The way is broade and spacious that leadeth to perdition and many enter in therat; but the gate is strait, and the way is narrow which leadeth to life, and few men find it. Thus we see, how great aduantage the law of the flesh hath of the political law, in respect of the facility that men find to fulfil the precepts therof, which in some are nothing else but to be vicious.

Eccle. ca. 22.

Heliod.

Vergi. li. 6.
AEnecad.

Math. c. 7.

The aduantage
that the carnal
law hath of the
political law.

17. But what; doth it want any thing wher with political law is furnished, which it hath not also in high degree, to be able to hold this competence? hath not this carnal law, (trow you,) her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers, and teachers, to publish and proclaime it, to plead it, to teach it? how say you by al the sect of *Epicurus*? whose doctrine consisted principally in the precepts of this law, and in impugning as much as he durst the ciuil and political law? In which respect al *Epicurians* were bannished out of many good commonwelthes of *Greece* as *Plutark* testifieth, and that worthely. For *Epicurus* hauing made a demand in certaine questions which he wrote, whether a wise man would nor doe against the political lawe, if he might be sure to escape punishment? answered freely therto; *yes truly*. And writing to *Idome-neus* (one of his schollers) he admonished him seriously not to subiect him selfe to the lawes and opinions of men, whensoever he might hope to auoid the penaltie of the lawes. And *Metrodorus*

The carnal law
hath her Aduo-
cates, Orators,
Philosophers
and teachers.

The doctrine
of *Epicurus*
and his follo-
wers.

L

a disci-

*Metrodorus a
disciple of Epi-
curus.*

*Idem in his trea-
tise, that a man
can not liue me-
rily in the sect
of Epicurus.*

philip. 3.

*youth corrupted
by lasciuious
bookes and bal-
lads.*

*The comon-we-
alths where in
the carnall law
gouerneth.*

Rom. 8.

*Machiauel de
principe.*

*The carnall law
hath a religion,
doctors and pre-
achers.*

a disciple & familiar friend of his, writing to his brother, forbad him to goe to the warres, & to endanger him selfe for the publike good of Greece, aduising him to drinke good wine at home, and to treat him selfe wel that his body might receaue al pleasure, and contentment: concluding that the cheife and soueraigne good, consisteth in the bellie, and in the pleasures therof. This is the philosophy that belongeth to the law of the flesh, & experience sheweth what numbers of professors there are therof in euery commonwelth. *Quorum deus uenter est*, (as the Apostle saith) *whose bellies are their Gods*, whose indeauors tend to nothing, but to their priuate pleasure and commodity, who employ their witts, studies, and penne to nothing so much, as to publish and promulgate the carnall lawe, in amorous and lasciuious bookes, wanton poems, and scurrilous and bawdy ballads, which abound euery where to the corruption of youth, and consequently to the preiudice of the commonweale, and to the great shame, in my fancy, of the magistrats that see it and suffer it.

18. Moreouer to the end we may see that this carnall law wil yeild in nothing to the political, hath it not also commonwelthes wherein it gouerneth, and a prudence & pollicy appropriate vnto it; politike Princes and magistrats that practise it, yea and politike writers that teach and maintaine it? How say you by al Tyrannical states, where al is drawne to the pleasure or particular benefit of the Prince? Are not the same ruled according to the precepts of this lawe? Doe the magistrats and gouernours therof practise any other policy but *prudentiam carnis*, as the Apostle calleth it, *the prudence and wisdom of the flesh*. And Machiauel whose workes are so highly esteemed of many states-men at this day; doth he teach any other gouernment, then that which proceedeth from the principles of this law, to wit from selfe loue and particular interest?

19. And this were not much to be wondered at, if it had not also a Religion conforme to it selfe; with doctors and preachers to defend, preach, and teach it. For as political law hauing the help and assistance of true Religion, is more perfect, & worketh far greater effect in commonwelth, for the establishment and conseruation therof (as in the second parte of this *Treatise* shalbe made manifest) so also the carnall lawe beinge masked

with

with the vizard of some religion either true or false, is of far greater force to ouerthrowe and destroy Commonwelth; and therefore it seeketh alwaies to haue either the apparance and shew of true religion (in which respect Machiavel teacheth his tyrant to be an hipocrite) or else it serueth it selfe of some new fangled and false religion; which the Apostle signifieth when amongst *opera carnis*, the workes of the flesh, he numbrells sects of heritikes. And such is especially the religion of some sectaries at this day, whose doctrine tendeth wholly to the liberty of the flesh, and by consequēce, to the destruction of political law, as I would shew here but that I haue purposed to doe it hereafter in the second parte of this treatise, more amply then this place wil permit

Machiavel de
principe.

Gal. 5.

20. But perhappes you wil say that the other law in rewarding and punishing surmounteth this, and represseth it in such force that it can haue no force in any wel gouerned commonwelth? Let vs then examine this a litle, and we shal find that the political law hath no oddes of this in that point: for this hath also rewardes and punishmentes as wel as that. The rewardes which this proposeth are diuers, for it promisseth for some thinges, the pleasure and delectation which is sought in the action, with the which, the partie doth thinke him selfe so wel satisfied, that he is contented many times to bestowe much money, yea to venter his life to obtaine it. Some times againe it proposeth some gaine or commodity which may accompany or follow the fact. And lastly it findeth meanes other whiles to rob vertue of her reward, and to apply it to yr selfe, in so much that there is no remuneration promised by the political law, wherof the carnal law may not some times giue hope to such as follow it, as I wil make euident by the comparison of the one with the other, wherby it shal appeare that the carnal law hath euery where the aduantage.

The Rewardes
the Law of the
flesh propo-
seth.

21. Therefore I say that the rewardes proposed for vertue by the political law, are vncertaine in respect of the other; for neither is there any at all assigned for very many good acts, neither yet all those rewards that are promised are performed; whereas the reward of vice are commonly more certaine. For either they goe before the act (as it falleth out in bribes and many other cases of vnlawful gaine, where the reward is paid before hand) or

The Rewardes
of vice are cer-
taine for the
most part.

they accompaينه the fact (as in al cases of intemperance and incontinency, wherein only pleasure is sought, and in cosenages and deceites which bring present gaine) or else they followe vpon the fact, as when some vnlawful act is done vpon promise of future pay; so that for vice the reward is alwaies either assured, or at least hoped for and expected, which is no smal motiue to induce men therto; whereas for vertue there neither is any reward to be had many times, nor yet hope of any by political law, as we see by experience in very many men, who liue laudably in the commonwelth al their liues, and yet are so far from hauing any remuneration, or from expecting any, that they thinke them selues happy in that they can escape the penalties of the lawe.

*The ministers
of vice iournist
exalted to ho-
nour.*

*Sueton. in Tibe-
rio Claudio
Nerone.*

*Lamprid. Hero-
dian. Pero.
Maxia. de vitis
Imperat.*

Ouid. eleg. 7.

*Philip. de Comi-
nes Cron. du
Roy Louys. c. 7.*

22. But let vs proceede a litle further. Is there any reward for vertue so assured by political law, that vice can not, yea doth not, daily obtaine it? Hath it no honor many times for reward, as wel as vertue? who sooner riseth to the highest offices, and credit in some courts, then the minister of the Princes pleasures, or instruments of his wickednes? As *Seianus* vnder the Emperour *Tiberius*? Two slaues called *Narcissus* and *Pallas* vnder *Claudius*; *Tigellinus* vnder *Nero*? *Pexennius Cleader*, *Regilius*, *Julianus* & other slaues vnder *Commodus*? Al which gouerned both the Emperours and the empire: to whom I might adde diuers other, as wel in our owne coutry (if I thought it conuenient) as otherwhere. For whether we looke to former times, or to the present, we shal find euery where, as many aduanced by euil meanes as by good; for no man is so wicked, but if he haue money, he may hope for any preferment whatsoeuer.

*Cyria pauperibus clausa est, dat census honores,
Census amicitias, pauper vbique iacet.*

The court (saith the poet) is shut vp to poore men, and welth giueth honors, welth giueth frendship, & the poore man lieth euery where in the dust.

23. And if we also consider how Princes commonly bestowe their rewardes, we shal see that merit is least respected, which *Philip. de Comines* sheweth by a pleasant example of *lewis* the eleuenth kinge of France, and *Charles* duke of Burgundy, who after the battaile (which was fought betwixt them at *Montleheri* in France) being determined to reward and punish such as had deserued wel or ill

or il in their armies, & finding that diuers ran a way on both sides while the battaile was doubtful (some one on the one side a hundred miles eastward, and others on the other side as much westward) the King of France tooke from one of his subjects al his offices and dignities for running away, and gaue them to another that ran ten miles further then he; and the duke of Burgundy depriued also one of his of al his goods and authority, for the like cause, and with in a while after gaue him more then euer he had before, wherby (saith *Commines*) it appeareth that Princes bestowe their rewards & fauors, not like angels, but like men, as they are.

Rewards
without desert.

24. Seeing then vice hath not only perticuler rewardes either of gaine or commodity, or of pleasure at least (which contenteth some more then gold) but also hope of the rewardes due to vertue it selfe, either by the Princes error and infirmity, or by his fauor, or by purchase, or by accident & chance, (wherby many wicked men are also aduanced,) what aduantage could the political law haue of the other by proposing reward, though it were neuer so great? Do we not see Crownes & Soueraignities, wherin most men place the greatest felicity of this life) doe we not (I say) see the same procured by murders, mischiefes, and most wicked meanes? And doth *Machiauel* propose any lesse reward to his Prince for extreame wickednes, then assurance in soueraignty; so that the most wicked man that is hauing hope to get or conserue a Crowne, or other soueraigne state, by some murder or mischiefe, what greater, or so great reward could he expect for al the vertue in the world, by obeying political lawes?

Kingdomes and
Crownes often
obtained by
wickednes.

25. Haue not very many in ould time got diuine honors, though they were most wicked men, as *Iupiter*, *Venus*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Tiberius Caesar*, and diuers Emperours as bad as hee? And so it would stil fall out, if Christian religion had not expelled *Idolatry* out of the world. So that we see, political lawes, with out the help of Gods grace and religion (for so I consider them here) can not assigne so great a reward for vertue, but that the wickedst man in the world may hope also to haue it, though he followe and obey the law of the flesh.

Wicked men
honored for
goods.

26. But a man may say, that many wicked men which promise them selues great gaine or aduancement, by some wicked

L 3

act,

vertuous men
disgraced, and
punished.

Plutark. in their
lives.

Philip. Commi.
102. 91.

The vncertainty
of the reuward
of vertue. by
by political la-
wes.

The punishments
which the car-
nal law threat-
neth

act, get nothing in the end but rackes and ropes in recompence therof; which I graunt, but then let vs also consider on the other side, how many notable men either loose their liues in the action for the which they should be rewarded, or instead of the reward which they deserue get nothing but ignominy, banishment, hatred of their Princes or people, death and vtter ruine; as *Marcus Coriolanus, Furius Camillus, Scipio, Cicero, Themistocles, Aristides, Phocion, Dion the Sicilian*; and infinit others, of whome some were deprived of their dignities, others banished their cuntries, and others shamefully put to death by publike authority, after they had done great seruices to the Commonwelthes, & states wherein they liued.

27. And did not *Lewis the 11. King of France* discover a greater secret, concerning the humours of Princes, in rewarding seruices past; when he said, *il perd souuent d'auoir trop bien serui*. It ouerthroweth men many times to haue done too good seruice; signifying that Princes are more willing to haue others beholding to them, then to be them selues beholding to any. And that some as well Princes as others, are of that nature, that when they see their obligation so great to any man, that they thinke they cannot commodiously reward him to his satisfaction and merit, they hold him but for an eye-sore and seeke to be rid of him one way or other. Therefore how vncertaine and casual is the reward of vertue by political lawes, seeing the distribution therof is in the hands of such, as for some particuler respect, or interest of their owne, may not only forbear to reward, but also some times vndoe and destroy those that haue best deserved of them and the commonwelth? Thus much for Reward.

28. Now to speake of Punishment, wherein consisteth the greatest force of any political law for the repressiō of mans malice; let vs see what are the penalties or punishments wherewith the law of the flesh terrifieth men, to diuert them from vertue, and to draw them to vice: for although it can not of it selfe inflict any punishment vpon the true louers of vertue, who tread downe and triumphe ouer al the power of the flesh, and of the lawes therof: yet it setteth vp certaine scarcrowes to fright the simple soules that it deceaueth, proposing vnto them far greater difficulty, labour, & paine, then there is indeed in the practise & ex-

cercise

cercise of vertue; which difficulty they hold for no other then a continual affliction, & as it were a penalty or punishment inflicted vpon such as labour to be vertuous, by meanes whereof they contemne the penalties of political lawes, esteeming them not only more easy to be auoided, but also more tollerable to be borne then the other; I say more easy to be auoided, or that neither is there a penalty imposed for euery offence, neither are those that are ordained, alwaies exacted of offendours, (for as I haue noted before they are many times escaped either by power, or by fauor, or by corruption of officers, or by their negligence, or by the Princes pardon) whereas the paines that worldly men conceaue to accompanie vertue, seeme to them ineuitable, except vertue it selfe be auoided; wherto no man can arrive, but by the straite, narrowe, and painefull way, which I haue before described.

29. And againe the penalties of political lawes, seeme to them more tollerable then the other, for that al penal mulctes, consist either in payment of money, or in infamy, or in corporal, or capital punishment. If in money they feare it not much, for they are content to buy their contentment there with, & many we see doe voluntarily begger them selues to obtaine their pleasures. If the penalty consist in infamy, what care they for the same, who hold linne for no shame, but for an honour, & (as the Psalmist saith) *Gloriantur in malitia*, they glory in malice, & *letantur* (saith Salomon) *cum male fecerint, & exultant in rebus pessimis, quorum via peruersa, quorum gressus infames sunt; VVho reioyce when they haue done amisse and exult in the worst thinges, whose wayes are peruerse, whose steps are infamous*: If the punishment be corporal, or capital, they esteeme the practise of vertue far more painfull.

Penalties of the political law. seeme more tollerable to wicked men then the penalties of the carnal law.

Psal. 51.

Prou. 2.

30. For what affliction, prison, restraint of liberty, torment or death can seeme so greuous to a man giuen ouer to lust and pleasure, as to afflict him selfe by restraint of his owne wil, to conquer and subdue his owne vnbridled affections, to chastise his body, to the end to make it obedient to the spirit, to mortify and crucifie him selfe, to dye to his lust, and concupiscence, yea, and to be as it were his owne butcher and hangman, to execute al this vpon him selfe, not for once, or twice, or for a day or two, or for now & then, but daily, continually, with out intermission

Nothing more ykesome to euil men then vertue

(for

1. Cor. 2.

(for otherwise true vertue can neither be attained, nor conferred) can any thinge (I say) seeme more irksome, or any punishment more corporal, or capital, to sensual, and fleshly men, destitute of Gods grace: *Qui non percipiunt ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei: who haue no feeling nor apprehension of matters belonging to the spirit of God.*

The great auersion of wicked men from vertue.

Plutarck. li. de tranquill. animi.

Æmilius Probus in Dione.

Noneeas in Political lawe to reforme a vicious Prince.

31. Corporal torments they thinke with *Epicurus*, the greater they are, the sooner they dispatch a man out of paine, and the lesse they are, more tolerable they are. And death they hold for an end of misery: but these labours and paines which they imagine to be in continual exercise of vertue they take for a continual and neuer-dying torment, & for an euermore death, so that very many are so disgusted with the only conceite, and apprehension therof, that they wil not take so much as a tast of vertue to auoid any penalty of law whatsoeuer, as we see daily in many malefactors that are incorrigible. And againe diuers that haue already made some entrance into the course and way of vertue, are ther by so tiered, & wearied with in a while, that they vtterly despair euer to arrive to any perfection therein (such men I meane as haue no light nor help of Gods grace) in so much that one *Sextius* a gentleman Roman (of whome *Plutarcke* writeth) hauing giuen him selfe to the study of philosophy, and the practise of moral vertue, was with in a while so discouraged, that his friends had much a doe to keepe him from drowning him selfe. And *Æmilius Probus* testifieth that the sonne of the famous *Dion* of *Sicily* being restrained by his father from the licentious life which he had led for some time in his fathers banishment, desperatly cast him selfe from the top of the howse, and broke his owne neck.

32. But put the case that the subiects might be made vertuous by the feare of punishment, what remedy is there for the Prince, when he is of a bad and maligne nature? Truly none: for he feareth no penalty of the law, being him selfe above the law: and as for good counsel, if any man dare giue him any he contemneth it. What good did the good counsel and precepts of the diuine *Plato* & the famous *Dion*, to the two tyrants of *Sicily* the father & the sonne called *Dionisius*, who to requite them for their good instructions, sould *Plato* for a slaue, & banished *Dion* out of *Sicily*?

what

what benefit reaped the wicked and cruel *Nero*, by all the good discipline he receaued of the wise *Seneca*, vpon whom he exercised his cruelty no lesse then vpon al others? And what effect wrought the good education, example, and instructions, which the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* (called the Philosopher) gaue to his sonne *Commodus*, who succeeding him in the empyre, was far more detestable and hateful for his vice, then his father was renowned, and beloued for his vertue?

33. If then there be no sufficient meanes, by lawes, education, counsell, or exhortations to reforme the vicious and corrupt nature of a wicked Prince, who seeth not that by consequence, there is no assured meanes, to make the commonwelth vertuous? For though it be neuer so wel ordered, and disposed in the body, yet it may receaue such corruption from the head, that it may perish therby. For as *Pliny* saith: *Euen as in mens bodies, so also in commonwelth. the disease is most greivous and dangerous, which proceedeth from the head;* And we see commonly that the manners of the people, are conforme to the manners of their Princes.

Plini. li. 4. ep.

34. Now then to conclude, what sufficient meanes is there in political law, to suppress the law of the flesh, and to make the Prince and people truly vertuous? Is it precepts, or prohibitions: nothing lesse; for seeing they consist but in wordes, they are easily contemned: and as I haue shewed before, prohibition doth encrease the disease. (that is to say) the offence and sinne, rather then remedy it, and as for permission of euil, it doth but bewray the weaknes of political law, and shew the force of carnall law, which the other is fayne to permit, because it can not redresse it: What then? is it punishment or reward? neither of both; for as I haue signified, either the offences are so secret, that they are not subiect to punishment, or the law is deluded, and the penalties auoided many waies; or if not, yet in respect of the paines that wicked men imagine to be in the exercise of vertue they are litle feared. And as for reward; what reward ordeined by law can so satisfie a sensual man, as pleasure, which he holdeth for his soueraine & cheife good, & for the only felicitie of his life; in so much that I haue heard some men, most wickedly protest and sweare, that if it were not for the pleasures of the flesh, their liues would be loathsome and hateful vnto them.

No sufficient meanes in political law, to make the commonwelth vertuous.

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35. Ther-

The insufficiency of political law for the reformation of vice acknowledged by Licurgus.

Arist. polit. li. 2. ca. 7.

The same acknowledged of late by a wise Painim in China.

Lettera annua della Cina del an. 1901.

35. Therefore *Licurgus* dispaired with great reason to make either the king or the subiects in his commonwelth vertuous by the force of lawes. For which cause he ordained (as *Aristotle* saith) that the Kings of *Lacedemony* should not be perpetual, but gouerne for a time, least some euil King (if his gouernment were for tearme of life) might destroy the commonwelth.

36. Also this insufficiencie of political lawes, and of al other humane meanes to reforme the maners of wicked men, was, as it seemeth, wisely noted and considered of late by a wise and learned Painim in *China*, who being of him selfe of a good and vertuous disposition, and hauing proued by experience that nether the religion which he professed, nor the lawes of his country, nor mans owne industrie, nor yet any other natural or humane meanes sufficed to conquer and subdue the lawes of the flesh, dispaired, as it seemed, euer to attaine to any perfection of vertue, vntil he met with the fathers of the Societie, who at this present preach the Christian faith in *China*, of whom he demâded whether the law, which they taught, were able to reforme, the bad and malignant nature of a wicked man, and to make him truly vertuous? And vnderstanding by them the supernatural and diuine force of Gods grace communicated to man by the meanes of Christian religion, (which in that respect is called the law of grace) and that by the helpe therof any wicked man may vndoubtedly ariue to al perfection of vertue, he inclined presently to be a Christian, which afterwards vpon further, and more perticuler knowledge of our Christian Catholique doctrine, he most gladly and religiously performed. But of this point, to wit of the necessity of true Religion, and the force therof in the reformation of maners, I am to speake more amply in the second part of this Treatise, and in the meane time I haue here sufficiently shewed, that political lawes are altogether insufficient to repress vice, and consequently to establish a perfect pollicy and gouernment of commonwelth.

AN ANSWER TO AN OBJECTION MADE
in favor of political law, supposed to be sufficient for the suppression of vice, if it take sufficient order for the good instruction, and education of youth. But the impossibility thereof is shewed, and in conclusion the necessity of the law of grace, to supply the defects of political law, is inferred.

CHAP. 10.



BV T some perhaps wil object that lawes doe not so wholly relye vpon punishment and rewarde, Cicero de lib. .12 or vpon the other points which I haue handled before, but that they haue also other helps to reforme vice, and plant vertue in the common- Aug. ep. 48. welth, & that therefore *Zaleucus*, *Carondas*, and

Plato, did say (as *Cicero* testifieth) that it also belongeth to lawe, to vse perswasions and instructions and not to terrifie only with threatens; For as *S. Augustine* saith of heretikes; *Si terrentur &c.* If men should be only terrified and not taught, the gouernment might seeme to be wicked and tirannical. Furthermore lawes may ordaine (as they commonly doe) that children be brought vp from their very infancie in al kind of vertue, and furnished with precepts of philosophy, which being sowed like good seed in the mindes of youth, as in a fertile and wel manured soile, may in time wax ripe, and bring forth very good fruit to the publike benefit of the commonwelth.

2. For what can be more effectual for the planting of vertue in the minds of men, then good education, wherby the tender age of children may be framed like wax to receaue the impression of vertuous habits; For as the younge and tender twig is easily bowed any way, and being once set streight, so groweth al waies after, and at length when it is become a tree, wil rather breake then bowe; euen so a mans nature being framed to vertue in his infancie and strengthened therein by good custome, may growe in time to such perfection, that nothing shalbe able to

An objection that good education is sufficient for the Institution of a perfect commonwelth.

Prouerb. 12.

draw or diuert it from a vertuous course. For *Adolescens* (saith Salomon) *intra viam suam cum sensueris non recedet ab ea.* that is to say; The young man when he comes to be olde, wil not leaue the course which he held when he was younge. Herevpon it may be inferred; that if the lawes ordaine publike schooles, and vniuersities, and take sufficient order for the education & instruction of youth, in al kind of learning and moral vertue, they may with the helpes of punishment and rewarde, suffice for the institution of a good and perfect commonwelth.

The answere to the former objection, shewing diuers impediments that hinder the good education of youth.

3. To this I answere, that although good instruction and education may greatly healp to make the comowelth vertuous; yet in such commonwelths as are gouerned only by humane meanes, and pollicy, it cannot worke the desired effect, by reason of diuers impediments that wil vndoubtedly occurre. First we see in al commonwelths that many very vicyous parents, desire to haue their children like vnto them selues, and therefore are not only negligent in procuring their good education, but also help to corrupte them by their euil example, and also by industry and bad instructions, taking no lesse delight to see them abound in vyce, then vertuous men doe, to see their children replenished with vertue.

The euil example & bad instruction of vicious parents.

4. The couetous and auaritious, man, that hath enriched him selfe and increased his liuing by fraude, vsury, extortion, & other vnlawful meanes, encourageth his children to doe the like, not only by his owne example, but much more by the gaine that they are to reape therby; besides that such couetous parents, doe not stick to recommend vnto their children auarice for a vertue, and al maner of fraudulent and vnlawful gaine, for lawful purchase, & points of good husbandrye. In like sort the licentious man who accounteth his owne loose life for no synne but follace, cannot dislike, or reprehend that in his children, which he alloweth in himselfe; yea and I haue heard of a great Prince, who being much giuen to the synnes of the flesh, and seeing his sonne more vertuously inclined, so much disliked it in him, that he seriously exhorted him to beget bastards, to the end to fortify and strengthen his howse. And the like may be noted for the most parte in al sortes of bad and vicious men, whose euil example & pernicious precepts, are commonly of more force to draw their children

children to vice, then any instruction of maister or teacher, can be to moue them to vertue.

5. Secondly, very many, or rather the far greater part of the commonwelth cannot, though they would, giue their children that good education that were conuenient to make them truly vertuous, partly for want of meanes and ability to beare the charges therof, & partly because they are forced to bring them vp to some trade or occupation, wherby they may be afterwards able to liue: who therefore cannot be tyed to such rules or manner of life, as were necessary for the vertuous education of youth which with out continual restraint, and diligent ouersight of maisters and correctors, easily falleth to vyce.

The greater part of the common welth vncapable of such education, as is requisite to make them truly vertuous.

6. Thirdly it is to be considered, that of such as shal receaue the good iustructions, and education which the law may ordaine a great number wil be of that peruerse and maligne nature, that they wil reape no benefit therby. For as Seneca saith; *Non semper ad actiones rectas precepta perducunt, sed cum obsequens ingenium est;* Precepts and instructions doe not induce al men to vertuous actions, but only such as are of applyable & obedient natures: Wherof we daily see the experience in verie many youthes, whome neither labour, nor industry, nor good and vertuous example, nor seuerer correction, nor yet any other humane meanes, can so much as dispose to take any taste of vertue.

Seneca ep. 95.

The maligne and peruers nature of many not capable of good instruction

7. Fourthly although many youthe may proffit greatly in vertue for a tyme, whiles they remayne vnder the charge and correction of maisters, and are seperated from the occasions & examples of vice, yet afterwards when they shal be deliuered from the brydle of restraint, and the yoke of obedience, very many of them wil become vicious. This was wisely considered by Plato in his schollers; For beholding one day a great company of towardly, and notable young men that came to heare his lectures, he sighed deeply, and said to him selfe; *I feare me that many of these being the seede and children of men, vvil hereafter become examples of humane infirmity.*

Plutar. 9.

8. Thus sayd he: and if he had, cause to feare this in such as being already mature in yeares, and ripe in iudgment, gaue them selues to the study and practise of vertue of their owne free election; what may be feared of children, who for the most part

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*Very many after
vertuous
education doe
fall to vice.*

are held in a vertuous course by compulsion, or because they haue yet had no tast or tryal of worldly delights rather then of their owne choise, or for the loue of vertue? what else, (I say) may be feared, but that when they shal see them selues at liberty and come to tast the pleasures of the world, they wil fall to vicious life, yea and that many of them wil (as the old prouerb saith) of young Saintes, become olde diuels? wherof wee haue daylie experience in great numbers of young men, who hauing had notable education, and made great progresse in vertue and learninge, doe neuertheles become afterwards very vicious and wicked; so that if we consider how manie there wil be in anie prophane commonwelth that wil receaue no benefit of good instructions, either by the negligence, euil example, or bad persuasions of their wicked parents, or by reason of their pouerty, or because their estate requireth other employment in trades or occupations, or by their owne peruerse and incorrigible natures, or by humane frailty (wherby many fall daylie from vertue to vice) we shal fynd that the least parte of the common welth, by farr, wil be bettered by any good education that political lawes alone may ordaine.

*Impossible to
fynd teachers
of true vertue
in a profane
commonwelth.*

9. This wil be much more manifest if we adde hereto some other considerations concerning the maisters, and teachers of vertue, by whose insufficiency, neglygence, or euil example the youth is many tymes in al commonwelths il instructed and corrupted, besides that it may wel be sayd, that in a prophane commonwelth their cannot be found any such sufficient and able men for the education of youth, as were conuenient to make them. and the whole commonwelth truely vertuous; wherein I wish to be noted, that I make no smal difference betwene a vertuous and a learned man, for if the question were only to fynd learned scholmaisters and readers to make good schollers, I would easilie graunt that such prouision might be made, and order taken that there would be no want of good Grammarians, eloquent Rethoricians, subtile Logicians, profound Philosophers and men excellent in al humane learning, yea and that they might make so many notable schollers that a great parte of the commonwelth might become learned.

10. But the question being here, not of expert Pedagoges
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and scholemaisters but of good & vertuous men that may teach true vertue, as wel by their owne example and practise, as by their precepts; I may boldly say of such, that none at al can be found in commonwelths, voyd of Gods grace and true religion, from the which al true vertue floweth, as from the fountayne, and without the which no man can be truly vertuous, as I wil make most manifest in the 2. parte of this Teatise, wherto this question properly belongeth. And in the meane tyme for some satisfaction of the Reader, I wil breefly touch here in this place, one consideration belonging to this matter, to wit, the experience of al former tymes and ages, concerning such as haue bin the principal professors of vertue in prophane commonwelths; as what their habilities, and sufficiencie hath bene for the teaching of true vertue, wherby also it may be iudged what perfection any such as they, (I meane men voyd of Gods grace) can worke in any commonwelth.

Difference betwixt learned and vertuous men in a Commonwealth.

The bad lyues of the worst and best Philosophers amongst the Paginimes.

1. Cor. 5.
Aug. ep. 131.
What was the learning of the Philosophers.
Their controversies.
Their exhortations and precepts.
Themistius in Orat. ad Valerem. Eccles. hist. li. Aug. de ciuit. li. 19. c. 1.
Hieron. li. 2. comment. in ca. 13. Mathei.

The vertue of the ancient Philosophers whas it was,

II. For this purpose it is to be considered, what manner of men the grauest, wisest, and best Philosophers were, who in tymes past tooke vpon them to be the true louers of wisdom, teachers of vertue, and reformers of mens manners, whose wisdom neuertheless was, (as the Apostle tearmeth it) *Mere folly; For al their learninge and knowledge was, (as S. Augustine saith) nothing else but iangling sophistry, so vners built in the ayre, proude error, vayne & curious lyes*, their controversies were infinite, their dissentions endles, and irreconcilable, about no lesse matters then the soueraigne and cheefe good, yea and about God him selfe: holding, concerning the first, 288. seueral opinions, and 300. about the latter. Their eloquence, exhortations, and precepts, were not as (*S. Hierome saith*) that litle seede of mustard (wherof our Sauour speaketh in the gospel) which being sowed in the feeld of mans hart, groweth to be a greate tree; *But it was a kind of seed that had no viucitye, quicknes nor life in it, as a fles wormeaten seed, which yeelded either no fruit at al, or nothinge else but vveedes, or perhaps some pot hearbs that faded and perished straight.*

12. And what shal we say of their vertue which was so much admired? was it any thinge else but vanity? no truly. For although some of them seemed to excel, some in one vertue, and some in an other, (wherby a few in very many ages were counted

wicked men not
better one then
another, but
lesse euil.

Augustin. cont.
Iulian. pelag.

Rom. 1.

The testimony of
the Apostle con-
cerning the abo-
minable lyues
of the Philoso-
phers.

Plato proved to
be very vicious,
by his owne
writings.

Aristotle accu-
sed of great vy-
ces by diuers in
his owne tyme.
Euseb. contra
Philosophos.
c. 1.

ted vertuous) yet they were al so farr from true vertue and goodnes, that it may iustly be said of them; that euen as a purblind man, or one that hath but halfe an eye may be held (as the prouerbe saith) for a king amongst blind men, so in that infinite number of wicked men, who pestred and poisoned the world with their wickednes in time of Paganisme, those few which were not so wicked & vicious as the rest, were reputed for good and vertuous; not because they might truly be said to be better then their fellowes, but because they were lesse euil; *Fabritius the famous Romane* (saith *S. Augustine*) *shal be lesse punished, then the wicked Catalin, not because he was better then Catalin, but because he was not so bad as he.* And so may we say of them al, that although some of them seemed to haue some vertues that others had not, or were not in some things so vicious as the rest, yet they were al of them laden with vice, as the Apostle testifieth, who describeth them to be men; *Giuen ouer by almighty God to a reprobate sence, and to the desires of their owne hartes, to alignominious passions and vncleanes, replenished with al iniquity, malice, fornication, couetousnes and vickednes; ful of enuy, murders, contention, deceyte, malignitie, and detraction, contumelious, proud, hauty, inuentsors of mischiefe; &c.*

13. Thus saith the Apostle of the olde philosophers, *Wherof if it were lawfull to doubt (considering the authoritie of the witnesses) sufficient testimony and confirmation might be had out of prophane authors, yea out of their owne workes.* For who is he that readeth and considereth the absurd lawes of *Platoes* community of women, and the promiscuous generation (which I haue mencioned, and reproved before) wil not discouer in him a verie sinke of synne, from the which he belched out such beastly doctrine and lasciuious lawes, wherin neuertheles he followed the opinion and doctrine of his maisters, *Socrates* and *Pithagoras*, two of the most famous Philosophers that euer had bene before his tyme.

14. And what shal we say of *Aristotle* *Platoes* scholler, whome diuers that liued in the same age did testifie to be a most wicked man; *Cephisoforus* the discipule of *Socrates* charged him with delicacy, intemperance, & gluttonie. *Licon* the pithagorian said he was so couetous that he vsed to sel the oyle wherein he bathed himselfe. *Demochares* objected against him, that he betrayed his owne

owne cuntrie *stagera*, to the *Macedonians*. And finallie, *Aristoteles* the *Peripateticke*, who tooke vpon him to defend him against others, confesseth that two things commonly reported of him were probable, that is to say that he was vngrateful to his maister *Plato*, & that he secretly intised away the adoptiue daughter of his deare frend *Hermias* the Eunuch and married her, of which Eunuch, he had bene also before so feruently enamored, that *Eubulides* saith he, made a kind of maryage with him; & *Theocritus* of *Chio* wrote an epigrame of their beastly loue and conuerfation; yet this is he who hath written most exactly of al moral vertue in his booke *de Ethicis* or *de moribus*, that is to say of *manners*, and was the Prince or head of the Philosophers called the *Peripateticks*.

15. And is it not likely that al the rest of them were as vaine and vicious as hee? yes truly; the trueth wherof may be gathered out of *Plutark*, who being him selfe one of the grauest of al the latter sort, in sect a *Platonick*, and maister to the Emperour *Traian*, in his dialogue of the industry of beastes, giueth to vnderstand vnder the name of *Autobulus*, that not only *Socrates* and *Plato*, but also al other philosophers not withstanding their outward shewe and ostentation of some vertues, were generally as intemperate, incontinent, & wicked as any comon or ordinary slaue.

Plutark. li. de. industria animalium. Plutarkes opinion of the lines of the best philosophers.

16. But of al other prophane authors *Lucian* painteth them, as a man may say in their coulours. For in his diologues he bringeth in *Menippus* speaking of the Philosophers thus; *Because I was*, (saith he) *uncertaine what course of life to hold, I thought good to goe to the Philosophers, and to take their aduise, that they might direct me therein, not considering, that as the prouerbe saith, I cast my selfe out of the frying pan in to the fier, for I found amongst them al things more uncertaine then amongst any sort of men, in so much that the life of the Veriest Idiot, seemed vnto me more happye then theirs. For when I beheld their liues, I perceaued they were cleane contrary to their ovvne precepts and doctrine; those which taught that money and riches were to be contemned, did gape after nothing more then ganie, lending to vsury, teaching for hyre, and doing al for mony; those which in vvordes seemed most to contemne glory, referred al the vvhole course of their liues therto; And finally, those that openly spake most against voluptuousnes and pleasure, secretly sought & embraced nothinge else; Thus saith *Lucian*.*

Lucian. dial. in Scripto; negromantia vel Menippo.

Lucians discourse of the manners of the old philosophers.

N

17. Whereby

17. Wherby we may see what maisters and teachers, what guides, and physitions the ignorance, weaknes, and blindnes of man hath had or may hope to haue in commonwelths that rely vpon the wit and pollicy of man; yea and what vertue men that are void of Gods grace can plant in other men to make them truly vertuous, seeing that with a litle good seede of moral doctrine they sowe so much coele and darnel of il example, that the vertue which they teach is, as it were, suffocated and choaked euen in the very blade, in such sorte, that it can yeeld no good fruit;

*The dissension
amongst the old
philosophers
concerning most
important
matters.*

a. Tym. 3.

18. For who is he that should heare the professours and maisters of vertue disagreeing amongst them selues, and scolding euery day in their schooles one against an other, ayiming continually at a marke which they neuer hit, professing to teach that which they neuer knewe, and to giue that which they neuer had them selues, *Euer learning* (as the Apostle saith of heretickes) *and neuer coming to the knowledge of truth*, reprehending vice in al men, and neuer reforminge it in them selues, who (I say) should see this, and would not rather dispaire, euer to be able to attaine to vertue, then be encouraged by their perswasions to the study and practise thereof.

*No political
law can make
a comon wel-
th vertuous.*

19. Therefore I conclude that considering the impediments that occurre in prophane commonwelths, on the behalfe as wel of the instructors and teachers of vertue, as of those which are to be instructed, that is to say, seeing that not only the maisters are one their parte insufficient for the vertuous education of youth, but also the farre greater parte of the youth them selues, either incapable of good instructions, or not much the better for it, for the reasons before declared; It followeth that no law meerly political can by any good education of youth make a prophane commonwelth vertuous; wherto if we adde that, which before I haue also proued concerning the insufficiency of al political lawes for the suppression of the carnal law; and the reformation of maners; it followeth necessarilie that some supernaturl help is requisite for the perfect institution, and gouernment of a commonwelth, which helpe I wil other where proue to consist in the law of grace, that is to say, in true religion, wherby the defects of political law may be supplied, and the law of the flesh suppressed.

20. For

20. For the law of grace doth illuminate the vnderstanding, fortify and strengthen reason, represseth sensuality, facilitate the way to vertue, (which it maketh sweete, dilectable, & pleasant) representeth to the vnderstanding, the turpitude, lothesomnes, horror, and danger, of vyce, and finally it addeth to the temporal rewardes and penalties of political law, the euerlasting and eternal; so that political law being seconded, and supplied by the law of grace, that is to say true religion, may reforme the corrupt manners and nature of wicked men, and worke that effect in commonwelth for the which it is ordayned, as I wil evidently proue hereafter in the second part of this Treatise, where I shal treat of the necessity and dignity of religion in the commonwelth. In the meane tyme this shal suffice in this place to shewe the imperfection of that parte of pollicy which consisteth in humane lawes.

The force of the Law of grace for the reformation of vice.

THE INSUFFICIENCIE OF HVMANE POLICY is further proued by the vncertainty of the successe of mens wisest designments: & for the better explication thereof, it is declared, what are Fate, Fortune, & Chance, & that according to the opinion of the best philosophers, Fate doth not derogate from the freedome of mans will, and much lesse from the providence of God, and by the way some what is said of Astrology, and of the force of starres

CHAP. II.



HA VINGE shewed the imperfection of humane lawes, (wherin consisteth one parte of mā's policy, it resteth now that I treat of the other parte, consisting in counsels, plots and designments, either for war, or for peace, and that I shew also therein the weaknes of mans wit and power, and his insufficiency for gouernment of commonwelth, with out the supernatural help of Gods grace and assistance.

2. That this may appeare, 3. thinges are principally to be considered in plots and designments; the first, the inuention, the

Three thinges to
be considered in
plots: and de-
signments, the
invention, the
execution, and
the successe.

Ca. 4. & 8.

Ca. 3. 4. 5.

Of the execution
and successe of
designments.

Foolish design-
ments succeed
wel many times
by chance.
Arist. li. de bona
fortuna
Some borne For-
tunate.

An old proverbe,
fortune fauoreth
fooles.

To be borne for-
tunate is the gi-
fte of God

second the execution; the third the successe. To the first is requi-
red wisdom in the contriuer; to the second not only wisdom but
also dexterity, yea and power in the executour; and to the third
good happ, commonly called good fortune. Of the first, to wit
the inuention of plots, and wisdom in the contriuers, I haue
spoken sufficiently heretofore, hauing shewed the weaknes of
mans wit by euident examples of the manifest and absurd errors,
as wel of the wisest Philosophers in the ordinance of lawes, and
the institution of commonwelths, as also of most politike Prin-
ces, yea and of the grauest and wisest *senats* in their deliberations,
and therefore I wil now treat here especially of the execution,
not only of politicke plots, but also of powerful and potent
attempts, al which depend principally of the successe, and of the
good or il hap of the executours. For be the counsell, plot, and
enterprize neuer so prudently contriued, or neuer so wisely, dex-
terously, and powerfully executed, yet if good hap answer not
the expectation in the successe, al is in vaine; and which is more,
we see often times that many vnaduised and foolish designments
succeed very wel, more by hap (as men commonly say) then by
cunning; which *Aristotle* noteth in such as are borne fortunate;
who (saith he) following the secret impulse and motion of their
owne natures and dispositions, haue commonly good and fortune-
ate successe, yea some times contrary to al humane reason; in
so much that when they deliberate much, and rather follow
discourse of reason, then their owne inclination, they loose their
good fortune, and haue il successe; wherupon groweth the pro-
uerbe, *fortuna fauet fatuis*, God sends fooles fortune, which, common
experience teacheth to be true in very many simple men, who
are farre more fortunate through out the whole course of their
liues, then others that are farre wiser then they. The which
Aristotle ascribeth to the gifte of God, the author and mouer of
nature, and of al natural inclinations, who giueth better hap to
some men then to others, as he also distributeth diuersly his
other gifts, not to al men alike.

3. Neuertheles speakinge generally, the common sayinge is
true in most men, to wit, *vnusquisque sibi fingit fortunam*, every
man frames his owne fortune, that is to say, euery man is happy,
or vnhappy, according to the course he taketh, or the diligence
he vseth,

he vseth. For as the Spanish prouerb saith *diligentia es la madre de buena uentura*, diligence is the mother of good hap; which yet is so to be vnderstood, that although those commonly speed the best, which vse the best & wisest meanes; yet no man can either by any industry, or humane wisdom warrant the good successe of his designments, for that so variable and infinite are the accidents and suddaine chances which daily occurre in mens affaires, that no wit of man can fore see them, and much lesse preuent them; God hauing so ordained (for his owne greater glory) to check the pride and presumption of man, lest if he had as wel the euent and successe of his plots in his owne power, as the contriuing of them, he would not knowe him selfe, nor acknowledge any dependence vpon his wil; therfore some times it seemeth good to his diuine wisdom, to ouerthrowe and delude the highest policies; and deepest deuises of men, by such meanes as they least expected, and could neuer imagine, which I wil shewe by sundrie examples. But for asmuch as men commonly attribute al suddaine accidents, and vnexpected euents, either to fortune and chance, or to fate, to the derogation aswel of Gods prouidence, as of the freedome of mans wil; I craue thy patience (good reader) whilest for the better explication of this matter, I say somwhat here by the way of *fortune, chance, and fate*, as what they truely are, and how they haue bene, or are il vnderstood of many, and in what sense we may ascribe therro the effects we see either natural or moral: wherby also the prouidence of God, and the freedome of mans wil shalbe made manifest.

4. Such is the force of *suddaine chances*, and vnexpected euents, as wel for the bad successe of mans affaires, that the superstitious Gentils imaginne the same to proceed from *Fortune*, did worshipp it for a goddesse, perswading them selues that al the prosperitie, or aduersitie of man in this life, depended principally of it: and therfore the Romanes attributing vnto it al their felicity, & the greatnes of their Empire, called it the *Nurse, Piller, and Head* of the citty of *Rome*, and dedicated to it diuers images, and most gorgeous and sumptuous temples.

5. But it is to be vnderstood that amongst the gentills, the ignorant and common people did vnderstand by *Fortune* one thinge; and the wise & learned conceaued another. For although

Dilligence the mother of good fortune.

No man can warrant the good successe of his designments.

Of fortune, Chance, and Fate.

The superstitious worshipp of Fortune amongst the Gentills.

Plutarck. de fortuna Romanorum.

the vulgar sort imagined that fortune was a goddesse, as the poets fained, governing al the actions and affaires of men at her pleasure, giuing good, or bad successe not according to their merits or demerits, but as it were by chance (in which respect shee was alwaies painted blind) yet the learned and wise held Fortune to be nothing else, but as Aristotle termeth it. *Causam per accidens*; A cause by accident or chance; or as Boetius calleth it, *Effectum per accidens*, an effect by chance, which hapneth at vnwares; wherefore the satirical poet deriding the common peoples superstitious opinion of Fortune saith thus.

*Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia, sed te
Nos facimus fortuna Deam, ce'loque locamus.*

That is to say, thou fortune hast no power where wisdom is, yet we make thee a goddesse and place thee in heauen.

6. And whereas 3. things were commonly conceaued to haue greate power vpon the counsell, actions, and liues of men, to wit Fortune, Chance, and Fate, the best learned did distinguish them, and determine of them in this manner: To fortune they ascribed only those things, which happen to men rarely & vnexpected, whiles they worke or doe any thinge by discourtse of reason, and for a certaine end or purpose. As for example, when a man diggerth the ground only of purpose to laye a foundation of a buildinge, and findeth by chance a treasure which he did not looke for, they called it *fortune*.

7. To chance they ascribed such thinges, as happen to men in like manner, seeldome and vnexpected, whiles they are working or doing any thinge without discourtse of reason, and to no certaine end or purpose. As for example when any thinge good or bad chanceth to a man whilst he is sleepeinge, or to infants, or brute beasts that doe not worke by discourtse of reason.

8. To fate or destiny they did attribute those effects only which proceed necessarily from al superior, and inferior causes, connected together, and subordinated one to another, by the disposition, & with the influence of the first cause which is God. In which sense those effects were called *fatal*, which proceed of the motion, influence, and operation of the heauens, starres, planets, elements, and other inferiour bodies subordinate to them; as the counterchange of day and night, and of the seasons

Artist. li. 1.
Phisico.

Boeti. li. 3. de
conso. profa.

Iguen Satyr. 10.

What thinges
were ascribed
to fortune by the
Greeks.

Chance.

Fate.

sons of the year, and al such effects in the bodies of men, beasts, and other earthly creatures, as are caused by the ordinary course, motion, influence, and operation of al the said superiour bodies. Neuertheles the graue and learned Philosophers did subiect al these three, (to wit *Fortune, Chance, and Fate* to the prouidence of God disposing of al his creatures according to his wil and pleasure, which *Cicero* affirmeth plainly of the opinion as wel of *Aristotle*, and the *Peripatetickes*, as of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, of whome he saith thus; *They taught that the soule of the World is that perfect Wisdome which we call God, governinge al thinges as wel in earth pertainyng to men, as also in heaven which (perfect & deuine Wisdome) they called sometymes necessity or fate, because nothing can be other wise then it is determined or ordained by it, and sometymes they called it fortune by reason that it doth or worketh many thinges which we cannot foresee, for that we are ignorant of the causes thereof; thus far Cicero; This was also the opinion of the Stoicks as appeareth euidently in Seneca, who hauing taught that the names of allmighty God, may be as many and different, as are his giftes, or the effects of his workes, concludeth thus; what soeuer thou callest God be it nature, fate, or fortune, al are but diuers names of one God; accordinge to the diuers vse and exercise of his power.*

The Ancient Philosophers did subiect Fortune, Chance, & Fate, to the prouidence of God.

Cicero. Academ. quæst. li. 1.

Seneca. li. 4. de benefici. c. 7.

9. Thus saith *Seneca* the famous *Stoick* according to the opinion of the cheefe of his sect, which held as the *Peripatetickes*, and *Platonickes* did, that God being the first cause, doth gouerne the world by the meanes of al inferiour causes, mouing and disposing the same, to produce effects, accordinge to their natures and properties; wherein neuertheles it is to be obserued concerning fate, that these Philosophers did not imagine any such fatal necessity to redound of the combination, concurrence, and cooperation of al these causes, that could force the wil of man, or deprive it of liberty and free election in actions, either good or bad, which election they affirmed to be in the power of man, as appeareth not only in *Aristotle* (who proueth the same notably in his *Ethicks*) but also in *Plato* and al *Platonicks*, al of them vrging to that end; that otherwise al punishment of offences were vniust, al reward of vertue vnderferued, al exhortations counsell, and lawes altogether nedeles and superfluous, which to say were most absurd, and iniurious to al commonwelthes, and

Mans free will not subiect to fate according to the opinion of the philosophers.

Arist. ethic. li. 3. c. 4.

and to humane societie, yea and to nature it selfe, from the which the vse thereof floweth as from their fountayne, in which respect al the grauest and most learned Philosophers did vtterly reiect the opinion of the *Chaldean Astrologers* who did attribute a fatal necessity to the starres, wherby they taught men were compelled to doe wel or il with out any freedome of election on their partes; the absurdity whereof is most euident.

The influence of
starres can force
the wil of man.

10. For natural reason teacheth that how soeuer the influence of the starres and superiour bodies may moue, inclyne, and dispose the wil of man to affections or passions, by reason of the coniunction that the soule hath with the body; (which is the proper organ wherby it worketh) yet those superiour bodies cannot any way force the wil of man, because his soule farre excelleth al bodylie and corporal things, in dignity and perfection of nature, and therefore cannot be forced by them, nor by any thinge that is inferiour to it selfe. In which respect the best Philosophers affirme, that the soule of man is so farre from being subiect to any fatal necessity or compulsion, proceeding either of the starres, or of the order and connexion of bodylie causes, that when it doth not subiect it selfe to the body, but worketh according to the rule of reason, it is not only it selfe free from al violence or force of fate, but also many tymes freeth and exempteth the body from the same, as *Plotinus* and other *Platonickes* affirme.

Plato in Timæo
& li. 10. de rep.
Plotinus. Ennead
1. li. 3. ca. 8. &
de. fato. c. 8. &
10. Marsil. Ficini
Argumento in li.
Plotini de Fato.
c. 8.

The most learned
Astrologers
did exempt
mans wil from
al constraynt of
starres.

Plotom. in Qua-
dripart. & in li. de
indicijs.

Cicero Tuscul.
quæst. 1. 4.

11. This also the best Astrologers that (haue bene Philosophers withal) haue of them selues taught as *Plotomæus*; who sheweth how many wayes the inclinations of the starres may be auoyded, and giueth for a general rule this knowne sentence; *Sapiens dominabitur astris & adiuuabit opus stellarum*; A wise man may ouerrule the starres, and help them in their operation; As we see for example in bodies of weake constitution by nature, which by care and industry (as by phisick, dyet, good ayre) and such other meanes are longer preserved then bodies of better completion natural, which vse not the same meanes; also we see the like effects in the natural conditions of men, for that some of very bad inclination, according to their natiuities, are by education and doctrine made good; as we read of *Socrates* who by the iudgment of *Zopyrus* the *physognomer*, and also by his owne confession

session was inclined to al kind of vice, though by philosophy he became a mirrour of al moral vertue; And some of the other side, that are of a very good disposition natural, are by bad education, ill company, and counsel, corrupted and peruerred.

12. Futhermore *Bardasenes* the Sirian (who was him self a famous Astrologer) proueth that the starres are neither causes of al the actions of men, neither yet can force mans wil. And amongst diuers other notable arguments he alleadged one most euident; to wit, that al the people of euery commonwelth doe vse at some one time, to doe some one act either religious or ciuill, though they be euery one of them borne vnder a diuers constellation: as for exāple, the *Iewes* doe infallibly circumsise their sonns the 8. day after they be borne, & euery satterday keepe their Sabbath resting from al kind of worke, as the Christians also doe celebrate the sūday. And in like manner the Gentiles had their feastes which al of them kept vniformally vpon certaine daies, and their assemblies for election of offices, and for other affaires of the commonwelth, which vniforme and one act of so many men borne vnder different constellations, can not be caused by the starres, the operation and effect wherof cannot be one and the selfe same, when their aspects are so different as they must needs be in the natiuities of many particular men: And therefore (saith hee) that one act proceedeth of their owne wills moued therto by discourse of reason, or by force of religion, lawes, custome, and such like.

13. Moreouer al the *Arabian* and *Hebreu* Astrologers doe agree that the fatall effects of the starres, are frustrated sometymes, by the indisposition and contumacy of the matter, or by the mobillity therof; and somtymes by the opposition of a general and vniuersal fate to a particular mans fate; as when the fate of any particular man is encountered with the fate of a whole country or kingdome wherof he is a member; or when the seruants fate is crossed with the fate of his maister, or the fate of the soldiar by the fate of his captayne; and againe otherwhiles fatal effects are hindred (say the *Arabian* Astrologers) as wel by the liberty of mans wil, as by the prouidence of God which (as *Rabbyn Auenzram* teacheth in his booke of natiuities) doth ouerweygh al fate what soeuer. To which purpose also the an-

Bardasenes apud marfil. Picin. in Summali. plotini de Fato. c. 1.

Howv Bardasenes proued that the starres do not force the wil of man.

Howv many wayes the force of the starres may be frustrated in the opinion of the best Astrologers.

Ioan. picus Mirand contra Astrol.

Rabb i Auenz. in initio. li. de gaur

Trismegistus
apud lactantium
li. de origine,
erroris.

cient *Hermes Trismegistus* sayth. *Vnica custodia pietas; pium enim hominem, nec demon malus nec fatum tenet; nam Deus liberat pium ab omni malo; The only sure garde of man is piety, for neither any vvicked spirit nor fate can hold or bind the godly man, vvhome God deliuereth from all euil.* Thus saith hee.

The vncerteintie
of the iudgements of Astrologers by mens natiuities.

Prolog. li. Apoteles traducto.
a Ioan. Pico.
Miran.
Idem in li. 100.
verbor.

Chap. 1.

The Platonicks
teach that religious acts are effectuous meanes to diuert all fatal effects.

Iamblicus de
mysteriis AEgyptior.

14. And here I wish to be noted by the way what certainty may be had of the iudgments of Astrologers by mens natiuities, when al the fatallity which any of them can imagine to proceede of the starres, is so many wayes euacuated; besides that *Prologomans* the prince of Astrologers confesseth himselfe that no man is so skilful in the art of Astrology, but that he is deceaued many tymes, and that they only who are inspyred by almighty God, can truly foretel perticuler euent. And *Porphyrus* who of al the *Platonicks* did most fauour Astrologye, affirmeth that the spirits which gaue oracles in tymes past, were them selues deceaued, and lyed otherwhiles when they iudged of thinges to come by the starres, as I haue signified before vpon another occasion.

15. But to conclude concerninge al fatallity proceeding either of the starres, or of the connexion of causes; the *Platonicks* referringe al effects whatsoeuer, either fatal or accidental to the disposition of Gods prouidence, (as I haue declared before) doe teach that the most effectual meanes to diuert or frustrate any fatal effect, is, adoration consisting in the true worship of God, that is to say in deuoute prayer, and other acts of sincere and true Religion, wherby may be obtained the fauour and protection of him, vpon whose wil depend al causes and effects whatsoeuer. As *Iamblicus* the great platonick teacheth expresly, concluding that by the help & fauour of almighty God, *nos ipsos a fato eximere possumus*, we may exempt and free our selues from fate; as also that God being humbly and sincerely adored, *multa mala repellit, quae alioqui naturaliter euenirent*, doth repel and turne from vs many euils, which otherways wold naturally hap vnto vs. Thus much concerning the opinion of Philosophers touching Fate, Fortune, and Chance.

*A FVTHER CONSIDERATION OF FATE
and Fortune, according to the Christian Catholike faith, and
the doctrine of our holy Scriptures, & howv almighty God vvorketh
his vvill in the affaires of men by casual and accidental
meanes.*

CHAP. 12.



HAVE in the last chapter declared the opinion of the best Philosophers concerning *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Fate*, and proued that though they taught some thinges casual and accidental; yet they acknowledged with al, both the liberty of mans wil, and also the supereminent power of Gods providence; And now in this chapter I wil breefly shew how the same agreeth with our Christian Catholike faith, and debate some other thinges pertaining to this matter.

2. *S. Augustine*, though he reiect the name both of *Fortune*, and *Fate*, as neither wel vnderstood by the common sorte, nor wel vsed of poets, and some others that professed learning, yet in substance he agreeth with the opinion of the best and most learned Philosophers, saying of *Fortune* thus. *Fortune is vnderstood to be in those thinges which seeme to hap by chance, not because Fortune is any deuine power, but because such accidents, doe by the ordinance of God, proceede from causes that are secret and vnknowne to vs.* And againe in an other place; *We Christians (saith hee) doe not affirmethat those causes which are sayd to proceede of fortune, are no causes at al, but that they are secret and hidden from vs, and therefore we doe attribute them to the wil, either of almighty God or of some spirits.* Thus farre *S. Augustine*, giuing to vnderstand that the suddayne and vnexpected chances which are called effects of *Fortune*, doe particulerly proceed from the providence of God, vsing the ministry of spirits or other creatures, for the execution of his wil.

Aug. quæst. super Genesim. li. 1.

Aug. li. 5. de ciuitate Dei ca. 9.

3. And as concerning *Fate*; whereas some vnderstand the same to consist only in the constellation of the starres, (as I haue signified

*S. Augustins
doctrin concer-
ing fate.*

Aug. li. de ciuit.
Dei li. 9.

Idem.

nified before) and some thought it to proceede of the order and connexion of al, as wel inferiour as superiour causes; the first he viterly reiecteth and the later he admitteth in some sorte, to wit, so that neither the freedome of mans wil, nor the prouidence of God be denyed thereby, wherein neuertheles he alloweth not the name of fate, as a word not to be vsed amongst Christiāns; therefore he sayth. *Omnia fato ferit; &c.* vve Christians doe not say that al thinges are donne by fate, nay vve rather affirme that nothinge is done by fate; For vve shew that the very name of fate is vayne, and to no purpose, as it is commonly vsed and vnderstood to be in the constellation of the starres, vwherein every man is borne or conceived, and yet neuertheles vve doe not deny the order and connexion of causes vyberin the vyll of God is most potent, but vve doe not cal that order by the name of fate. Thus far *S. Augustine*, who also a litle after to thew that no order or connexion of causes (which the Philosophers called fate) can necessitate or force the wil of man, saith thus. *It doth not follovy that because God hath ordayned a certayne order of causes, therefore there is nothing in the arbitrement or povver of our vyills, vvhich vyills beinge the causes of our wvorkes and actions, are to be reckoned amongst the causes vvhich God hath ordayned.* Thus saith this learned Father; signifying, that seing God hath giuen freedome to our vyills, and ordayned that they shalbe causes of our actions, it is as natural to them to worke freely and with out compulsion of any other cause, as to fyre to heate, or water to wet, or to other causes to produce their natural effects.

*Hevv Christians
ought to vnder-
stand the vword
fate.*

Aug. li. 3. de ciuit
Dei cap. 1.

*S. Gregories do-
ctrin concer-
ning fate.*

Grego. Hom. 10.
in Euang. luc.

4. Lastly to shew to what cause al these thinges, that are called fatal are to be referred, and what we Christians ought to vnderstand by this word fate; he saith thus. *If any man doe attribute this effect to fate, calling the wil and power of God by the name of fate; Sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat, let him hold his opinion, and correct his speech,* Thus farre *S. Augustine*, To whom I wil adde one other witnes of our Christian doctrine concerning fate, to wit the famous *S. Gregory* the greate (from whome we Englishmen receaued the Christian faith) who hauinge signified that certayne hereticks called *Priscillianists* taught that euery man is borne vnder a certayne constellation of the starres, which they held to be his fate, or destiny, adderth these words: *Sed absit a cordibus fidelium &c.* But let it be farre from the harts of Christians to thinke or say that

that any thinge is fate or destiny; for he only who created man governeth his life; and man was not made for the starres, but the starres for man; And therefore if the starres were the fate or destiny of man, it should follow, that man should be subiect to those thinges, which are ordayned for his seruice; Thus saith s. Gregory, agreeinge both with s. Augustine, & also with the old and best philosophers in substance of opinion concerning fate, and reiecting the very name thereof with s. Augustine, because the common people aswel amongst christians, as amongst the Painyms vsed the same too prophanely. In which respect also s. Augustine reiecteth the name of Fortune, so farre disallowinge the vse therof, that in his later dayes, when he censured all his workes and writings, he retracted the same in a booke of his written when he was a young man, & newly become a Christian, wherof he sayth thus.

s. Augustin reiecteth the very name of fortune as not to be vsed of Christians.

Aug. li. Retract. ca. 4.

The profaness of the words Fate and Fortune ouercommon at these dayes.

The effects of fortune attributed to God by holy scriptures.

5. Non placet mihi; &c. It displeaseth me that in that worke I named Fortune so oft, though I meant not thereby any goddesse, but the accidental euent of thinges, vber vpon these words are commonly vsed in speech, perhaps, peradventure, perchance, &c. al which neuer helles are to be referred to the deuine prouidence; Thus saith he to teach vs that it is the duty of Christians, not only to avoyd the prophane opinions of the pagans, concerning fate and fortune but also their prophane manner of speech, or writing therof. What then would he say if he were now liuing and saw the writings of some Christians of no smal estimation, aswel historiographers as others, who not with standing the abundant matter, and occasion that the subiects which they handle doe offer vnto them, to obserue the course of Gods prouidence; doe seldome or neuer speake therof, but referre al kind of effects and accydents to fate or fortune, more prophanely then many of the Painyms were wont to doe, in whom a man shal fynd very pious and religious obseruations of Gods insynit wisdome, prouidence, and iustice; Truly if s. Augustine (I say) were liuing and should see such workes, he would not thinke them fit to be read of Christians.

6. But now to proceede, and to leaue a parte the consideration of fate or destiny, and to speake a litle more of Fortune. or chance, according to the sense and doctrine of the holy Scriptures the wisest and most learned Philosophers, (as before I haue declared) called allmighty God Fortune, acknowledging thereby

O 3

that

that from his prouidence proceedeth al the variety of prosperity and aduersity, and al the good and bad successe which the superstition of ignorant men did commonly ascribe to *Fortune*. And althrough our holy scriptures doe not apply the prophane name of *Fortune* to the infinyte maiesty of God, yet they attribute vnto him al the effects therof, and therefore they say; *Dominus mortificat, &c.* Our lord doth mortify and reuine, empowerish and inrich, humiliate and exalt, raise the needy from the dust, and the poore from the dirt, that he may sit vvith princes and possesse a seat of glory; for to our lord belong the thresholds or limits of the earth.

1. Reg. cap. 2.

All goods imparted to man by Gods prouidence.

Iud. ca. 14. 15. 16.
Iudith ca. 10.
3. Reg. ca. 3.

Iob. 1. 2. & 24.

Genes. ca. 37. 39.
41. & 42.

7. Hereof the Scriptures also doe aford vs infinite examples, by the which the course of Gods most particuler prouidence (in matters that are commonly ascribed to *Fortune* or *Chance*) is represented as is were in a glasse, to the eyes of the Christian reader. who may learne therby how almighty God the author and fountaine of al goodnes, doth impart to men not only the goods which are called, *Bona animi & corporis, The Goods of the body and of the mynd* (as knowledge, learning, wisdom, strength, beauty and such like,) but also *Bona fortune, the goods of fortune*, (as riches, dignity, honour. &c. God gaue to *Sampson* exceeding strength, to *Iudith* extraordinary beauty, and to *Salomon* not only admirable wisdom and knowledge, but also infinit riches. And as for the variety of prosperous and aduerse *Fortune*, the holy scriptures also teach vs, that the same depend wholly vpon the hand and prouidence of almighty God. This we see in *Iob*, most fortunate for a tyme in his owne person, in his wife, children, freends, and substance, and againe for a while most vnfortunate and miserable in al, and yet in the end more rich and prosperous then euer, who in the midst of his misery and losses, did comfort himselfe with the consideration of *Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit; Our lord gaue it and our lord hath taken it a way.* wherein it is also to be noted, that the diuel, desyring to afflict him, could not touch him or any thing of his, without the particuler licence of almighty God.

8. In like manner the wonderful wisdom and particuler prouidence of God appeareth no lesse in the strange and variable accidents that hapned to *Ioseph*, sold for a slaue by his owne bretheren, transported in to *Egipt* to a kinges pallace, and from thence

thence to a prison, there fettered and manacled for a tyme, and yet afterwards exalted to the princypal and chiefe chardge of a kingdome, whervpon followed the conseruation, not only of his father, but also of his brethren that solde him. What should I speake of *Moyse* exposed iu his infancy in a basket to the mercy of a riuier, found and taken vp by a kinges daughter, nourished as her sonne, then forced to flee, for the slaughter of a man, and yet in the end aduanced to be captayne general and gouernour of the people of God to deliuer them from captiuitie. Or what neede I speake of *saul* who as he was seeking his fathers asses. was anoynted king by the prophet, obeyed by the people, prosperous for a while, and yet in the end miserably slayne in a battaile against the *Philistines*. Or of *Dauid* transferred from as thephooke to a scepter, victorious against al forreyne enemyes, yet persecuted by his owne sonne, driuen out of his pallace, dispised, and reuiled by his subiects, and afterwards restored to his former tranquillity, peace, and dignity. Or of *Nabuchodonosor* deiected and cast downe from his Imperial throne to the company of brute beasts for a tyme, and yet afterwards raysed againe to his ancient state, dominion, and glory. Or of *Aman* most potent for a while by the fauor of *Ahsuerus*, and at last vpon a suddaine hanged vpon the gallous that hee had prepared for poore *Mardocheus*. In al which the holy Scriptures doe manifestly represent vnto vs the admirable prouidence of God, though such like effects are commonly attributed to fortune or chance.

Exod. cap. 2. 3.
4. 5. 6.

1. Reg. cap. 16.
2. Reg. cap. 2.
16. 17. 22. 23.

Dan. cap. 4.

Esth. cap. 3. & 7.

9. But what neede I (I say) alleadge these examples out of our holy Scriptures, seing that from the begining to the end, they are nothing else but as it were a perfect and liuely portrait of the diuine prouidence, expressing the abstruse and hidden counsels of almighty God, and the inscrutable course which he holdeth in the disposition of mens affayres, thereby to teach vs where vnto al the mutations and changes, the good and il successe, and the suddaine chances and euent which so diuersly distract the states of man, are to be referred; wherby we may also learne how sweetly his infynit wisedome disposeth al thinges, working his holy wil not only in his creatures, but also by them, making them his instruments and ministers; yet in such sort that the effects which are seene doe not seeme to proceed from

The infynite
wisdom of
God in disposing
of al thinges.

from him, but are commonly attributed to the next and immediate causes, when the same are apparant, which we may obserue not only in the common speech of men, but also in the holy scriptures themselves

1. Reg. cap. 11.

The effects of
Gods providence
attributed often
to the next and
immediate
causes.

Ibid. & paralip-
cap. 11.

Ibid.

How the effect
of gods provi-
dence is attri-
buted to Chance.

10. As for example, we reade that almighty God signified to *Salomon*, that for his Idolatry his kingdome should be deuided, in his sonnes tyme, and that the prophet *Achias Salomites* also during *Salomons* raigne tould *Hieroboam* (who was after king of Israel) that God would giue him ten of the twelue trybes, which *Salomon* gouerned, and that only two tribes should remanie to *Roboam Salomons* sonne: yet when this came to be executed the scripture declareth that *Hieroboam* & the ten tribes deuided themselves from *Roboam*, because he refused the counsel of old men (who aduised him to content the people) and followed the aduise of young men who had bene brought vp with him: and counselled him to giue them hard answeres; which indeed was the next and immediate cause of their rebellion; though the first and principal cause was the ordynance of God for *Salomons* synne, and therefore the Scripture saith in the same place, that; *Non acquieuit rex &c. the kinge did not giue contentment to the people, because God had cast him of, to the end it might be fulfilled, which the Prophet had foretould to Hieroboam;* And when *Roboam* had assembled a mighty army of a hundreth and fourescore thousand to fight against *Hieroboam* and the 10. trybes that followed him, God commanded the prophet *Sameias* to forbid him to fyght with *Hieroboam*, *Quia mea hoc gestum est voluntate*. Because saith almighty God) it was done by my wil. Loe here how the reuolt of the 10. trybes from *Roboam* seemed to proceed only of his error, though it proceeded principally from the wil of God, who serued himselfe of *Roboams* error, as of a meanes to punish in him as wel his owne sinnes, as the sinne of *Salomon* his father.

11. In like manner when some second and immediate cause is not aparant and euident, the effect is commonly attributed to Chance, which also may be obserued in the holy scriptures, wherof I wil alleadge some few examples to shew thereby how almighty God vseth casual meanes for the execution of his wil. We reade that two prophets at seuerall tymes tould king *Achab* from almighty God that he should dye a violent and bloudy death

death, for spilling the innocent blood of *Nabath* and sparing *Benedad* king of *Siria*; and afterwards when he went to fight against the *Sirians*, *Michaas* the prophet also told him that he should be killed in the battaile, in so much that he said; *si reuerfus fueris in pace non est locutus in me Dominus*. If thou retourne alive our lord hath not spoken in me. Neuertheles afterwards when the scripture declareth how he was killed, it saith thus; *Vir quidam tetendit arcum in incertum sagittam dirigens, & casu percussit Regem Israel &c.* A certaine man bent his bow, and shooting his arrow at randome strooke the king of *Israel* by chance; So that almighty God executed his holy will vpon *Achab* by chance; yea and signifyeth the same in his scriptures in such sorte, as nothing could seeme to be more casual, or accidental, though it was his special ordynance long before.

3. Reg. ch. 22.
Paral. ca. 18.

12. The like also may be noted in the booke of *Machabees*; for when *Judas Machabeus* fought against *Gorgias* it is signified there as a matter of chance, that some of the Soldairs of *Judas* were killed. *Contigit* (saith the text) *paucos ruere iudeorum*: It chanced that a few of the *Iews* were slayne; Neuertheles it appeareth afterwards that it was Gods particuler iustice and iudgement vpon them, for there were found vnder their cloakes some things that had bene offered to Idols, which they had secretly brought before from *Iamnia*, and therefore the Scripture saith afterwards; *Omni- bus ergo manifestum est ob hanc causam eos corruisse*; It was therefore manifest to all men, that they were slayne for this cause.

2. Machab. 12.

Ibid.

13. Whereto I may adde for more euident prooffe, & the better explication of this matter, that we fynd also many tymes in the holy scriptures, that almighty God vsed otherwhiles to execute his iustice, and sometymes to worke other effects of his providence, by the most casual and accidental meanes that may be, to wit, by lotts, as when the mariiners did cast lotts in a great tempest to fynd out the cause therof, and the lot fel vpon *Ionas* whome God ordained to punish for refusing to preach to the *Ninivites*. And *Acham* hauing stolen part of the spoyle of *Hierethoi* was by the special commandement of God discovered by a lot, and put to death for his offence.

The effects of
Gods providence
wrought, often
by most casual
meanes.

Ionx. c. 1.

Iosue. 7.

14. Also *Saul* being assigned by almighty, God to be King and anointed by *Samuel*, was chosen neuertheles by way of lotts. And

1. Reg. 10.

P

finally

finally the Apostles themselues did cast lottes to choose *Matthias* to supply the place of *Iudas* which election they tooke to be the special worke of God, & therfore they said. *Ostende Domine quem elegeris ex his duobus*; shew o lord which of these two thou hast chosen. Such then and so particuler is the prouidence of God, that euen those thinges which seeme to be most accidental, are directed, and guided by him for the executiō of his wil in the most important affayres of men, yea and of his owne spouse the Church

A. 1.

Nothing casual
or accidental
to the will of
God.

God disposeth
of the actions as
well of good as
bad men, accord-
ing to his se-
cret and iust iud-
gements, & not
according to
theyr intentions.

Paul. Emilius in
Iodowic. 9.

The euil successe
of two expedi-
tions of S leues
of France against
the Infidels.

15. Therfore we may not so referre the effects which we see & the successe of mens actions to inferiour causes or to chance, that we deny therin the wil & prouidence of God, to whome nothing is casual or accidental, he being the first cause from the which proceede al other causes and effects, and who serueth himselfe of them for the working of his wil, giuing such successe to the intentions and actions of men, be they good or badde, as for his owne glory, and the execution of his secret iudgments is most conuenient; And therfore as he permitteth the sinns and errours of euil men, to vse and turne them to his seruice; so doth he many tymes frustrate the good designments and indeauours of holy and good men, when the same are different from those ends, which he in his deuine prouidence and secret iudgments hath proiected.

16. This hath bene most euident in diuers vnfortunate expeditions of Christian Princes against the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, namely of *Leis*, the 9. kinge of *France*. A man so admirable for his vertue, and so glorious for his miracles both in his life, and after his death, that he was canonized, and is serued in the Church of God for a *Sainte*; who neuertheles making two voyages against the Infidels, the one into *Egipt* & the other into *Barbarie*, was in the first after many calamities bothe by sea and lande, ouerthrowne with his whole army, and forced to redeeme his life and liberty, with such conditions as it pleased Gods enemyes to impose vpon him: and in the later voyage he dyed of the plague, which so afflicted the whole campe of the Christian Princes his confederats, that they were forced to rayle their seige from *Tunes*, when they had brought it to extremity. And in both the voyages such was the misery of the Christians by shipwrack at sea, and by famine and pestilence on land, that it seemed God

fough

fought for his enemyes against, them, so terrible and inscrutable are his iudgments.

17. The like hath chanced also in other expeditions of Christian kinges and Emperours, for the recovery of the holy land; wherof one was made at the motion, and instant sollicitation of *S. Bernard*, who hauing perswaded *Lewis* the 7. king of France to vndertake the same, induced also *Conrade* the Emperour and many other princes therto, partely by preaching, and partly by many wonderful miracles which he did at a dyete held at *Spyre* in *Germany*; and yet the successe therof was so bad, that the holy man incurred much disgrace and obloquy, which he bore with greate patience, saying, that seeing the weaknes of men was such, that they would needes accuse either God or him for their ill successe, he was content to beare the blame that God might be excused. And yet neuertheles it pleased God to cleare him shortly after of that imputation, by a publike miracle, for a blind child being brought vnto him by his parents to be restored to his sight, he desired publikely of almighty God, that if his deuine maiestie did moue him to perswade the voyage to the holy land, yea and did cooperate with him therin, that then it would please him to restore sight vnto the child or otherwise not, where vpon the child recovered his sight presently, and al men admyred no lesse the sanctity of the holy man, then the secret iudgments of almighty God, who had made him his instrument to procure the execution of his iustice vpon his owne people.

18. We read in like manner of two great ouerthrowes given to the children of *Israel*, not withstanding that at both tymes almighty God himselfe encouraged them to giue battaile to their enemyes, yea and the first tyme appoynted them a captaine or leader, for the iust reuenge of an enormous iniury done vnto them by the tribe of *Benjamin*, which reuenge neuertheles it pleased not God to giue them, vntil he had first punished them by the hands of their enemyes for their owne offences, so that God disposeth not alwayes of the successe of mens actions according to their good or bad intentions, but according to his owne secret and iust iudgements, prospering sometymes the bad designments of euil men, and overthrowing the good en-

Paulus AEmilius
in *Iodouico*. 7.
Sigon. de regno
Italiæ. an. 1147.

The euil successe
of an other expedition made for
the recovery of
the holy land by
the sollicitation
of *S. Bernard*.

Guliel. Abbas
in *vita sancti*
Bernardi. l. 3.
c. 4.

Iudic. ca. 20.
The children of
Israel triuise
ouerthrowyn
althoug h God
appoynted them
a capteyn &
bad them giue
battaile.

deauors of his seruants, as for his owne greater glory, and the reward, exercise and punishment of them or of others, by their meanes it seemeth to his wisdom most conuenient; And yet alwayes soe, as neither the wicked by their good successe shal escape the punishment due to their bad intentions, or actions; nor the good shal loose the merit and reward of their good meanings & labours, though they succede neuer so ill in the sight of men.

19. Thus then I haue sufficiently declared, what are *Fate*, *Fortune*, and *Chance*, and that they no way impeach the freedome of mans wil, and much les the course of Gods providence, where vpon they princypally depend. I haue also shewed that almighty God serueth himselfe as wel of al casual and natural causes, as of the good or bad desygninges of his seruants, or enemyes, giuing such successe there vnto, as for his owne glory, and the execution of his holy wil, and iust iudgments, is most requisite. And therefore I wil now proceede to proue the insufficiencie of man for the gouernment of commonwelth, by euident examples of Councets, pollicies, and attempts, of the wisest and most potent Politikes, deluded by suddaine chances, and vnexpected euents, or rather by Gods providence, vsing the same, as a meanes to worke his wil, and to make men see their owne weaknes.

* *
* *

DIVER

DIVERS EXAMPLES OF SVNDRY ACCIDENTS vvhetherby great plots and designments of great Politikes haue bene dissipated, and ouerthrowne : and concerning polities that for a time haue bene profitable, and in the end haue proued pernicious.

CHAP. 13.



EE reade in *Plutarke* that the people of *Sicily* being oppressed with diuers tirants, craued assistance of the *Corinthians*, who sent them for their succour a capitaine of theirs called *Timoleo* a man famous not only for military discipline, but also for moral vertue & piety. This *Timoleo*

Plur. in Timoleon.

An attempt against Timoleon ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

had within a while so good successe, that the tyrants despairing euer to be able, either to ouercome him, or to defend them selues by force, one of them called *Ietes* suborned a couple of desperate companions to kil him, who perswading them selues that they might best performe it, as he should be sacrificing vnto his Gods, and wholly attentiuie to his deuotions, watched an opportunity for that purpose; and finding him one day in the temple ready to sacrifice, they drew neere him to execute their intent; but as they were ready to strike him, one of the stāders by, who suspected nothing of their intention, vpon a suddaine gaue one of the conspiratours such a mortal wound, that he fel dead in the place: the other seeing his fellow killed, & thinking that the conspiracy was discouered, fled to the Altar, tooke hold therof, craued pardon of the Gods and of *Timoleon*, & promised that if he would saue his life, he would discouer al the practise; in the meane time he that killed the other conspiratour being fled, was taken & brought backe, calling God & man to witnes that he had done nothing but a most iust and lawfull act, in killing him that had killed his father, which being knowne to some that were present, & testified by them to be true, filled al the assistāts with admiration of Gods prouidence, who by such a suddaine and vnexpected accident, had not only ouerthrowne the pernicious

plot, and designment of the wicked tirant, and preserued *Tymoleon*, but also had executed his iustice vpon a murderer.

The definition of
Fortune accord-
ing to the pla-
tonicks.
Plut. Ibid.

Proclus in Com-
ment. in Timaeu.

Plutarch ascri-
beth the preser-
uation of *Timo-
leon* to the pro-
vidence of God
by the meanes of
his good angel.
Philip. Comin.
ca. 38.

An other exam-
ple of a great de-
signment of
Charles duke of
Burgundie over-
throwen by a
chance.

2. Hereupon *Plutark* maketh a notable discourse of *Fortune* following the opinion of the *Platonicks*, concerning the same (which they define to be, *Demoniacum potestatem &c.* An angelical power connecting diuers and different causes to produce some effect) and therfore he noteth in this history how the good Angel of *Tymoleon*, did for his preseruatiō assemble, and, as it were, chayne together things that had of themselues no coherence, making one of them the beginning of another. For although the murder of his father that killed the conspiratour, had no connexion with this conspiracy against *Tymoleon*; yet, neither that murder had bene reuenged, if this conspiracy had no followed, nor yet this conspiracy had bene discouered and ouerthrowne, but by the occasion of that murder committed longe before. Thus discourseth *Plutark* vpon this accident, which although he referred to *Fortune* (speaking therof according to the opinion of *Platonicks*) yet he ascribed it princypally to the prouidence of God, who by the ministry of a good Angel protected and preserued his seruant *Tymoleon*, in respect of his great piety and deuotion; And this being wel vnderstood is no way repugnant to our Christian and Catholike doctrine.

3. But to come to examples nerer our tyme, *Charles Duke of Burgundy* being at warre with *Lewis the 11. kinge of France*, had for his confederats the dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittany*, wherof the first was the kinges owne brother, and hauing bene in former tymes twise deceaued by the said King with false treatyes, and now desirous to quite him with the like, offered him to abandon his two confederats vpon condition, that he would restore vnto him certayne townes which he had of his vpon the frontiers, aduertising his confederats in the meane tyme, that his meaning was not to forsake them, or to keepe any couenant with the Kinge, but only to recouer his owne, and then to delude him as he had bene deluded before by him. The Kinge suspecting no deceit, accorded to the conditions, and sent his Embassadors to Duke *Charles* to take his oath, for the performance of the covenants on his parte, the Duke sware, or rather forswore himselfe (promising vpon his oath that which he meant

not

not to performe) and then sent his Embassadours in like manner to the King to take his oath; In the meane t, me before the Embassadours arriued where the king was, it pleased God so to dispose that the Duke of *Guienne* the kinges brother, and confederat to *Charles* dyed, which the king vnderstanding, and seing him selfe already deliuered by his brothers death of the danger of ciuill warre which he most feared; refused to sweare, and to stand to his couenants, and soe al the crafty deuise, and suttle plot of *Charles* was ouerthrowne, by the suddaine accident of his confederats death, which he neuer dreamed of, and he him selfe forsworne for nothinge,

4. Hereto I wil adde *Cesar Borgia* Duke of *Valence*, whome *Macchianel* to highly admireth (as before cap. 3. I haue signified) that he proposeth him for a patterne or exaple to his prince; this *Cesar* being become exceeding rich and potent by the help and authority of *Alexander* the 6. his father, and fearing nothing so much as his fathers death, whereby it might chance that some enemy of his might be chosen to succeed him, studded and labored by al meanes possible to preuent that inconuenience, and to procure that the election of his fathers successor might fall in to the hands of him selfe and his freendes, which when he had provided sufficiently as he thought, it chanced by such meanes, as I wil declare after a while, that not only his father dyed, but also that he him selfe fel so extreamey sick at the same time, that he could execute nothinge of that which he had before resolved; wherby it came to passe (God so disposing of his iust iudgments) that an enemy of his fathers and his being chosen to succede, he was with in a while vtterly ouerthrowne. In which respect, he him selfe was wont afterwards to confesse, and lament the imbecillity of mans wit, for that when he thought he had fore-seene al the inconueniencies that might happen vnto him by his fathers death, and provided to preuent them, he neuer so much as imagined that he should be so sick at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his desgnments in execution.

5. And herein it is also to be noted for the further poofe of the matter in hand, that he him selfe was the cause as wel of his owne sicknes, as also of his fathers death, and consequently of his

The ouerthrow
of *Cesar Borgia*
(*macchianel* is
myrrour for a
prince) by a sud-
daine chance.

Guicciard. li. 6.

Guicciard. li. 6.

Cesar Borgia
chinking to poi-
son an other poi-
soned his owne
father and him
selfe.

his owne ouerthrowe, by a wonderfull chance that hapned contrary to his expectation; for hauing inuited his father and *Cardinal Cornetti* to a vineyard, with intent to poyson the *Cardinal*, to the end to inherit his goods, he recomended a certaine poisoned bottle of wine to a trusty seruant of his, with special chardge to keepe it safe, and to giue it to none without his expresse order, but so it fel out by his seruants neglygence, or rather by Gods iustice, that as the Psalmist saith. *Incidit in foveam quam fecit, he fel him selfe into the pit that he made for others.* For his father comming in to supper very hot, and thirsty, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wyne, the seruant that had charge of the bottle, not knowing it was poysoned, but imagininge only that it was some special wyne more pretious then the rest, and not hauing any other ready, (for that the prouision was not brough from the pallace) gaue him of that wyne, wherof not only he, but also his sonne *Cesar Borcia* dranke, and being both poysoned therewith, the father (who was old and weake) dyed presently, but the sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poyson, had tyme to take great and potent remedies, wherby after longe and dangerous sicknes he hardly escaped, and what became of him after, shalbe declared in the second part of this treatise whe I come to speake of Gods iustice vpon wicked men, which in him was very exemplar; And in the meane tyme we see how God did frustrat his wicked plots, and parritious projects, by accyidents which he neuer dreamed of, and much lesse could preuent. And this I with the rather to be noted in him, then in others for the great account that *Machiauel* and al other politiks make of his rare wildome and iudgement.

6. But now to come to an example in our owne country which many may yet remember. The lord *John Dudley* Earle of Warwicke and after duke of *Northumberland* in king *Edward* the 6. his time, meaning to aduance himselfe and his family; married the lord *Gilford Dudley* his fourth sonne, to the lady *Jane* daughter to the duke of *Sussex*, pretending to make her queene after king *Edward*, in preiudice of the lady *Mary*, daughter to king *Henry* the 8. and sister to the said king *Edward*; and by the reason of the kings lingering sicknes, had tyme to vse al the meanes which he thought conuenient for the accomplishment of his desire, and

Psal. 7.

Guicciad. ibid.

*Sander. de
Schisin Anglie.
Thou Stouue in
Edou. 6.*

*The plott of the
Dn e of Nor-
thumberlandy
against the lady
Mary.*

and therefore procured partly for freendshipp, and partly for feare, not only the consent of al the lords of the Councel, but also the hands and subscriptions of 400. others, noble men and gentlemen, of the most principal through out the realme, in so much that there seemed to want nothing for the assurance of his designments, but only to haue the *Lady Mary* in his hands, whome therfore he caused the councel to send for in the Kinges name, vpon pretence that she should come to comfort the Kinge; which she obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke

7. But as she was vpon the way, yea and with in halfe a daies iorney of *London*, ready to fall in to the snare, it pleased God that she receaued aduise of the Dukes designments from one of his owne councel, where vpon she returned suddenly, and with in a while after that she arriued at her owne howse, she had newes of the King her brothers death. And although she was vtterly destitute of men, money, councel, and al other humane meanes to enable her, to resist so great an aduersary as the Duke, (who had al the treasure and strength of England in his hands) yet such was her trust in God for the iustice and right of her title, that she caused her howshold seruants presently to proclaime her *Queene* in the country townes there abouts; wherupon, first the common people of the countries adioyning, and afterwards diuers gentlemen, of account repaired vnto her, in so great number, that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the councel (who had already proclaymed the *Lady Iane* in *London* & in diuers other partes) thought it conuenient to leuye forces, and to make a Royal army, wherof the Duke himselte for the authority of his parson should be general. The Duke put him selfe then presently into the feeld, leauing the chardge of the city and tower of *London* to the Lords of the councel, who promised him al fidelity: neuertheles seeing him absent, & vnderstanding the great concourse of the people to the assistance of the *Lady Mary*, and considering with al the equity of her cause, they agreed amongst them selues to proclaime her in *London* which they did presently, and committing to prison the *Lady Iane*, they sent order to apprehend the Duke him selfe, who was so dismayed there with when he vnderstood it, that he vtterly lost courage, and suffered

The Duke of Northumberland his overthrow by Gods providence and iustice.

Q.

him

him selfe to be taken prisoner at Cambridge and brought to London where he was after executed.

*The Lady Mary
her preservation
from her enemies
through Gods
providence.*

Psal. 117.

*The Romaine
Empire over-
throwen by the
same meanes
that preserved it
for a time.*

8. Here now we see this great designment of the Duke, that was fortified with the consent of al the Councel, and nobility of the Realme suddenly ouerthrowne, by such accidents as passed his power to preuent, to wit; First by the discouery of his intention disclosed by one of his owne counsel, at such tyme, as if it had bene concealed but one halfe day longer, it had by al likelyhood taken effect. Secondly by the Kings death, ensuing so soone after, that the Duke had no time to vse his name and authority to sease vpon the *Lady Maries* person, which he would haue done, if the King had liued but a few dayes longer. Al which the good *Lady* considering, togeather with the other circumstances of the matter, to wit, the affection, concurrence, and assistance of the common people, the suddain change of the counsellis resolution, the dismaye, and speedy apprehension of her potent aduersary, and lastly her victory, in such an important, & doubtful quarel, without the spilling of one droppe of blood, and al this within twelue or thirtene dayes after her brothers death, she wisely & gratefully acknowledged the benefitt wholly from Gods hand. And therefore ordained for the inscriptions of the angells, stamped in her raigne, this verse of the psalme; *A domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris; This was done by our Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes.* By these examples and infinit others which might be alleaged, it is euident that there is no surety in the counsellis and plots of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided particularly by the spirit of Gods; for when they haue built (as a man may say) towres of policy as highe as the tower of *Babel*, a sudden blast of an accident vnexpected, shal cast them downe to the very ground, to the confusion many times, and ruine of the builders, and contriuers therof.

9. But what shal we say of counsellis & policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and contriued with great prudence, but also succeed for some tyme notably wel, and yet in the end proue to be pernicious, whereof we haue seene sufficyent experience in the Romaine empyre, which was overthrowne in course of time by that which for many yeeres seemed to be the strength and security therof. For whereas the first

ROMAN

Romane Emperours, hauing oppressed the commonwelth by armes, perswaded themselues that their state was to be established and conserved by the same meanes, wherby it was gotten, and, therefore resolu'd, that the safety therof, and of their persons consisted in strong guardes, garisons, legions, & armies of soldiers to be distributed throughout al the partes of their dominions, it is euident that the same was in the end, one of the principal causes of the vtter ouerthrow of the Empyre, though at the first it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

The factious election of Emperours by guardes and armies of soldiers.

Suetonius Plutarch.

Elius Spartian.

Trebel. Pollio in triginta tyrannis.

10. For after the death of *Nero* (when the family of the *Cæsars* was ended) not only the guardes deputed for the custody and safeguard of the Emperours persons, called *Pretoriani milites*, but also the legions, and armyes, disposed, and placed in diuers quarters of the Empyre, seeing as wel the persons of the Emperours, as also the strenght of the Empyre in their owne hands, did arrogat vnto them selues such authority and liberty to choose new Emperours, that they set them vp and pulled them downe at their pleasures: wherby in lesse then one yeare after *Neroes* death, 4. Emperours, *Galba, Otho, Vitellius & Vespasian* were chosen by the guardes which forced the Senâtes to admit and confirme them: and their insolency grew to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperour *Pertinax* whom they killed, they made offer of the Empire by publike proclamation, to whosoever would giue most for it. And whereas there were but only two that offered money for it, to wit, *Sulpicianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*, they gaue it to the later, partly because he gaue them ready money, and partly because *Sulpicianus* was father in law to *Pertinax* whome they had slaine, and whylest not only the Emperours guardes, but also the soldiars of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperours, it fel out some tymes, that there were as many Emperours chosen at once, as there were diuers armies in the Empyre; in somuch, that in the tyme of *Galien & Valerian*, there were no lesse then 30. Emperours declared in sundry places, in the space of 15. yeares: where vpon it followed that the Empyre being pyttyfully rent & torne with ciuil warres was lo weakened, that it became a spoyle and pray to the *Goaths, Vandals, Alans, Huns, Lombards* and such other barbarous nations.

11. Thus was the Romane Empire ouerthrowne by the same

The ruine of
many Emperours
by their owne
guardes.

Sueton. Julius Cap-
itol. AElhus Lam-
prid. Trebel-
pollio. Flauius
vopisc.

Lazaro Soranzo
in his Ottoman.
par. 1.

The Turke great
guardes of Giani-
Zaries dangerous
to his state.

Paul. Iouins.
comment. rerum
Turc. in Baia-
zete. 2.
Lazaro Soranzo,
in his Otto man-
no. par. 1.

Tyrants are sla-
ues to those by
whome they
lepe others in
slauery.

meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and mantayne it, but also did indeed for a tyme preserue it from many dangers, both domestical, and forreine; to wit, as wel from inuasion of forreine enemyes, as from rebellions of subiects, which by the Emperours guardes, and the ordinary legions dispersed through out al partes of the Empire, were either easely preuented, or speedily repressed. For which cause the Emperours them selues were content to stand (as it were at their mercie, to the end they might by them, rule and command others: which thought to some it was a safegaurde and security, yet to many others it brought ruine and perdition, as to *Caligula, Pertinax, Caracalla, Heliogabulus, Papienus, Balbinus, Phillipus Galien, Seuerus, Macrinus, Aurelianus, Iulius Maximinus, Probus*, with diuers others, some of them slaine by their owne guardes, and some by their soldiers.

12 This inconuenience the Emperours of the Turkes doe seeke to remedy in their tyrannycal dominion (which they also vphold by force as the Romans did, though with lesse danger) For although they haue aboue 300. thousand horse and foote euer in readynes vnder their Coronells & Captaines in Europe, Asia, & Africa, yet they keepe them alwayes a sunder & so dispersed, that they neuer come togeather in any number, vnles they be to be employed in some forrein warre: neuertheles their guardes of *GianiZaries* which they haue alwayes neere about them for the security of their persons, to the number of 13. or 14. thousand, haue proued many tymes no lesse dammageable then dangerous to their states, for they haue not only some tymes set vp the younger brother against the elder, & helped the sonne to depose the father, but also euen in this our age, haue taken the most confident officers, and greatest fauorits of the Turke from him by force, & cut of their heads, yea and compelled him to pardon them, yea and to giue them what soeuer they would demand to appease them.

13. Wherupon two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicity of tyrants, who whiles they seeke rather to be feared then to be beloued, are forced to make themselues subiects and slaues to those by whom they keepe other in subiection and slauery: wherby we see how true it is which *Seneca* saith. *Quod alieno metu magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare,*

is not void of feare it selfe. The other cōsideration is, how ticle is the state of Princes, how weake their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots, & cōsequently how needful it is for them to craue and haue the special protection of almighty God in al their designements and actions, seeing the meanes wherby they labour to preserue them selues from dangers, proue many tymes more dangerous in the end, then the dangers them selues which they seeke to auoide.

The dangerous and ticle state of princes without Gods special protection.

14. This may further appeare by the policy which *Rodericke* King of Spayne vsed to assure his state against the children and frends of King *Vinçz*, whom he had deposed, for fearing least his subiects might rebel in their fauour, he dismantled al the strong holds and places in Spayne, and disarmed the people, wherby though he strengthened his state, in regarde of domestical danger yet he weakened it in respect of forraigne attempts, in so much that the *Moores* inuading him shortly after, & ouerthrowing him in bataille, found so litle resistance afterward, that in 7. or 8. moneths they conquered almost al Spayne. The like also may be said of the *Britons* to whom their owne policy proued most pernicious: for being molested and oppressed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who for some tyme serued them to good purpose, but in the end they conquered them and their cuntry. In like manner the Queene of *Hungary* thought it good policy to procure the ayde of *Soliman* the great Turke against *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, brother to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. and for a while she was releued & supported therby, but in the end, *Soliman* commig into *Hungary* in parson, with pretence to succour her, depriued her & her sonne of their kingdome: as also *Amirates* one of *Solimans* ancesters, conquered the greatest part of *Greece* by the like meanes and occasion.

Roderic K. of Spaine ouerthrowyn throvgh his owne policy.
Lucas Tudenſis. an. 713.

Ioan. vafeus in Cron. an. 714. Baron. nno. 713. Beda. hift. Eccles. li. 1. c. 14 & 15.

The Britons conquered by the same meanes, wherby they meant to defend them selues.

15. But perhaps you wil say that this was so grosse a folly in Christian princes (to trust to the help of such potent and perfidious infidels) that it is not to be alleaged for an example of policy. I graunt, that it was folly, but such follies are committed by the wisest Princes and their counsellors, when God wil punish them: for he either taketh from them their witts, to the end they may erre and precipitate them selues, or he ouerthroweth

their

their wisest designments, by such meanes as they can not imagine, or els he bringeth them to such exigents, that they are forced wittingly to take some dangerous, and desperat resolution wherby they are ruyned. And this I say hapneth many times, to the mightiest and wisest Princes, when they forget their duty to God, and confide ouer much either on their owne wisdom and policy, or vpon their power and strength, as I wil make it yet more manifest in the two chapters next ensuinge.

OF THE FORCE OF SVDDEN CHANCES
and unexpected euents, for the dissipation as wel of mans power, as of his policy, and of the hazards and doubtful euents of battles, and other enterprises of warre. And that al the successe therof dependeth vpon the prouidence of God, giuinge victory some times by secret concurrence with secondary causes, and some times by manifest and miraculous meanes.

CHAP. 14.

The euents of
warre most
doubtful.

Supplement of
Plutar in Epaminondas.

Plutar in Phocion.

Hannibal feared the euents of
warre.

Thius dec: 3. li.
10.



ALTHOUGH the successe of mens affaires is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinite chances and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters wherein mans power is most seene, to wit, in matters of warre: wherof the euents are so doubtful and dangerous, that (as Iason said to Epaminondas) he is not wise that doth not feare them. And therefore it is noted of Phocion a most excellent capitaine of the Athenians, that although he was chosen 45. times general of their armies, yet he him selfe did euer perswade them to peace, fearing the successe of warre. And Hannibal hauing bene for 16. yeres victorious in Italy, and forced at length to defend his owne country, which was Carthage, (where Scipio the Roman had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the Carthaginians, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent therof, that etauing cōference with scipio, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course

course of his victories, not only what had hapned to other men, but also what might happen to him selfe, and that to make peace was in his owne hands; but if he once came to battaile, the victory should be only in the hands of God. And lastly that. *Nusquam minus quam in bello euenus respondent. The euenes of shinges doe no where lesse answere the expectation of men then in warre.*

Idem.
To make peace is in the hands of man, but victory is in the hands of God.
Ibid.

2. Thus said *Hanibal*, who may also wel serue for an example of his owne admonitions; For though he had bene many yeares together the terror and scourge of the *Romans*, and the most famous and renowned captaine then liuing, yea and was, as it were growne old with victories in forreine cuntries, euen before the very gates of *Rome*; yet he was at length vtterly ouerthrowne at home by a *Roman*, a young man inferiour to him in reputation, experience, and forces; and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherin by the iudgement of al men, he employed al the endeuer, military art, and skil he had, or which could be required in a most prudent and valiant captaine.

Idem.

The ouerthrow of *Hannibale* by a *Romaine*.
Ibid.

3. This change and decay of fortune in warre, may be exemplified in many others, as famous captaines as euer were, as in the worthy *Iudas Machabeus*, *Cyrus* King of *Persia*; *Pirrus* King of *Epyrus*, *Marcellus*, *Pompeius Magnus*, *Marcus Antonius* competitor of *Augustus Caesar*, the Emperour *Constantius*, and *Heraclius*, *Belisarius*, *Edward* the 3. King of *England*, our famous coutry man. *John Talbot* the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwick* in the time of *Edward* the 4. and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Nicolo Piccinino*. *Levis* the 12. King of *France*. And now lastly in our memory the Emperour *Charles*; the 5. al which (with many others who for breuities sake I omit) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renoune of most famous captaines, either were at last disgraciously killed, or else receiued some greate ouerthrowes, or had at least some notorious decay of their wonted prosperous successe.

The chance and decay of fortune in warre exemplified in many famous captaines.
Machab. li. i. c. 5.
Iust. in li. i. Platarc.

Polidor. Virg.
Phil. Comin.
Guicciard Piero Mexia Surtius.

4. The consideration hereof hath moued diuers most valiant captaines to auoid the aduenture of battailes as much as might be, and rather to seeke to ouercome their enemies by stratagems, practices, & delays as *Q. Fabius Maximus* who by such meanes distressed *Hanibal* much more then others could doe by mayne battailes: and therefore *Ennius* the poet said of him; *Cun-*

The doubtful euent of a battail is greatly to be feared.

stando

Ennius apud Ci-
ceri offic. l. 1.
Silua de varia le-
ction. c. 1. part. 2.

Etando restituit rem; He repaired the state of the *Romans* by delays.
And it is also written of the valliant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Milane*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy but whe he could not otherwise choose.

Philip commica.
47. 26. et. 125.

Phil. Comin ca.
29. et. 64.

A battail lost
bath an gl taile;
and vrbhy.
Cominibid.

Idem. ca. 64.
The practise of
Lewis the 11. K.
of France, to
ouercome an
enemy with out
battail.

Martin du Bellay.
The preventi-
ons which
Francis the first
K. of France vs-
ed against the
invasion of
Charles the Em-
perour.

5. And *Lewis* the 11. King of *France* (who was no lesse valerous in warre then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philip de Comines* testifieth, then the hazarde of warre, and specially of a battel, which by al meanes possible he sought to auoide: inso much, that when any enemy entred into *France*, he procured to make peace or tye with him, what soeuer it cost him: as appeared when *Edward* the 4. King of *England* was there, with a strong army, to whom he gaue a great some of ready money, & graunted to pay him a trybut of 50. thousand crownes a yeere, besides diuers pensions to his counsellors, and ether hard conditions, rather then he would hazard a battaile with him, knowing the casualty therof, and that as *Cominens* saith: *Une battaille perdu a mauuaise queüe. A battayle lost bath an ill taile, or consequence.* For it redoubleth the hope and courage of the victors, it astonisheth, and discourageth the vanquished, it shaketh the fidelity of subiects, it ministreth matter & opportunity of conspiracy to malcontents, of reuolt to townes, & of alienation to confederats, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not only king *Lewis* the 11. but also other wise Princes haue vsed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter into their countreyes, to dismantle al the townes in his way, that were not renable, and to fortify the rest, retiring thither al the cattle and prouision of the country, and destroying al the corne upon the grownd therby to consume him by famine, longe seiges, and al kinde of delays, rather then to seeke to ouerthrowe him by a mayne battaile. This was prudently practised by *Francis* the first King of *France*, at such time as the Emperour *Charles* determined to enter into *Prudence* with a great army, in so much that when King *Francis* vnderstood that the people of the country resisted the destructions of their corne, and other commodityes, he sent his army to destroy it, where by the Emperour finding al townes fortified, and no prouision abroad, was forced after he had beseiged *Marcella* some moneths, to retyre himselfe for lacke of victualles. And this I haue thought good to signify by the way, for that *Philip de Comines*

Comines and Marin du Bellay (both of them notable historiographers and counsellours, the first, to Lewis the 11. and the other to Francis the first) doe greatly approve this maner of proceeding in these Princes, and propose it for a rule of state to al such Kings and Princes, as being in possession of their kingedomes & states, are inuaded by forreyners, though for those that inuade & seeke to conquere, *Philip de Comines* thinketh it conuenient to seeke bataille, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to be succoured, and of the infinit dangers and inconueniencies that happen by delays to an army of strangers in a forreyne country. Besides that he which inuadereth, and seeketh to conquere, commonly aduentureth no more but his present army. and that in hope to get a crowne; whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost many tymes, with the losse of a bataille at home, if the victory be wel followed.

*Phil. de Comin
ca. 29.
The inuader
ought to seek bat
tall; and why.*

6. But to retourne to speake of chances and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew evidently the weaknes of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts, let vs consider by how many accidents the mightiest armies are many tymes dispersed and dissipated, and the greatest enterprises ouerthrowne: as somtymes by the death of some one man; somtymes by the dissention of Leaders and Captaynes, or by the mutiny of soldiers; somtymes by tempest or vnseasonable weather; somtymes againe by plagues or diseases in the Campe; otherwhiles by sudden feares that fall vpon the soldiers without cause; and somtymes (as *Guicciardine* noteth) by a commandement either not wel vnderstood, or il executed; by a litle temerity or disorder, by some vaine worde or speech of the meanest soldier; and lastly (saith he) by infinit chances which happen at vnwares, vnpossible to be foreseene and preuented by the wit or counsel of any Captaine,

The diners casualties of warlike attempts.

Guicciard. li. 2.

7. Hereto I also adde out of *Cominens*, that be the counsel neuer so wel taken and the plot neuer so wel layed, it is seldome or neuer executed in the feild, as it is ordained in the chamber: and that some tymes by the least motions or occasions that may be, the victory is wonne or lost; which (saith he) is a great misery, whereby kingdomes and states rise or fall; & hereupon the same author

*Phil. Comines
c. 5.
Plots are seldom
or neuer executed
in the feild
as they are ordey-
ned in the cham-
ber.
Idem Ibid.*

R

groun-

groundeth two conclusions no lesse piously then wisely, the one, that no humane wit is able of it selfe, sufficiently to gouerne an army of men; and the other that God reserueth to him selfe the successe of battailes, and disposeth of the victory at his pleasure.

8. This wil be made cleare by examples. by the which I wil shew first the force of sudden chances in battailes, and other enterprises of warr; and after, that al victory proceedeth from the prouidence and hand of God, and not from the policy and power of men. As concerning the first, we see many times that great designments are broken, and potent armyes dissolued by accidents, with out any force or stroke of enemy. When *Lewis* the Emperour, (called *Lewis* of *Bauer*) was in *Italy* with a great army and ready to beseige *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valloure and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whome the *Florentines* feared more then any man liuing, it chanced that the said *Castruccio* dyed, wherupon the Emperour broke his desygnment, and returned into *Germany* with his armie.

9. Also in the tyme of the great schisme betwixt *Vrbannus* the 6. Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the 7. and liued in *Anignon*. *Lewis* Duke of *Aniou* vnkle to *Charles* the 6. kinge of *France*, went into *Italy* with a huge army, wherin he had aboue 30. thousand horse, partly to deliuer *Iane* *Quene* of *Naples* (who was beseiged by *Charles* *Dura* 7. nephew to *Lewis* King of *Hungary*) and partly to depose Pope *Vrbannus* in fauor of *Clement*, and when he had already entred *Italy*, and began to make warr in the terrytorie of *Bolonia* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinions (by reaton of his great forces) to obtaine his desyre in al he pretended, he suddenly fel sick and dyed, wherupon al that great army dissolued it selfe, and euery man returned from whence he came.

10. The like hath chanced diuers tymes by some great plague and mortality in armyes, as in that of the Christians which beseiged *Tunes* in *Africk*, vnder the conduct of *Lewis* the 9. called now *S. Lewis*, (as I haue declared cap. 12. before vpon another occasion) which army was so molested with pestilence, that it was forced to rise from the seige at such tyme, as the towne was brought to extremity, & must needs haue rendred it selfe with in a few dayes. And to omit al other more ancient examples of this

The force of sudden chances in battailes, and warr.

Pero Maxia in Lodouic. Bauro.

Paul. AEmil. in Carolo. 6.

Lewis Duke of Aniou his death in Italy.
Paul. AEmilius in Lodouico. 9.

this kind, the Queene of Englands army sent to *Portugal* in the yeere 1589. in fauor of *Don Antonio*, receauing no losse to speake of by the enemy, was so consumed with a strange sicknes, that of 18. thousand which went therin, there returned not men enough to bring home the ships, wherof some were left behinde for lack of marryners.

Portugal voyage
an. Dom. 1589

11. In like manner a potent army of Christian Princes going to besiege *Hierusalem*, and hauing already taken *Ptolomais* was dissolued by the dissention of *Phillip* the second King of France. and *Richard* the first king of England. For wheras the first pretending cause of retourne departed vpon a sudden, the other fearing that he meant to inuade *England* in his absence, could not be perswaded to stay longe after him, wherupon followed the surcease of the enterprise, & the dissolution & retourne of the whole army.

Paul. AEmilius in
Phillipo. 2.

A great army of
Christians in the
holly land dis-
solved by the
dissention of the
kings of England
and France.

12. Furthermore such is the force of suddaine feares which fall vpon men somtymes by meere chance with out any iust cause, that the greatest armies are vtterly ouerthrowne therby. And no maruaile, seeing no man is so valiant, but that he may be seized and transported with a sudden feare. And therfore the *Lacedemonians* before they went to fight, werewont to sacrifice to the *Muse*, sto obtaine their assistance against the furious assaults of sudden passions; which taking Reason many tymes at vnawares, and as it were at an aduantage, doe so oppresse it, that they becreaue a man of al iudgment and discourse for a tyme, and no passion more then feare; wherof I saw my selfe a notable experience in a most valiant spanish Captaine in France, in the tyme of the league, who going out of his garison with certaine troupes vpon an occasion, and meeting by chance with the enemy where he least suspected, tooke such a fright that he ran home with might and mayne, and tould vs (for I was there the same tyme) that al the soldiers were cut in peices, & that he him selfe escaped very hardly, neuertheles within 5. or 6. howers after, they al retourned home safe, and not so much as one man hurt, though they came scattered one after another, for they al fled as well as he, and the rather by his example, which would haue vtterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions before he had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his nation, in which respect, it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

Of the force of
suddaine feare in
battails.

Plutarch in tra-
de Ira reprimen-
da.

No passion be-
creaues a man
of his senses more
then suddaine
feare.

Rome surprised
by Arnulphus
the Emperour
through a sud-
daine feare.
Sigonius de Reg-
no Italico an. 896.

13. But to shew the like effect of suddaine feares in whole armies vpon diuers accidents; When *Arnulphus* the Emperour beseiged *Rome*, it chanced that a hare being start by some of the camp ran towards the city, and that a great number of the soldiers pursued her with great noise & cryes, which the Romans seeing from the towne, and conceauing that the enemies ment to giue some furious assault therto, were surprised with such a feare, that they abandoned the walles and rampaies, and the enemy taking the opportunity skaled the walles and tooke the towne.

A battail lost
by the Christians
to the Turks
through a sud-
daine feare.
Nauclerus.
Gron. an. 1396.

14. Also when *Sigismund* king of *Hungary* who was after Emperour, gaue battaile vnto an army of the Turkes neere to *Nicopolis*, and was assisted with great numbers of Frenchmen, and of diuers other nations, the french horsemen being in the vangard and seeing themselves after a while hardly prest, alighted from their horses to fight on foote; their horses being loose, ran al back toward the camp, which he *Hungarians* and others that were in the reereward seeing, & imagining that the horsemen were al killed, tooke such a fright therewith that they ran a way, wherby the Turke got a notable victory with great slaughter of the Christians, especially of the *French* who were almost al slaine.

The Christians
ouerthrowyn by
the soldan
through a sud-
daine feare.
Paul. AEmilius
in Philipo. 2.
Nauclerus in
Chron.

15. Also at *Ptolomais* in *Egypt* which the Christians beseiged two yeeres together, the *Soldan* who came with a great army to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrow by the like chance, of a horse which being let loose ran back to the camp, for wheras diuers of the soldiers called one to an other to stay him, many ran out of their rankes to take him with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behind and somewhat farre of, to run a way; wherupon a great part of the Christian army began to fly, and this hapned at such tyme as the *Soldan* with his soldiers being put to the worse were running out of the feild, who neuerthelesse seeing the Christians fly, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the victory.

Phil. Comin. ca.
37.
Charles duke of
Burgundy over-
throwyn by the
Switzers at
Granson.

16. *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* beseiging *Granson*, and vnderstanding that the *Switzers* came to succour it, went to meete them to giue them battaile; The soldiers of the vangard, as they were marching, meaning to take a better way, retyred a litle back: the reereward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began them-

themselves to flee, wherupon the rest also did the like, and in conclusion the Duke & al ranne a way, abandoning their artillery & camp to the spoyle of the *Switzers*, who were exceedingly enriched therby and yet killed but only 7. men, for al the rest saued themselves by flight. Thus much concerning sudden feares, wherto I wil adde a few more examples of other accidents.

17. *Gildo* gouernour of *Africa* vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius* rebelled against the empire; And his owne brother *Mascezil* was employed against him for General, who had not in a certaine occasion a boue 5000. men, to fight with 70000. And the armyes being so neere togeather that they were ready to charge one another, *Mascezil* beganne to make motions of peace and receauing some hard & crosse language of one that bore an Ensigne, itroke him vpon the same arme that he held it, wherewith the Ensigne fel, & diuers others that followed seeing the same, and conceiuing that he which bore it had yielded it, came in great hast and yielded themselves, wherupon *Gildo* fled away with a great parte of the army and the rest rendred it selfe.

Examples of battayls lost by diuers other accidents

Olorius. li. 7. ca. 36.

Gildo gouernour of *Africa* ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

18. Also in the battaile of *Cirignola* in the kingdome of *Naples* betwixt the Spaniards & the Frenchmen, a word of the Count de *Nemours* who was General of the French being misconstrued by his soldiers, was a great cause of their ouerthrow; for the battaile being already begon, and the Count finding that he could not passe a certaine ditch (ouer the which he had thought to haue led some part of his army to charge the Spaniards on the other side) cryed vnto the soldiers that followed him, *back, back*, meaning to lead them another way, but they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had bid them fly, which they al began to doe, and others seeing the same followed the example: & it chanced also at the same tyme that the Count was slayne; wherupon the whole army of the French ranne away, and left the feild and victory to the Spaniards.

Guiccia. li. 5. The French ouerthrowne by the Spaniards, through a word mistaken.

19. Againe who soeuer hath read any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience of these of our tymes, cannot be ignorant what confusion may be bred in a battaile by a little disorder growing vpon some suddaine accident, wherby armyes many tymes are causes of their owne ouerthrowe: as it chanced to *Hanibal* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherin his owne Ele-

Battayls lost by a little disorder. Liui. deo. 3. li. 20

phants turning back vpon his horsemen, so brake and disordered them, that the Romans taking the aduantage therof easily put them to flight,

The battail of
Tury in France,
in the yeere 1590.

20. The like to this hath happened sometyes in this our age, & namely a few yeeres past in *France*, in the yeere of our lord 1590. in the battaile of *Tury*, betwixt the King of *France* that now is, and the Duke of *Mayne* then general for the league, in which battaile the horsemen of the league flying back vpon their owne footemen, brake them in such sort, that the enemy entring with al, easily defeated them.

The victory in
battailes dependeth
sometymes
vpon wynd and
weather, as wel
by land as by sea

21. Lastly to shew evidently the force of chance in warr; is there any thing more vncertaine or inconstant then winde and weather? and yet neuertheles therupon dependeth many tymes the successe of battailes and other warlike attempts, especially by sea, where the wind and weather doe predominate, and doe check al the power of men. For who is ignorât that be the Navy neuer so potent, it can neither goe out of the harbour, nor arriue where it should, to encounter the enemy, if wind and weather be not fauourable? Which also is as necessary and important for the obtaining of uictory in a conflict by sea, wherein the first aduantage that the expert sea man seeketh to get of his enemy, is to winne the wind of him: which wind changing also sometyes during the conflict, doth giue both the aduantage & victory to the enemy. As it fel out in the battaile of *Lepanto* betwene the Christians and the Turcks, wherein the wind being first fauourable to the Turcks, changed suddenly and droue al the smoke of the artillery and smal shot vpon them, wherby they were so blinded, that they were easely and speedily ouerthrowne: wherof I shal haue more occasion to speake more particularly cap. 15. number 28. hereafter.

The battail of
Le âro betwixt
the Christians
and the Turcs.

Surius in commentar. 1771.

22. And this chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon land; & therefore wise capitaines seeke not only to haue the sunne, but also the wind on their backs; for it often falleth out, that a storme of haile or raine in the face of an army, or a violent wind driving either the dust or the smoke of shot & artillery vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Canna* when *Hannibal* ouerthrew the *Romans*, and slew 4000. foote and 2700. horse, and tooke 3300. prisoners, he had the wind in his fa-

The great victory
of Hannibal
at Canna.

Liul. dec. 3. li. 2.

uor,

nor, which being in his back, & with al so violent, that it droue the dust into the eyes of the Romans, did greatly facillitate his victory.

23. The like or rather a far greater victory got *Scipio Asiaticus* against *Antiochus* King of Syria, whom he put to flight and slew 5000. footemen and 4000. horse with the losse only of 3.400. men, by the help of a foggy mist, and a thewer of rayne; for the mist was so thicke that the huge army of *Antiochus* could nor one part of it see another, whereas it wrought no such effect in the smalar my of the Romans; and againe the rayne so weakned the bowes and slinges of the soldiers of *Antiochus*, that they serued to litle purpose, whereas the Romans vsing only swords and dartes receiued no dammage therby. And to come nearer our tyme, we read that *Adulfus* the Emperour was slayn, and ys whole army ouerthrowne by *Albertus*, by reason that the sunne was in their faces.

24. Also amongst some other causes of the losse of the great battaile of *Ghiaradadda* betwixt the *Venetians* and the French; *Guicciardin* obserueth, that a shewer of rayne which fel as they were fighting, made the ground so slipery vpon a suddayne, that the footemen of the *Venetians* could not hold their footing, to defend themselves against the french horse, by which meanes they were easely broken and the greatest parte of them slayne.

25. This then we see how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprises of warre, and consequently how litle confidence is to be reposed in the wit. policy, power, or endeauor of men for the good successe therof, which depēdeth vpon infinite accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, tymes, places, and circumstances) that neither the wisdom of any General can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of soldiers preuent them, though al should concur in the highest degree: for be the soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterous, and diligent, and the captaine neuer so wise & valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe when a sudden danger shal so dismay both Captaine and soldiers, that neither the one shal know what to command, nor the other how to obey, when an erroneous conceit of some few, or the bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of wynd, or a

shewer.

The victory of
Scipio Asiaticus
slew a myn
Antiochus
Liu. dec. 4. li. 7.

Pero Melissia,
vixit Imper. in
Adulfo.
Guicci. li. 2.

The battail of
Ghiaradadda. lost
by the *Venetians*
throu a shewer
of rayne.

How litle con-
fidence is to be
had in the poli-
cy or power of
man for the good
successe of a bat-
tall.

shewer of rayne, & innumerable other accyidents, not possible to be fore seene or remedied, shal giue the victory to the weaker, yea to those that are in a manner vanquished.

The successe of
battails depen-
deth wholly on
the will and se-
cret iudgements
of God.

Machab. li. a. c. 3.

Examples of a
great number
ouerthrowne by
a few
Iustin. li. 2.

Mighty armies
of Darius and
Xerxes over-
throwne by a
few.

Idem libid.
The battail bet-
wixt Alexander
and Darius.

Fluarc in the
lite of Paulus
AEmilius.
Belisarius.
Claudius.
Procopi. l. 2. de
bellavandil.
Iohan Vassiz in
chron. an. 188.
Luc. Tudens.
Sanctusfider.
Arrians over-
throwne by
Bosca.

26. But now to demonstrate not only that al humane policy, power, & force is vaine, but also that God disposeth of the successe of battailes and warlike attempts, according to his holy wil and secret iudgments: it is to be considered that as the worthy *Iudas Machabæus* said, *Non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli sed de celo fortitudo est.* The victory in warre doth not consist in the multitude, or greatnes of the army, but al fortitude and strength is from heauen; And to the end that the same may appeare to be true; I wil first shew by diuers examples, that a handful of men, many tymes ouerthrow many thousands, and after I wil make it manifest, that the same doth proceed for the hand and prouidence of God.

27. *Milciades the Athenian*, hauing but eleuen thousand soldiers, ouerthrew *Darius* king of *Persia*, who had 600. thousand: as also not long after *Themistocles* with a smal number ouercame 700. thousand foote, and 300. thousand horse, brought into *Greece* by *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, who escaped by flight in a litle fischer bote, wheras not long before the earthe and sea was scarce able to hould him.

28. *Alexander the great* with lesse then 40000. ouercame *Darius* who had 600. thousand, of whome he killed two and twenty thousand, and lost but nine footemen, and a hundred and 20. horse: and in his second battaile he killed threscore and one thousand foote, and ten thousand horse, and tooke 40000. prisoners, with the losse of an hundreth and 30. foote and 150. horse.

29. *Paulus AEmilius* a Roman, in his second consulate, being farr inferior in number of soldiers to *Perseus* king of *Macedonia*, tooke him prisoner, and slew 25. thousand of his men with the losse of 80. Romans. *Belisarius* with 5000. ouercame 50000. Vandals. *Claudius* a captaine of *Recaredus* king of *spaine*, with 300. soldiers slew and put to flight threscore thousand that came into the confynes of *Spaine* to the succour of the *Arrians* conducted by *Bosca* or *Baso* a subiect of *Gunttran* king of *Orleance*. *Abderama* the Moore entring *France* with 45000. Saracens was defeated by *Charles Martelle* who with the losse of 1500. men, slew *Abderama* & the

the greatest parte of his nobility, and 3, hundredth 70. and five thousand Saracens.

30. The people of *Gaunt* rebelling against the Count of *Flanders* their Soueraigne, & being so blocked on all sides that they were like to perrish with famine, issued desperatly out of the towne with 5000. onl, and gaue battaile to the Count though he had 40000. men, whom they put to flight and pursued even into the towne of *Bruges*, whence he escaped very hardly in the night disguised, wherupon almost al the townes of *Flanders* yealded to them.

31. *Walter* of *Plesemburg* great Maister of the Knights of *Prussia*, with a smal number in respect of his enemy slew 100000. *Muscovits* and lost but only one man. And a few yeeres after, the *Lunaniens* hauing not aboue 30. thousand, slew 90. thousand *Muscovits* with the losse of 20. men.

32. And here further it is to be noted, that when man is most insolent, and confident of his owne power, and most contemne his enemye, then many tymes he hath the worst successe, wherof I wil also alleadge a few examples. The people of the country of *Achaya* (wherof *Corinth* was the cheife city) being very confident of their owne power, abused certaine Embassadors of the *Romans*, who in reuenge therof sent an army to make warre vpon them; This army seemed to them so litle in respect of theirs, that they made sure account of victory; and therefore when they went to battaile they tooke with them waynes and cartes to bringe home the spoyles of the Roman army, and placed al their parents, wiues, & children where they might see the conflict, but they were al ouercome, their wiues and children made prisoners, the towne of *Corinth* taken, and al the people therof sold for slaues.

33. *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia* being assisted with diuers other Kings his confederats, had an army of aboue two hundredth and twenty thousand armed men, wherof 50000. were horse, to fight with *Lucullus* the Roman, who had not aboue 12. or 13. thousand horse, and foote, in which respect he was so contemned by his enemyes that not only euery one of the Kings, but also almost euery particuler Coronel desired of *Tigranes* that he with his troupes might haue the honour to fight with him alone; and

John Froyart in *Chron.*
The Count of *Flanders* ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of *Gant*.

Walter of *Plesemburg*, ouerthrowne the *Muscovits*.

Tilman. *Bredem* bach. de bello *Luoni*.

Idem. *Ibid*.

When man is most confident of his owne power, he hath

Commonly the worst successe.

Iustin li. 34.

The *Corinthians* subdued by the *Romans*.

Plut. in *Lucullo*.

Tigranes King of *Armenia* ouerthrowne by the *Romans*.

S

Tigranes

Tigranes him selfe iested at him, saying, that if he came as Embassadour he had many men, but if he came to fight, he had very few. In conclusion they fought, and *Lucullus* had the victory, and killed of the enemy a hundreth thousand foote, and almost al his horsemen, and (which was most admirable) he lost but 5. men in al, and aboute 10. others were hurt.

Basilus great Duke of Muscovia, overthrowen by the Polonians.
Cromer. in orat. funeb. in obitu Sigismundi.

34. *Basilus* the great Duke of *Muscovy* being to giue battaille to the *Polonians* trusted so much to his owne strength (hauing an army of 80. thousand men) that when he might haue taken them at an aduantage as they passed a riuer, he would not, but bragged that he would let them passe ouer, to the end that afterwards he might driue them al before him like beasts into *Muscovia*: neuertheles it so fel out that the *Polonians* got the victory, and slew 40. thousand *Muscovits*, and tooke 5000. prisoners; so dangerous a thing it is for any man to contemne his enemy vpon confidence of his owne strength.

Dangerous to contemne an enemy.
Polidor Virg. hist. l. 19. 1356

John King of France taken in the battaille of Poitiers by Edward the black prince.

35. But what neede I alleadge forreine examples seeing we haue at home some most notable in this kinde. *John* Kinge of *France* at the famous battaille of *Poitiers*, betwixt him and *Edvyard* the black Prince sonne to Kinge *Edvyard the 3.* had 60. thousand men, and the Prince had not a boue 8000. which made Kinge *John* so confident, that being earnestly solicited by the *Popes Legats* to accepte such reasonable conditions of composition, as the Prince offered him, (which were to restore vnto him, al the prisoners, castells, and townes that he had taken of his before in that warre, and further to bind him selfe by oath not to beare armes against him for some yeeres) he would admit no other condition, but that the Prince should yeeld him selfe prisoner, and al his army to his mercy; wherupon the Prince gaue him battaille, & tooke him & his sonne *Phillip* prisoners, with a thousand seuen hundreth others of the nobility, slew 6000. soldiers, had the spoyle of his camp, and carried away aboute 100. ensignes.

The battail of Agincourt betwixt the English & French.

36. And afterwards at the battaille of *Agincourt*, in *France* betweene *Henry the 5.* King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Barbon* in the time of *Charles the 6.* King of *France*; the French so farre exceeded the *English* in number of horse and foote, and made such sure account of the victory, that being ready to ioyne battaille,

bataille, they sent a messenger to King Henry to know what he would giue for his ranfome, yea and prepared a triumphant chariot to carry him away prisoner when they should take him; but God so disposed, that he tooke the two Dukes prisoners, & slew almost 20000. of their men, and lost not aboue fīue or six hundred of his, or, as some write, not a hundreth.

37. I omit many other examples, which might be alledged; And now to shew whence al these admirable victories proceed, I wil conclude with that which almighty God said vnto the children of Israel when he gaue them the law, promising them that if they serued him, *Persequimini*, saith he, *inimicos Vestros* &c. *you shall pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you, fīue of yours shall geue chase to a hundreth strangers, and a hundreth of you, to ten thousand*; Thus said almighty God, and to the same purpose also Moses, prophcing of the greates ouerthrowes which the enemies of the children of Israel should geue them, by the iust iudgements of God for their wickednes, demanded, how it should come to passe, that one should ouercome a thousand, & two, ten thousand whereto he also answered *Quia Deus suus Vendidit eos. Because their God hath sold them, and geuen them ouer to their enemies*. And the like must needs be confessed in al such cases, such being the stile of almighty God, (when he meaneth to punish men for sinne) to confound the strong by the weake, as wel to beat doune the pride of the potent and mightie, who confide in their owne strength, as also to shew his owne power & glory in those thinges, wherein man is most powerful and glorious, to wit in matters of warre, armies, batailles; and therefore our Lord is commonly called in the Scriptures *Dominus exercituum. The Lord of host and armies*.

38. And although it seemeth most commonly that the victory in warre proceedeth either of the valour, or power of him that ouercommeth, or of the error, cowardize, or weaknes of the vanquished, or else other whiles of chance; yet it is not therefore to be denied to proceede from the prouidence of God, who disposing al thinges sweetly worketh his wil by secondary causes, (as I haue declared before) for some times hee giueth valour and courage, some times he taketh it away, other whiles he doth dissipate and frustrat prudent counsels, and policies, and other whiles againe he bereaueth men of their iudgments, to the end

God is the giver
of victories.
Leuitic. 26.

Deuter. 32.

Why God ouer-
throweth many
times the strong-
er by the weak-
er.

God the Lord of
hosts & armies.
Isai 37.
Ierem 9.
Ezechiel 30.

How God ge-
ueth victorie by
secondarie causes

they may erre, (when their sinnes deserue it or his secret iudgements require it) some times he worketh by such secret & hidden causes, that the victory seemeth to men to be got by chance, though to his deuine prouidence and wilddome nothing is accidental.

Eccle. 46. et 47.

Iudic. 4. 5. 6. 13.

14. 15.

Psal. 143.

2. Machab. 10.

Psal. 17. et. 141.

2. paralip. ca. 16.

2. Reg. 17.

3. Reg. c. 22.

God geueth victories by casual means.

Psal. 9.

3. Reg. 20.

Psal. 32.

Ibid.

39. To Iosue, Debora, Gedeon, Sampson, David, and Iudas Machabeus he gaue extraordinary courrage, and valour; yea and as David faith of him selfe. *He taught their hands to fight, and made their armes like bowes of brasse.* Wherby they got most notable victories, memorable to al posterity; He daunted the courage of Zara the *Ethiopian*, and of his million of men; wherby they al fled, and were most of them slaine, of whome the scripture saith. *Exterritus Dominus Aethiopes coram Asa, et Iuda, fugeruntque et ruerunt vsque ad interuencionem;* Our Lord cast a feare vpon the *Ethiopians* before the face of King *Asa*, and *Iuda*, and they fled and fel with great slaughter; He instructed the crafty and politik counsel of *Achitophel* wherby David was deliured from his sonne *Absalon*; He permitted the spirit of errour to deceaue the prophets of King *Achab* that he might runne vpon his owne ruine: *Dedit Dominus* (saith the prophet *Michaeas* to *Achab*) *Spiritum mendacij in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum;* Our Lord hath giuen the spirit of lies in to the mouth of al thy prophets. Lastly though his deuine maiestie determined, that the said King *Achab* should be killed by the syrians (in that battaile wherto his false prophets encouraged him) neuertheles he ordained, that the same should be executed by casual meanes, for so the scripture saith, as I haue signified before in the 12. chapter.

40. Loe then how almighty God whose wisdome and power is infinit, whose counsels are incomprehensible, and iudgements inscrutable doth not only vse meanes which seeme to men accidental & casual; but also serueth him selfe of the wits, wils, hartes, and handes of al men, yea of their very errors and euil wils, for the execution of his holy wil, to giue victory where and when it pleaseth him; to humiliate the hautie and proude, and to exalt the humble; *Vt sciant quia homines sunt. That they may knowe they are men. & Quia deus est dominus, that God is their lord.* And that *Rex non saluatur per multam virtutem.* The Kinge is not saued by his owne great power, nor the gyant by the greatnes of his strength; But that (as it followeth in the same place) *Oculi domini super meuentem eum: The*

eye

eyes of our Lord are vpon them which feare him and trust in his mercy.

41. And although it seemeth good to his deuine wisdom ordinarily to worke and execute his wil as wel in warre as in other affaires of men, by such a secret concurrence with secondary causes, that his operation therein is not apparant to the eyes of men (therby to leaue place for the merit of faith, as he doth in like sorte in al the course of his gouernment of the world, and his disposition of humane affaires:) yet somtimes for his owne greater glory and the greater confusion of his enemies, and to make it manifest vnto al men that the successe of mens actions dépend vpon his wil; he giueth victories in such wonderful and miraculous maner, that the most incredulous and faithles man can not deny it to be his worke.

God giueth victory many times by miraculous means.

42. This may appeare by very many examples, not only in the old testament but also in the histories of later times. Of some of the first kind I wil only make a breite mention, because they are notorious to al Christians. King *Pharao* and al his host pursuing *Moyse* and the children of *Israel*, were drowned in the red sea: The army of the 5. Kinges of the *Amorreans* was destroyed with haile from heauen, yea & the sunne, & moone stood still a whole day while *Iosue* fought against them. *Gedeon* with 300. men who did but sound their trumpets, and beat their pots and flagons one against another, ouercame an innumerable multitude of the *Madianites* and *Amalecites*, who were so dismaied and confounded that they killed one another. *Sampson* with the iawbone of an asse, slew a thousand *Philistines*. *Benadad* King of *Syria* beseiging the *Israelites*, and hauing almoste famished them, tooke such a fright in the night, that he left the camp, & ranne away with his whole army. The angel of God killed in one night a hundred 4. score and 5. thousand in the campe of *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*. *Iudith* deliuered *Bethulia* from the seige of *Holofernes*, who had a hundreth and forty thousand in his campe. And lastly to omit diuers others, 5. Angels appeared on horsbacke in the ayre, defending *Iudas Machabees* against *Timotheus* & castinge thunderbolts at him & his army, wherby they were put to flight, and about 20. thousand of them slaine.

Examples of miraculous victories in the old testament.
Exod. ca. 14.

Iosue. ca. 10.
Iudic. c. 7.

Iud. ca. 17.
4. Reg. ca. 7.

4. Reg. ca. 19.
Iudith. ca. 13.

Machab. li. 2. c. 10.

43. But what? hath not almighty God also manifested his owne power and glory in like manner, since the time of our Sa-

uiour Christ in al ages, euen vntil this wherin wee liue? I might alleadge an infinit number of most notable examples, out of the histories of al cuntries & times; but for breuities sake I wil only relate one or two of euery age, for the instruction of such as call in question the credit of the holy scriptures in the miraculous victories afore said; or doe any way doubt of Gods providence in humane affaires, or else expect the good successe either of their policies, or of their powerful attempts, otherwise then at the hands of almighty God.

Examples of miraculous victories in euery age since Christs time.

FOR THE FVRRHER PROOFE THAT THE
successe in vuarre dependeth vpon Gods wil and providence,
examples are alleaged of miraculous victories in euery age since
our Sauours time; with the conclusion of this point concerninge Chances and vnexpected Euent.

CHAP. 15.

*The miraculous destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans.
Anno 72.
Iosephus de bello Iudaico. li. 7.
c28.*



Philostratus. li. 6.

Ho soeuer considereth the predictions, and prophecies not only of the ancient Prophets, but also of our Sauour him selfe, concerning the seige and destruction of Hierusalem, (which were fulfilled in the first age, 38. yeeres after our Sauours passion) and weigheth with al the prodigious signes and tokens which were seene before the same, and the admirable effects that followed, (as that eleuen hundreth thousand Iewes perished, partly by their owne ciuill dissentions during the seige, and partly by the enemies sword) who soeuer (I say) considereth the same, he can not deny, but that God gaue them in to their enemies handes; which Titus general of the Roman army acknowledged him selfe when he had taken the City, and seene the infinite numbers of dead bodies, and the extreame calamitie of those which were liuing. And therefore he refused to be crowned, saying to them that asked him the cause, that he was not author of such a wonderful exploit, but that God being angry with the Iewes, had vsed him as his

as his instrument to execute his iustice vpon them. But because I shal haue occasion hereafter to speake more particularly of this seige, and of the cause therof, & of Gods notable iustice shewed therein; it shal suffice only to haue made this mention therof in this place, to shew, that the victory of the Romans proceeded from the hand of God, and not from their owne power.

2. In the second age, when *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperour made warre in Germany, against the *Marcommani*, *Quadi*, and diuers other barbarous nations to the number of 977. thousand, and was no lesse afflicted and al his army with thirst for lack of water, then oppressed with the multitude of enemies, he sought releefe from his false Gods, by the prophane sacrifices and prayers of his Idolatours priests, & seeing no fruite therof, he commanded a Christian legion, which serued him in his armie to pray vnto their God for releefe and victory, vpon whose prayers God destroyed the army of the enemies with thunder, lightning, and fiery haile; And at the same time refreshed the Emperours army with such store of raine that it serued them to drinke & quench their thirsts, wherby the Emperour had a most notable victory which he acknowledged as obtained by the prayers of the Christian legion; and therefore did not only honour it euer after, with the title of *Fulminatrix*, (that is to say the *Thunderer*) but also graunted to al Christians exemption from persecution, by public edict. And this appeareth by the letters of the Emperour him selfe to the Senat testifying the same, wherof not only *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and many other historiographers make mention, but also *Iustin* the philosopher and martyr, and *Tertulian* who in their apologies for the Christiãs, obiect the same to the heathens their enemies, as a matter so manifest, that they could not deny it, besides that there remaineth euen to this day, a monument, and memory of it vpon the famous pillar erected by *Marcus Aurelius* in Rome, and dedicated to his father in law the Emperour *Antoninus*.

3. In the third age *S. Mercury* not longe before his martyrdom, (being but a priuate soldier in the army of *Decius* the Emperour, and fighting against the Persians) had a sword giuen him by an Angel, and was encouraged by him to presse into the midst of enemies battaile, which he did with such valour, that he slew the

*Miraculous
victory of the
Emperour Mar-
cus Aurelius.
Anno. 176.*

*Euseb. ecclesiast.
hist. li. 5. ca. 5.
orosi. li. 7. ca. 10.
Iustin. et Tertul.
Apolog. ca. 5. et
ad Scapulum c. 4.*

Baton. an. 176.

*Anno. 254. Meta-
phrastes.
Surius in eius
vita 20. decem
The Persians o-
uerthrowen mi-
raculously by S.
Mercury.*

the King of Persia, wherby the whole army was discomfited; In recompence wherof the emperour *Decius* aduanced him greatly and gaue him very honorable charge in his army, though with in a while after, vnderstanding that he was a Christian, he caused him to be most cruelly tormented and executed.

Anno. 311.

Maxentius miraculouſly ouerthrowne by Constantine the great.

Baron. an. 311.

Euseb. li. 1. de vita. Constant. ca. 20. 24. 25. 26.

Mephrases 10. Orob.

Euseb. hist. li. 9. ca. 2. et in vita Constant. c. 32.

Zozim. li. 3.

4. In the 4. age the famous Emperour, and honour of our cuntry *Constantine* the great, as he was going from Britany towards Italy with smal forces against *Maxentius* the Tirant, (who had a hundred & 70. thousand foote men, & 18. thousand horse) saw in the ayre at midday a Crosse with this inscription, *In hoc vince.* Overcome in this, and the next night after our Saviour also appeared vnto him, (though he was yet a painim) and shewed him the same Crosse which he had seene in the ayre the day before commanding him to beare it in his standard, and assuring him of victory. Whereupon *Constantine* confering with certaine Christians which were in his army, receaued of them instructions of the Christian faith & determined to be a Christian; in testimony wherof, he made that famous standard called the *Labarum*, wherein was contained the forme of the Crosse which he had seene in the ayre, wherby he did not only ouerthrow the tirant *Maxentius*, but also was most victorius euer after during his life, in so much that when soeuer any parte of his army was distressed, it was presently releued by transporting that standard thither.

5. This apparition of the Crosse with the vision of our Saviour afterwards, and the miraculous victory of *Constantine* is testified many wayes; *Eusebius* bishop of Cæsarea liuing at the same time wrote the history vpon the report of *Constantine* him selfe; who, he saith, affirmed it to him with an oath; Also *Artemius*, who was then a soldier in *Constantines* army, objected the apparition of the Crosse afterwards to *Julian* the Apostata, affirming that not only he, but also the whole army did see it, which he tould him, he might vnderstand to be true by many of his owne soldiers, who were there present, and saw it as wel as hee. Furthermore *Nazarius* a pagan orator, in his panagirical oration made in prayse of *Constantine*, in the presence of him and of the whole Senat of Rome, attributed his victory against *Maxentius* to the miraculous assistance of God, declaring amongst other thinges

things as a matter notorious amongst the Gauls, (who are now Frenchmen) that there was seene in diuers partes whole armies of certaine celestial men, which passed through the country towards Italy, publishing and proclaiming by the way, that they went to assist *Constantine*. Lastly the Senat it selfe erecting a triumphant Arke in the honor of *Constantine*, and in memory of his victory, did signify that he obtained the same *insinuation* diuinitatis, by the insinist or help of God, as appeareth yet to this day in the inscriptions vpon the said Arke.

Baron. anno. 30.

6. In the same age *Sapores* King of Persia by the prayers of the holy Bishop of *Nisibis* called *Iames*, was driuen from the seige therof with gnats and flees. As also the Emperour *Julian* the wicked Apostata fighting against the Persians was slaine with a lance or speare, no man knewe by whom; in so much that *Calistes* one of his owne guards; writing afterwards the story of that warre in verse, saith that he was kild by a *Demon*, that is to say a spirit: and he him selfe acknowledged it to proceede from the hand of God for his malice to our Sauour Christ, casting his owne blood with great fury in to the ayre saying; *Vicisti Galilee: O Galilee* (meaning our Sauour) thou hast overcome mee.

Anno. 18.
Sapores K. of Persia driuen from Nisibis with gnats. Hieron. in cron. Theodor. & hist. li. 2. ca. 36. Anon. 363. Socrar hist. li. 3. c. 17.

7. Also in the same age the Emperour *Theodosius* the elder sur-named the great, overcame *Eugenius* the tirant. *Potius orando* saith *S. Augustin*, *quam pugnando*, rather by praier then by fightinge. For after he had by long and feruent praier recomended his cause to almighty God, it pleased his deuine maiestie miraculously to assist him with a great storme of winde and tempest, which did not only cast back his enemies dartes and arrowes against them selues (wher with great numbers of them were slaine) but also wrested their weapons out of their hands, and so dismayed them that they were defeated with al facilitie, which, as *S. Augustine* testifieth, one of the soldiers who fought vnder *Eugenius* and escaped from the battaile reported to him. Besides that *Claudianus* a pagan poet who wrote at the same time, acknowledged the miracle writing of *Theodosius* in these wordes.

Theodoret. l. 3. ca. 20.

Anno. 394. Ang. de ciuit. dei li. 5. ca. 26. The miraculous victory of the Emperour Theodosius against Eugenius.

August. libid.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat ether

Et coniuuati Venians ad classica venti.

Claudianus P. niger ad Honor. in eius 30. consula.

that is to say; O dearly beloved of God for whom the very ayre fighteth and the Windes come coniuured at the sound of the trumpet.

T

8 In

Aug. li. 7. de ciuit.
dei. ca. 23.

Anno. 406.
Orosius.

Anno. 425.
Theodoretus
hist. li. 5. ca. 36.
Soerat. li. 7. ca.
41.
Nicepho. B. 14.
cap. 4.

Anno Domini.
420.
Soerat. lib. 7. ca.
18.

A miraculous
ouerthrow of
the Saracens by
an army of
Theodosius.

Clodouus the
first Christian
King of France.
Anno. 499.
Paul AEmilius in
Clodoueo.

Anno. 429.
A miraculous
victory of the
Britons against
the Pelagians.

8. In the 5. age *S. Augustine* who then also was liuing, recounteth for a miracle & the special worke of God (as no doubt it was) that *Rhadagasus* King of the Goths comming before Rome with a huge army of aboute 200. thousand men, was without the losse or wound of any one Roman; vnto the last, and him selfe with his children, taken and slaine. And in the same age almighty God miraculously destroyed *Roxlas* a Scythian and his puissant army with thunderbolts, and fier from heauen, when he approached to Constantinople, which he ment to haue besieged in the time of *Theodosius* the younger.

9. But most wonderful, and miraculous was the ouerthrow of the Saracens in the same age as they were comming to succour *Nisibis*, beleeged by an army of *Theodosius* the younger. For almighty God strooke in to them such a terrour and feare of the Christian army, with an imagination that they were inclosed and assailed by the same on euery side, that a hundredth thousand of them cast them selues armed in to the riuer *Euphrates*, wherein they perished with our stroke of enemy: the which was vnderstood to haue bene performed by the help and ministry of Angels, who a litle before appeared to diuers in *Bythinia* as they were going to Constantinople, and bad them signify vnto the Constantinopolitans, (which at that time were in great feare of that huge army of the Saracens, that they should haue the victory, to which purpose they said they were sent by almighty God to giue them assistance.

10. What should I speake of *Clodouus* King of France, who being yet a Painim, in the same age gaue a notable ouerthrowe to the Almaines by Gods assistance, which he obtained by a vow that he made to be baptised if he got the victory; which vow he presently after performed, and with al planted the Christian faith amongst the French. I forbear (I say) to recount the perticulers therof and of other miraculous victories in that age, seeing we haue in our owne country a most notable example of a victory obtained by the Britons, who being assailed by a great number of Pictes, & despairing of their owne forces, craued the praiers and help of *S. German*, a French bishop being come thither at the same time to cleare the country from the infection of the Pelagian heresie, vnder tooke the conduct of them, and ordayed

ordayned that when they should come to fight & ioyne battaile they should cry al to geather *Alleluia*. 3. times, which they did, and so obtained a glorious victory, as our famous cuntriman *S. Bede* reporteth in his ecclesiastical history of our country.

Bed. lib. 1. c. 20.

11. In the 6. age *Cosdroes* King of *Persia* vnderstanding that the citty called *Sergiopolis* was voyd of soldiery to defend it, thought to surprize it vpon a suddaine, but when he arriued there, it pleased God that the walles seemed to him to be so furnished with soldiers that he was astonished therewith, knowing right wel that there were not so many soldiers in the towne; and therefore vnderstanding it to be miraculous, he returned without making any further attempt against it. This miracle was attributed to the merits of *S. Sergius* patrone of that citty. And some yeares after this, an other *Cosroes* also King of *Persia*, though he was no Christian, yet vnderstanding of great miracles done by *S. Sergius*, vowed to giue a rich gift to his church if he obtained victory in a battaile which he was to fight, and afterwards he performed it, sending thither a very rich Crosse of gold set with precious stones with an inscription in greeke containing the history therof.

Anno. 544.
The city of *Sergiopolis* miraculously defended against *Cosdroes* Procopius de bello Gothico.

Anno 595.
Euagrius li. 6. ca. 2.

12. In the 8. age we read that when *Theodobert* and his brother *Theodorick* both Kings of France, ouerthrew *Clotarius* sonne of King *Chilperick*, an Angel was scene in the ayre fighting for the 2. bretheren; As also the next yeere after a Saint appeared in like sorte fighting in the ayre against the Romans in behalfe of *Arnulphus* the Longobard Duke of *Spoleto* in Italy, the which apparition was knowne to be of *S. Sabinus* the martyr by his picture, which at the same time was deuoutly kept in the churches dedicated vnto almighty God in honour and memory of him.

Anno 601.
Aimonius lib. 3. ca. 87. & 88.

Anno. 602.

Paulus Diacon. l. 4. ca. 5.
S. Sabinus seen fighting in the ayre.

13. In the 9. age also *Pelagius* King of Spaine being driuen in to the mountaines of Asturias by the Saracens (who before had conquered, and then possessed al the rest of Spaine) was forced to fortify him selfe in a caue, where the Saracens besieged him, and being destitute of al humane helpe & hope, he had recourse to almighty God through the intercession of the blessed virgin *Mary*, which had so good effect, that the arrowes and darts of the Saracens turned back vpon them selues, and slew so many of them that the rest began to flee: wherupon King *Pelagius* issued

Anno. 718.
Rodericus Tolosan. li. 4. ca. 2.
The miraculous victory of *Pelagius* K. of Spaine against the Saracens.

Ioan vassus.
anno. 718.
Lucas Tudens
Roder. Tolet.
and the rest.

Anno. 749.

Baron tom 9.
Annal. hoc. anno.
A miraculous
victory of Pepin
K. of France.
S. Strybert an
English Saint.

Ludgerus Monast
epist. ad Aixfrid-
um de mirac. S.
Striberti.

Anno. 880.
King Alured
miraculously
overthrew the
Danes.
Polid. lib. 7.
Cul. Malmesh. de
gest. reg. Angli. li.
2. c. 4.
Roger. de
Hoved. Annal.
part. 1 Ingul-
phus. Hist. Angl.
an. 871.

Polid. Ibid.

Anno. 845.

with his soldiers, (who were but 1000. in al) and pursuing them killed very many, & the rest eyther perished in the mountaines, or were drowned by the riuers which at the same time did ouerflowe some partes of the country; and this is testified by al the Spanish historiographers.

14. In the same age *Pepin* King of France being to fight against the Saxons and Westphalians, made a vow to almighty God and *S. Swibert*. (an English Saint) that if he got the victory he would make a sollempne pilgrimage to *S. Swiberts* tomb; afterwards when he came to ioyne battel with his enemies, there appeared such a miraculous & heauenly light vpon his whole army, & his enemies were so astonilhed and dismaied there with, that they presently offered to yeeld them selues, declaring what they had seene, and so the King taking hostages of them made an end of that warre, and acknowledging Gods mercy and fauor therin, through the intercession of *S. Swibert*, performed his pilgrimage bare foote accompanied with great numbers of his Nobility, as witneseth *S. Ludgerus* bishop of Munstar.

15. In the 9. age the famous *Alured* or *Alfred* King of the West Saxons, and the first founder of learning in our vniuersity of Oxford, being spoyled almost of al his state, and brought to great extremity by the Danes, was comforted and encouraged, by a vision of *S. Cusbert*, who appeared not only vnto him, but also to his mother in their sleepe, promising him victory of his enemyes. and recouery of his state, and to the end he might the rather beleuee it, he fore told him and his mother certaine thinges, which succeeded presently after. Wherupon he gathered new forces by sea, and land, assailed his enemyes and recovered his owne, deliuered Rochester, London, and other townes from the feige of their enemies, and partly killed them, & partly droue them al out of the country, except some few whome he permitted to remaine vpon condition they should be Christians; Finally hauing also enlarged his dominion by the conquest of the kingdome of the *Mercians*, he gaue greate gifts & made ritche offerings to almighty God in honour of *S. Cusbert* in the Church where his reliques were kept, ascribing al his victories & good successe to his merits and intercession.

16. In the same age *Ranimirus* King of Leon, & *Asturias* in Spaine hauing

hauing refused to pay the yerely tribute of virgins (which *Manu- regatus* one of his predeceffours had graunted to the Moores, did alfo make warre vpon them, and being affifted by *S. Iames*. who was feene vifibly to fight for the Spaniards vpon a white horfe, flew about 70000. of them with fmal forces; In memory wherof the Spaniards haue euer fince vfed to cal vpon God & *S. Iames* in their warrs, as Englishmen doe vpon God and *S. George*. Befides that the letters patents of Kinge *Ranimirus*, wherby he graunted to the church of *S. Iames* in Compostella certaine yeerely tributs to be paid therro, (in which letters this ftory is declared) are yet kept, and yeerely read publikly in the churches of the dioceffes of Compostella in memory of this victorie.

17. In the 10. age when the Saracens entred *Apulia* in Italy with exceeding great forces, Pope *Iohn* the 10. of that name sent an army againft them, which though it was farre inferiour in number; yet ouerthrew them, and following the victory killed them euery man, which was efpecially attributed to the help of the blessed Apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, who were feene fighting for the Christians. In the fame age, *Iohn Simifces* Emperour of Conftantinople, had a notabe victory againft the Scythians by the helpe of *S. Theodorus* the martyr, in the day of his feaft, who was feene by al the Emperours army fighting before them vpon a white horfe and breaking the rankes of the enemy; in memory wherof the Emperour reedyfied the church where he was buried, which had bene for fome tyme before vtterly ruy- nated

18. In the 11. age in the voiage to the holy land vnder *Godfrey* of Bullen the Christians being befieged in Antioch, with a great multitude of Turks, Saracens, & Perfians, & extreemly afflicted with famine, *S. Andrew* appeared to a deuoute preest in the army, & comanded him to tel the Christian Princes, & captaines from him, that if they would dig in *S. Petres* church in a certaine place wher he appointed, they fhould finde the Speare wher with our Sauours fide was perced, & that carrying the fame before them in their battaile, they fhould affuredly haue the victory; the preest afrer 2. or 3. apparitions and admonitions of the Apostle, did the message to the Princes, the place was digged where it was affigned, the fpeare found, great hope of good fucceffe concei-

*The miraculouſ
ouerthrow of
the Moores in
Spain by King
Ranimirus.
Ioan. vafius.
cron. an. 825.
Roderic. Tolet.
li. 4. cap. 13.
Rode. fan. par. 3.
ca. 10.
Io. Vaffe. in cron.
an. 825.*

Anno. 915.
*The Saracens
miraculouſly
ouerthrow in
Apulia.
Sigo. de regno.
Ital. an. 915.
Luit. prand li. 2.
c. 14.
The Scythians
miraculouſly
defeated by the
Emperour of
Conſtantinople.
Hiſt. Ioan. Curq.
palat.*

Anno. 1098.
*A miraculous
victory of God-
frey of Bullen in
the holy land.
Paul AEmil. in
Phiippo. 1.
S. Antonin. Tit.
16. c. 13. ff. 5.
Guliel. Tyrius de
bello Sacro lib. 5.
c. 23. & lib. 6. c.
14. & 22.
Baron. To. 11. an.
1098.*

ued by al, a resolution taken to issue out vpon the enemy, and that the Popes legat should beare the holy Speare in the enterprise. This being so ordayned, and euery man in order, and ready to make the attempt, there fel vpon them al a heauenly dew, which gaue such vigour and force, as wel to their horses, as to themselues, (almost starued before with thirst and famine) that they assayed the enemy with redoubled hope and courage, and obtained a most famous victory. And Baldricus bishop of Dole who liued at the same time, testifieth that he was told by some of the soldiars, who were there present, that there appeared in the ayre three men on horsbacke, leading after them great troups, and that they fought for the Christians; these three were supposed to be, *S. George, S. Demetrius, and S. Mercurius.*

Apud Paul.
Æmil. Ibid.

Anno. 1099.
Antoninus hist.
tit. 16. c. 13. par. 7.
Hierusalem miraculously taken
by Godfrey of
Bulles.

19. And in the the year following the Christian army lying before *Hierusalem*, hauing for a month together assailed it in vaine, (in so much that the souldiers began to shrink away) there appeared vnto them a man in resplendent and glistering armour vpon Mount Oliuet, who made signe to those which were going away to returne, whereby the whole army receiued such courage, that they gaue a fresh assault, and with in awhile got the towne, *Godfrey of Bullen*, & his brother *Eustathius* being the first that entred the same.

Amiraculous
victory of Al-
fonso King of
Portugal.

Anno. 1139.
L. Andreas Re-
sendius de Anti-
quit. portugallia
lib. 4.

The reason of the
armes of Portu-
gal.

20. In the 12. age *Alfonso* the first king of *Portugal* being encouraged by our Sauour, (who appeared vnto him crucified, and promised him victory) gaue battaile with 4000. to 4. hundred thousand *Saracens*, conducted by 5. Kings whome he ouerthrew, and therefore whereas he was wont before that time to beare for his armes a white field only, he added thereto (in memory as wel of the 5. wounds of our Sauour, as of the 5. Kings which he ouercame) 5. escuchons, in forme of a plaine crosse azure, and in one of them 30. plates, in token of the 30. pence, for the which our Sauour was sold, which plates the Kings his successors distributed equally into 5. escuchons in euery one 5. in a decussis, that is to say in forme of a greate †. or *S. Andree*es crosse, (called in armory a saltier) so that the plates being counted saltier wise as they stand, (whereby the plate in the midst is numbred twyse) there are six in euery escuchon, which in al make vp the number of 30. plates. And as for the 7. castels gold

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in a bordure geules (which are also parte of the armes of *Portugal*) they were added to the 5. escuchons afterwards, vpon the conquest of the kingdome of *Algarbes*, wherein are. 7. principal cityes, signified by the 7. castels; and this I haue thought good to note by the way, as wel to geue some satisfaction to such as are curious in the serch of Antiquities, as also to shew the religious gratitude of Kinge *Alfonso* towards our Sauour, in leauing such a monument of his merciful apparition, and of the admirable victory which he gaue him.

21. In the 13. age the memorabile battaile was fought in Spaine betwixt *Memelius* King of the Saracens and *Alfonso* the 8. King of Castile where in were killed 200. thousand *Saracens*, and but 25. Christians, which almighty God shewed euidently to proceede from his hand, as wel by the apparition, of the crosse of our Sauour Christ, which was seene at the same time in the ayre, as also for that presently vpon the aproach of a banner, wherein was painted the Image of the blessed virgin *Mary* patronesse of the prouince of *Toledo*, the army of the infidels which vntil that time had stood firme and vnmoueable, began to fly, and was with in a while vtterly ouerthrowne, as witnesseth *Rodericke*. Archbishop of *Toledo*, who was present at the battaile.

22. In the 14. age the Venetians hauing receaued many disgraces and great ouerthrowes by the *Genueses*, were brought to such extremity that they determined to make peace vpon what conditions soeuer it should please their enemies, and as they were consulting therupon in their Senat, there rose a voice amongst them vpon a sudden (no man knew from whence it came) which said, o Venerians you haue only one, to wit *Pisanus*, who may overcome the *Genueses*. This *Pisanus* was a Senatour of Venice and then in prison, for hauing lost a great battaile by his negligēce (as it was supposed) at *Pola* in *Istria* where he commanded the Venetian army. Therefore *Andreas* the Duke of Venice and the rest of the Senate being much amazed to heare the said voyce, & holding it for some deuine oracle, went al of them presently to the prison to deliuer him, and made him admirall and captaine general of their navy, by whose wildome, and valour, their state was not only conserued, but also restored to the former dignity.

Anno. 1272.
A miraculosa
ouerthrow of
the Saracens by
Alfonso K. of
Castile.

Roder. Tolet de
reb. Hist. lib. 2.
Ca. 10.

The Venetians
miraculously
recovered their
state
Iacobus Philipp.
Bergomas in sup-
plem. chron.
Anno. 1375.

23. These

ANNO. 1146.
The victory of
the English a-
gainst the
French in the
battaile of Creci.

10. Froysart in
aron.
Machab. li. 1. c. 3.

23. There occurreth also in the same age an exâple of ourowne cuntry wherein the assistance of almighty God was notorious, considering the meanes vsed to obtaine the same, and the admirable effect that followed *Edward* the 3. King of England being in France at *Creci* in Picardy, with a smal army, and pursued by *Philip*. the 6. King of France with a huge host, had such confidence in almighty God, that he douted not to giue him battaile, although the French being assisted by the King of Bohemia, and his sonne *Charles* King of the Romans, were more then 8. times as many as the English, to wit 100. thousand; whereas the English were but 13000. and 100. in which respect King *Edward* considering with the good *Judas Machabews*, that: *Non est differentia in conspectu Dei liberare in multis et in paucis*; There is no difference in the sight of God to deliuer with many or few; resolved to seeke his protection and help, and therfore the night before the battaile he retired him selfe shortly after supper in to his chamber, where he continued in prayer vpon his knees vntil midnight, and the next day which was the day of the battaile, not only he him selfe and his sonne the *black Prince*, but also the greatest parte of his army were, by his order confessed and communicated, & such was the force of their deuotion, & confidence in God, that they gotte the most famous victory that the englishmen euer had, for they tooke 80. ensignes and slew the King of Bohemia, 10. or 11. Princes; 1200. Knights, and men of account and 30000. others of al sortes, and the King of France him selfe hardly escaped by flight: which victory was (as it seemeth) prognosticated and signified from heauen, the morning before the battaile; for the sunne being already vp, and thyning vere faire, there fel suddainly such a wonderful obscuriry and darknes vpon the two armiees, that *Froysart*, who liued in the same age and writeth the story, doth attribute it to an eclipse of the sunne which he saith was most terrible; whereas it is certaine by the calculation of the eclipses of that yeere, that naturally there could be none at that time, wherupon it may be inferred, that it was some supernatural, and prodigious signe pretending the deuine prouidence, and ordinance, in the ouerthrow of the French and victory of the English.

ANNO. 1489.

24. In the 15. age *Mahomet* the great Turke after the conquest of *Constantinople*, sent a great nauy & army to besiege *Rodes* which

th. 2.

then was in the possession of the Knights of the order of *S. John* (now called the Knights of *Malta*) & after many violent assaults giuen to the towne, his soldiers, were so terrified with the vision of a Saint or Angel, which fought against them, that they fled alway in such hast, that one of them oppressed and killed an other.

25. In the same age the navigation of the East *Indies* being discovered by the *Portugals*, the King of *Congo*, in the cost of *Africk* was by them conuerted to the Christian faith who dying a Christian left two sonns, the one called *Alfonso* a Christian, & the other a *Paynim*, who though he was the younger, yet pretended to exclude his brother *Alfonso* from the succession to the crowne, because he was a Christian *Alfonso* fearing his owne weaknes, (in respect that the greatest parte of the realme followed his brother) first recommended his cause by continual prayer to almighty God, and then assembled the Christians and such others as would assist him, and finding in conclusion that he had not about 36. armed men, and the rest very few in number in respect of his brothers great power, he ordained that when they should come to fight, they should al together cal vpon the name of *Iesus*, and *S. Iames*, which they did, and so put to flight the Infidels, and tooke both his brother and the Liuetenant of his army prisoners, who confessed that there appeared such a heavenly light vpon the Christian army and such numbers of horse men fighting for them, that they were forced to fly.

26. I might adde hereto diuers other most miraculous & stupendious victories, which it hath pleased God to giue to the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, against the infidels, in planting the faith in the East & west *Indies*, as wel in the 15. as in the 16. age, which was the last, and ended but 3. yeeres agoe, but I let passe the same, and wil conclude with two or there memorable examples nearer home, and in the memory of some yet liuing.

27. In the 16. and last age *Solyman* the great *Turk* was repelled with great losse and shame from a litle towne in *Hungary* called *Guinium*, by an Angel or some who fought against him in the ayre on horsebacke, and droue backe his army as it was entering into the towne. And some yeeres after, not about 40 yeere agoe a huge army also of *Soliman* beseeing the towne of *S. Mich.* in

A miraculous
ouerthrow of
Paynims in the
East India.
to. Matheus. in
hist. Indu.

Diuers miracu-
lous victories
obtained by the
Portugals &
Spaniards in
the east and
west Indies,
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tioned for bre-
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Anno. 1532.
Scrius. in Com-
ment.
Guinium in
Hungary mira-
culously defend-
ed against the
Turk.
Anno. 1565.

The miraculous
defence of *S. Mi-
chels* in the I-
land of *Malta*.

*Pietro Gentile,
de Vandonio, of
the siege of
Malta.*

the Iland of *Malta*, was after three months seige, and many most furious batteries and assautes giuen thereto, forced to retire with the losse of 23. thousand Turks, by the intercession and healepe of the blessed *Virgin Mary, S. Paul* protector of that Iland and *S. Iohn Baptist* patron of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, that defended the same: which was sufficiently acknowledged by the Turks themselves, who demanded of the Christians what woman that was which shewed herselfe some times during their assautes vpon the castel of *S. Elmo*, accompanied with two men, the one an old man with a longe beard & a sword, and the other a young man clad in skinnes, by which discription (agreeing with the pictures of *S. Paul* and *S. Iohn, Baptist* as they are commonly painted in our Churches) it appeareth that almighty God deliuered the towne from the barbarous furye of the Turks by their merits, together with the intercession of the blessed and most glorious *Virgin Mary*.

Anno. 1571.
The victory of
the Christians
agaunst the Turk
at Lepanto,
Catena in vita
Pij 5.

*Pope Pius quin-
tus* commanded
*Don Iohn de
Austria* to gene
battail to the
Turks at Le-
panto.

28. A few yeeres after in the yeere of our lord 1571. almighty God gaue to the Christians a famous victory against the Turks at *Lepanto*, and reuealed it as wel before hand, as at the time of the battaile to pope *Pius 5.* of holy memory, who hauing not only recommended the good successe therof to the praiers of al Christian people in general, and to many great seruants of God in perticuler; but also vsed of his owne part al manner of deuotion, and godly meanes to obtaine Gods merciful assistance therin, had such assurance giuen him of the victory by the holy Ghost, that he sent *Monsieur Odescalco* bishop of *Penna* to *Don Iohn* of *Austria* general of the Christian nauy with a charge to tel him, that he commanded him, with al the authority which God had giuen him to giue battaile to the enemy with the first comodity, assuring him on the behalfe of God that though he were inferiour in forces he should haue the victory, and the like assurance he also sent him by *Don Hernando Carrillo* count of *Pliego* (whome *Don Iohn* had sent to him vpon busines) as also by *Marco Antonio Colunna* General for the Church, and by many other Capraines which came to demand his benediction when they went to the battaile.

29. And afterwards at the tyme and instant of the victory being walking with *Monsieur Bartolomeo Busotti* his Treasurer general,

meral, and treating of important affaires, he went from him vpon the suddaine, opened a window, and stedfastly beheld the heauens, and after a while shutting the window againe he returned to the Treasurer full of ioy and said vnto him, it is not now tyme to treate further of this matter, but to giue God thanks for the victory which he hath giuen our nany against the Turkes, and then he retired him selfe to his prayers.

The victory of the Christians at Lepanto reuealed to Pinquinius at the time of the battail.

30. This the said Treasurer did not only set doune at the same time in writing with a particuler note of the month, day, and howe, but also tould it to diuers of his particuler freendes before the newes came of the victory, which by reason of contrary windes, staid so longe that the Pope said many times he meruailed of it; Also *selin* the great Turk who then reigned was so perswaded, that this victory of the Christians proceeded of the prayers of Pope *Pius*, that when he vnderstood of his dearch which hapned the yeere following, he ordained great feastes & triumphes for three daies together in *Constantinople*.

Selin the great Turk ascribed the victory to the prayers of *pius*.

31. Moreouer the manner and greatnes of the victory being considered, it is euident that God fought for his seruants. For whereas the Turk had 300. gallies and the Christians not fully 200. & the wind at first was contrary to the Christians and fauorable to the Turks, it pleased God that the wind calmed presently, and an other wind arose from an other part, which draue al the smoke of the artillery and of the smal shot vpon the Turkes, and so blinded them that it heaped the Christians greatly to get the victory, which they obtained with incredible speede, to wit, in 4. howers. In which time they slew *Hali Bassa* the General and 30000. Turkes, and rooke 3000. prisoners, and a 130 gallies besides 80. which they sunke, and lastly deliuered 15000. Christian slaues; so that we may say with the *Psalmist*: *Deus respexit &c.* God had respect vnto the prayers of the humble, and despised not their petitions; let these things be written in an other generation; and the people which shal be created wil praise our Lord.

The manner of the victory of the Christians at Lepanto. sur. in Cöment. anno. 1571. Anton. Cicarellas in vica. Pij s.

Psal. 101.

The cöclusion of this chap. inscribing the weaknes of mans policy and power and Gods prouidence in the disposition of mans affaires.

32. In these examples good reader thou maist haue noted the miraculous proceedings of almighty God, disposing of mens power, forces, and pollicies, according to his wil, and geuing such euent and successe to their most powerful entreprises, and attempts, as for the confusion of the proude and presumptuous,

or for the comfort & releefe of the humble which trust in him, or for the demonstration of his owne power and glory seemeth to his wisdom most conuenient, and thou hast seene the same witnessed not only by the holy Scriptures, but also by examples of al ages since our Sauour Christ, confirmed partly by the grauest writers and historiographers, and partly by monuments and memories therof yet extant; and partly by the confession of Paynims, and enemies to Christian religion.

33. Who then that shal duly consider the same, can be so faithles, and incredulous as not to beleue, or so impudent to deny, either the prouidence of almighty God in humane affaires, or else that the successe of mans policies deliberations and enterprises, depend wholly vpon his wil: wherto if we adde what I haue also proued in the former chapter, to wit, that al suddaine chances, and vnexpected euents, (which do many times delude and dissipate mans policies and power) do proceede from no other fortune or fate, then the ineffable wisdom and inscrutable indgments of almighty God, seruing him selfe of al inferior causes to produce al kind of effects. Two things, must needs follow thereon; the one that no policy or power of man, is of it selfe sufficient, and able to conserue any kingdome or commonwelth, but needeth therto the help and assistance of God. The other is that therefore the surest and wisest way for any gouernour or prince is to recomend him selfe, his state, his counsell, his designments & al his actions continually, and in al humillity to Gods merciful direction, vpon whome only dependeth al the good successe therof; and the prosperity and security of al states, and commonwelthes; Therefore I conclude with the prophet Hieremy; *Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine, et ponet carnem brachium suum. Cursed is the man which trusteth to man, and maketh flesh his arme;* This wil be yet more euident by the discussion of the next point which I promised to handle to wit, the iustice of God in punishing commonwelthes for sinne wherof I wil treat in the next chapter.

Hierom. ca. 17.

THE

THE VYEARNES AND INSVFFICIENCY of mans wit, policy and power for the conseruation of commonwelth, is shewed, by the consideration of Gods iustice in the punishment, translation and subuersion of states for sinne; which point is handled, in 7. chapters next ensuing; and first the iustice of God in punishing sinne is proued by argumētts drawne from nature it selfe.

CHAP. 16.



Haue hitherto shewed the insufficiency of man for the government of commonwelth, aswel by his owne natural infirmity and weaknes, of wit, as also by the nature of commonwelth, which I haue proued to be subiect to such mutability, and to so many accidents, and chances, vnpossible to be foreseene, or preuented, that it passeth al the policy or power of man to giue sufficient order, and assurance to the same; wherto I thinke good to adde yet an other consideration, to wit, *Of the iustice of God*, punishing the sinnes of men in euery commonwelth; wherupon follow many tymes mutations, and changes therein, yea, and the vtter subuersion and ouerthrow therof, for the offences either of the people, or of the princes, or of both. And although there is nothing more manifest then the same, either in reason, or experience, (in so much that it may perhaps seeme to some zealous men, a needles, and superfluous labour to produce any proofes therof) yet for that there are many in these dayes who either doe not beleue it, or at least doe not obserue, and consider it (as it were conuenient) I haue thought good to say somewhat touching the same, to the end, that not only mans weaknes and infirmity enery way, but also the course of Gods prouidence in mens affaires may be the more euidēt; which later point is also one special part of the subiect which I haue vndertaken to handle in this treatise.

*The iustice of
God in puni-
shing sinne.*

Remorse of con-
science an argu-
ment of Gods
iustice in the
punishment of
sinne.

Sap. 17.

Iob. 15. 16.

Stacius 2.

The wicked
man naturallly
feareth punish-
ment.

Cicero.
Tuscul. quest. 2.
The dissuasion of
feare.

Punishment of
sinne a debt due
to the author of
nature.

Math. c. 6.

Math. c. 15.

Luc. ca. 12.

2. Therefore first to speake of Gods iustice in general, who-
soever doubteth whether God doth execute his iustice vpon
men, let him but harken to the voice of nature in himselfe, and
in al other men, to wit, the prick and remorse of conscience,
which al men naturallly haue, after offence committed. For what
else is the same, but as I may tearme it, a sumner, or an aparitor of
the author of nature, summoning, and cyting euery offender
to appeare before his trybunal, whose voice, when a guilty co-
science heareth, it is vexed with anguish, feare, and horreur,
wherupon the holy Ghost in the booke of wisdome calleth wic-
kednes; *Timidam*; *timorous*, and *feareful*, and *Iob*, saith of the wic-
ked man: *Vndique terrebunt eum formidines &c*: *Feares shal terrify him,*
on euery side, & shal enwrap and intangle his feete, and the sound of ter-
ror shal alwayes be in his eares. Hereupon also the poet saith; *O caca*
nocentum consilia, ô semper timidum seclus; *O how blind are the desig-*
nments of euil men, and how feareful is wickednes alwayes?

3. But what is it that the wicked man naturallly feareth? is it
not the punishment due for his offence? for he that feareth must
needes feare some euil that may befall him; for feare is (as *Cicero*
saith) *Opinio impendentis mali*, the opinion of some euil that hangeth ouer
a man, or as *Philo* saith *Futuri mali expectatio*, the expectation of an euil
to come; Now then; the euil that the guilty conscience of man
naturallly feareth, can be nothing else but punishment for sinne,
for that his feare and the effects thereof grow vpon no other
cause, but vpon the knowledge of his owne offence, both na-
ture and reason teaching, that euery fault deserueth punishment,
and that the same shalbe exacted as a due debt by the author of
nature. In which respect the sinnes of men are called *debita*,
debts, as our Sauour himselfe called them, when he taught vs to
say; *demitte nobis debita nostra*; *forgiue vs ô Lord our debts*, that is to
say our sinnes, or offences. As also he compared the place de-
puted for the punishment of sinne in the other life, to a prison
for a debt, exhorting euery one to make peace with his aduer-
sary if he haue any here in this life; *Left* (saith he) *thy aduersary de-*
liuer thee to the Iudge, & the Iudge giue thee into the hands of the minister
of iustice, and so thou be cast in prison; truly I say vnto thee thou shalt not
be deliuered from thence, vntil thou haue payd the last farthinge. Thus
said our Sauour, signifying that punishment for sinne is no lesse
due to

due to be payed then any debt whatſoeuer.

4. This I ſay nature it ſelfe not only notifieth to euery man by a ſecret inſtinct, but alſo giueth him a taſt thereof in the worme or remourſe, wherupon the Satyricall poët ſpeaking of wicked men, ſaith elegantly thus;

-----Curatamen hos tu

*Euaſiſſe putas, quos ſemper conſcia facti
Mens habet attonitos, & ſurdo Verbere cadit?
Pena autem Vebemens, & multo ſeuor illis,
Quas & Seditius grauis inuenit, & Radamanthus
Noſte dieque ſuum geſtare in pectore teſtem;*

Inuencal. Satir. 39.

The horror of a
guilty Conſer-
ence.

That is to ſay, how canſt thou thinke that thoſe men eſcape unpuniſhed, whom the knowledge & conſideration of their owne wickednes euer holdeth aſtoniſhed, beatinge them, as it were, with ſtil and ſecret ſtripes, for truly neither the ſeuere iudge Seditius, nor yet Radamanthus, did euer inuent ſo vehement, and cruel a torment, as it is for a man, day, and night to carry the teſtimony of his owne wickednes in his owne breaſt. Thus ſaith the poët, the truth wherof appeareth in the horror of many wicked mens conſciences, vexed with fearful phantaſyes, dreadful dreames, terrible thoughts and cogitations, diſtraction, madnes, and diſpaire.

5. we read of Nero that after he had killed his mother, he was continually exagitated (as himſelfe confeſſed) with phantaſies of the apparition of her gholt, and with conceits that the furies perſecuted him with burning torches, and Alſonſus King of Naples hauing vniuſtly, & cruelly murdered 24. of his Barons, could neuer ſleepe quietly for the repreſentatiõ of their ſhapes which alwayes vexed him in his dreames; Alſo of ſuch kind of men the Satyricall poët ſaith thus.

Suet. ca. 34.

Phil. Commi. de
reb. geſtis Caro-
li 8.
Guicciar. li. 3.

Hij ſunt qui trepidant & ad omnia fulgura pallent

Cum tonat exanimis, primo quoque murmure cali

Non quaſi fortis, nec Ventorum rabie, ſed

Iraſtus cadat in terras & vindicet igni; the ſence is this.

Inuencal. Satir. 40.

Theſe are they which tremble and waxe pale at euery flaſh of lightninge, and are almoſt dead at euery clap of thunder, as though the wrathfull hand of God were pouring downe fier vpon them, for puniſhment of their wickednes. Thus ſaith the poët, wherof Tiberius, and Caius Caligula two moſt wicked Emperours may ſerue for example, who trembled
alwaies

Suet. in Tiberio
& Caio.

alwaies and hid their selues when they hard any thunder.

Chriſtoſt. To. 1.
concio. 4. de La-
zaro.

A tribunal in
the ſoule of man.

6. The cauſe of al this is no other but that almighty God the author of nature hath ordayned as *S. Chriſoſtom* witneſſeth, that conſcience ſhalbe, as it were, a tribunal in the ſoule of man, to the end that euery one being the accuſer, witneſs, yea and Iudge of his owne ſinne, and condemning him ſelfe by his owne ſentence, may either repent and doe ſatiſfaction, or elſe expect the due puniſhment therof from the deuine iuſtice, & acknowledge it for moſt iuſt when it ſhalbe inflicted vpon him; For ſeing al ſinne doth impugne and tranſgreſſe the law of nature, it followeth that the puniſhment of ſinne doth moſt properly belonge to the author of nature, who as he made nature and her lawes, ſo doth he moſt iuſtly exact the pennaity due to the tranſgreſſion therof.

All offences re-
dound to the
offence of God,
though ſome-
times they ſeem
to be committed
only againſt
man.

Pa. 1. 6. 2.

Matth. ca. 16.
ca. 17. nu. 4. 5. 6.
7. 8.

The vniforme
conſent & pra-
ctiſe of al nati-
ons in craving
pardon of God
for ſinne is an
infallible argu-
ment of his
iuſtice.
Cicero Tuf. c.
quelt.

7. And euen as we ſee in commonwelths betwext Princes & their ſubiectſ, that particuler iniuries done to particuler men againſt the political lawes, redound to the offence of the Prince as head of the commonwelth, (in which reſpect though the wronged remit the treſpaſſe done to them, yet the Prince iuſtly puniſheth the offender) euen ſo it falleth out betwext God, and man; for although mans offence may ſometimes ſeeme to be committed only againſt man, or humane authority; yet it redoundeth to the offence of God, vpon whoſe authority and power pedendeth al the power and authority of man, and from whoſe ſupreame and eternal law doe flow al other good and iuſt lawes; ſo that although men, either puniſh or remit the faults of men, yet the offendours are not exempt thereby from the puniſhment of God, except they alſo ſatiſfy his iuſtice, who ſearching the hartes, & reynes of men, and taking account of euery idle word, is the iuſt iudge. *Qui reddit unicuique iuxta opera ſua;* Which yeeldeth to euery one accordinge to his worke; rewarding and puniſhing ſome in this life and ſome in the next, and ſome in both, wherof I wil ſay more, & yeeld ſome further reaſon after a while.

8. In the meane time I wiſh to be conſidered as an other euident arguement of Gods iuſtice, drawne alſo from nature it ſelfe, that the conſtant and vniforme conſent and practiſe of al nations, and people (which *Cicero* ſaith is nothing elſe but: *Vox*

NATURE

nature, the very voice of nature) doth giue manifest testimony of the truth hereof. For to what end were al the propitiatory & expiatory sacrifices ordained and vsed, not only amongst the faithful people of God, but also amongst the Heathens, Greekes, and Romans, yea and al barbarous nations, but to pacifie the wrath of almighty God, and to obtaine remission and pardon of punishment due to sinne.

9. Finally the most certaine experience of Gods iustice vpon sinners (confirmed not only by the testimony of most graue and learned authors of al times and countries, but also by daily examples euident to be seene) teacheth and conuinceth that God is *Deus Vniuersum* the God of punishment; *Deus fortis et Zelotes* &c.: *A mighty and zealous God, who visiteth and punisheth the iniquity of the father vpon the children, vnto the 3. and 4. generation.*

*The experience
of Gods iustice
vpon sinners.*

Psal. 93.

Exod. 20.

10. But for asmuch as I am also to touch this matter hereafter, and to treat of the punishment not only of tirants and wicked men, but also of heretical and schismatical Kinges, partly in this first part of this treatise, & partly in the second, I wil therefore here in this place speake only of Gods iustice extended vpon whole commonwelths, Kingdoms, and Empires, & for some introduction therunto, I wil first say somewhat of his providence in general, in matters concerning the states of Kinges and Princes, as farre as I shal thinke conuenient for this place.

* *
* *

X

THE

FOR THE MORE EVIDENT PROOFE THAT
*God ouerthroweth states and Kingdomes for sinne, it is first
 proued that they depend on his prouidence, and that they are at
 his disposition; also it is signified for what cause God giueth
 Kingdomes and states to men; & finally for what kind of sinns
 and in what cases he punisheth or destroyeth, whole common-
 welth.*

CHAP. 17.



HAVE in the beginning of this Treatise sufficiently declared, as a matter most euident in nature and reason, and confessed by al philosophers, that al creatures in heauen and earth, haue not only their essence, and being, but also their natural proprieties, and what soeuer is good and commendable in them of their first cause, that is to say, of almighty God their Creator. Whereupon it is necessarily to be inferred, that al humane power, authority, and dignity whatsoeuer proceedeth from him, and dependeth on him, who for his owne seruice and greater glory imparteth the same to men, no lesse then other of his gifts. In which respect the scripture giueth him the supereminēt title of, *Rex regum, & Dominus dominantium*; the Kinge of Kinges, and Lord of Lords: and further saith, that *Non est potestas nisi a Deo*; there is no power but from God. and that by him, *Reges regnant & principes imperant*: Kinges raigne, and Princes rule; whereupon also it followeth, that al kingdomes and states are disposed by his infinit wisdom and holy wil; For if al power be deriued from him, and if Kinges and Princes raigne and rule by the authority which he giueth them; then they are no other but his ministers subiects & vicegerents, accountable for that which they haue of him, and to be gouerned and guided by him, placed, and displaced, punished, rewarded, and disposed, both they, and their states, as it shal please him.

*Al humane
 power, and au-
 thority proceedeth
 from God
 and dependeth
 on his will.*

*Apor. 19.
 Rom. 13.
 Prouerb. ca. 8.*

*Al kingdomes
 and states disposed
 by the infinit
 wisdom and
 will of God.*

2. This

1. This also may be inferred vpon his prouidence in faire lesse matters, or rather in al other things; Wherupon S. *Augustin* reasoneth thus; Seeing (saith he) the highest, and true God hath giuen order and conueniency, and as it were a certaine peace, agreement, and harmony of parts, not only to heauen, earth, and man; but also to euery litle and contemptible creature, to euery feather, to euery floyver, or hearb, and to euery leafe, it is not to be beleueed that the kingdomes of men; or their gouernments are not also ordered by the lawes of his prouidence. Thus reasoneth this learned and holy doctor, as who would say, if God haue care of lesser things, it can not be imagined that he neglecteth the greater; the care whereof no lesse pertaineth, but rather more to his infinit bounty, wisdom, and power: For although the prouidence of man (which is limited, with in the straight and narrow bounds of humane infirmities,) extendeth it selfe sometimes to the least matters only, because it can not comprehend the greatest, and sometimes to great matters and not to smal, because it can not sufficiently comprehend both, yet the prouidence of almighty God being infinit, extendeth it selfe to al things. because he is no lesse infinit in wisdom, and power, then in bounty and goodnes, and therefore, as he is creator of al things, he also careth and prouideth for al things; and as it is fit for his incomparable goodnes to care for the least things in the world, so is it conuenient for his infinit wisdom, and power, to care and prouide for the greatest, and especially for matters of kingdomes and commonwelths, which most import, and are of that nature, (as I haue sufficiently shewed throughout this whole treatise) that they surpass the capacity, wit, and power of men.

3. Wherupon it followeth that if almighty God should exclude the same from his diuine prouidence, there should want sufficient meanes in nature for the gouernment & conseruation of the world, which were absurd to say; and therefore I wil conclude with S. *Augustin*: *Non tribuamus* (saith he) *dandi regni potestatem* &c. let vs not attribut the power of giuinge Kingdomes, or Empires to any othr: but to the true God, who giueth felicity in the Kingdome of heauen on'y to the pious and goodly, and bestoweth the kingdome of the earth, vpon good and bad: accordinge as it pleaseth him, whome nothing pleaseth vnjustly. Thus saith he, and to the same purpose S. *Hierome*

Aug. li. 5. de ciuitate dei. ca. 11
S. *Augustins* argument to proue the dependance of states vpon the prouidence of God.

The prouidence of God extendeth it selfe to al things litle and great.

August.
Ibid. ca. 112

Hieron. in da-
niel. ca. 1.

saith, *Regna Dei gubernantur mutantur, & finiuntur arbitrio. &c. King-
domes are changed, and ended by the wil of God, who gouerneth al, and the
causes therof are knowne to him who made al.*

The dependance
of states vpon
the prouidence
of God proued by
the prophesy of
Daniel.

Dan. ca. 1.

4. Thus saith s. Hierome expounding a notable sentence concerning this matter in *Daniel* the prophet, who hauing vnderstood by reuelation from almighty God as wel the dreame or vision of *Nabuchadonosor*, as also the interpretation therof (wherby was signified the translation of his empire first to the *Medians* and *Persians*, and after to the *Grecians*, and lastly to the *Romans*) was strooken with such an admiration of Gods prouidence, and power in the disposition of Empires, and Kingdomes, that he brake forth into these wordes, *Sit nomen domini benedictum a seculis &c. The name of our Lord be blessed for euer and euer, for al wisdome and strength is his, and he changeth times and ages, and translateth, constituteth and ordaineth Kingdomes at his pleasure.* Thus said the prophet.

Idem.
Ibid.
The accompli-
ment of Daniels
prophesy concern-
ing the empyre
of the world
and many par-
ticular king-
domes.

Idem. ca. 11.

3 Machab. c. 5. 6.
7. 8. 9.

5. The truth wherof is so euident by the euent of that vision of *Nabuchadonosor*, and of the other prophesies of *Daniel*, that no painim or infidel, who shal duly consider the same, can with reason deny it, or doubt of it, seeing al that which he foresaw, and foretould so many hundreth yeeres before, hath bene from time to time, and daylie is accomplished, and fulfilled, as the histories of al times and experience plainly shew. For he prophesied not only of the translation of the Empire of the world from nation, to nation, as before I signified, but also of the perticular warrs, and the contentions, of the successors of *Alexander* the great, especially of the Kinges of *Syria* and *Egipt*, of their victories and ouerthrowes, of their leagues, their mariages, and the fraudulent practises of one of them against an other, and of the affliction of the *Iewes* during the time of those warrs, especially by the persecution of *Antiochus* Kinge of *Syria*, (wherof the bookes of *Machabees* doe treat at large) as also of the fal of the Roman empire, of the very time of the comminge of our Sauour Christ, of his passion and death, of his Church and kingdom, and of the amplytude and eternity therof, and al this he prophesied so perticularly, and clearly, that whosoever shal conferre his predictions with the euents testified by prophane authors, namely by *Pausanias* *Iustin*, *Polibius*; *Q. Curtius*, *Appian*, & *Iosephus*, and with our scriptures, & ecclesiastical writers, he can not but acknow-
ledge

ledge the verity therof.

6. This was to manifest to the very painims, that *Porphyrus* the Platonicke philosopher noting the accomplishment of al that which *Daniel* prophesied in the 11. chapter, concerning the successors of *Alexander* the great, affirmed that it was a historye of matters past, written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and published as a prophesie in the name of *Daniel*, which is easily cōfuted as wel for that the 70. interpreters translated it amongst others partes of scripture, almost a hundreth yeeres before the time of *Antiochus*, as also becaule *Iaddus* cheefe bishop of the Iewes shewed the same to *Alexander* the great at *Hiernsalem*, to proue vnto him that a Grecian King should subdue the *Persian* empire, which *Alexander* expounded of him selfe, and was encouraged therby to giue battaile to *Darius*, whom he defeated and deprived of the kingdome of *Persia* and *Media*; And this was 160. yeeres before *Antiochus*. Besides that the euents of al that which *Daniel* prophesied of things to follow the time of *Antiochus* vntil this day, as of the fal of the *Roman* empire, and the rising of the kingdome of Christ, that is to say of his Church and of the encrease and admirable propagation therof through out the world, doe not only cōfute the calumniation of *Porphiry*, but also proue most manifestly the prouidence of almighty God in the affaires of men, as *Iosephus* the famous Iew obserued in the same prophesies for matters past vntil his time, conuincing thereby the *Epicurians*, and al other Athiests who denied the prouidence of God in humane affaires; *When I consider* (saith he) *the prophesies of Daniel, I can not but utterly condemne their ignorance, which deny the prouidence of God ouer men, for how could it come to passe that his predictions should fall out to be so true as we see, by the euents they are, if the course of the vworld, and vworldly affaires were guided by chance; Thus saith Iosephus, who neuertheless saw not the accomplishment of a great part of Daniels prophesies, which these last 15. ages that haue passed since his death, haue made manifest vnto vs.*

7. For where as the vision of *Nabuchodonosor* interpreted by *Daniel* signified that the empire of the *Caldeans*. should be ouerthrowne by the *Medians* and *Persians*, and they againe by the *Grecians*, and the *Grecians* by the *Romans*, and that the *Roman* empire should be crushed, and brused by a stone cut out of a hil without

X ;

handes, is,

Hieron. prefat. in Daniel. The Causil of Porphyrus against Daniels prophesie confuted.

Iosephus li. vi. antiquit.

Iosephus the Iew proued the prouidence of God by the verity of Daniels prophesies. Ioseph. li. 10. and antiquit. ca. 11.

Dan. ca. 2. How the prediction of Daniel to Nabuchodonosor, hath been fulfilled from time to time, and dayes is,

The verity of
Daniels prop-
hies much more
manifest to vs
then it was to
Iosephus.

Dan. ca. 2.
God disposeth of
kingdomes and
states by the mi-
nistery of men.

1/4y. 10.

When the instru-
ments of God
many times
showe they
knowe it not.
1/4ay 16id.

The dependance
of states vpon
Gods providence
proved by the
prophecy of Za-
chary.
Zach. ca. 6.

handes, (that is to say by our sauour Christe borne of the blessed virgin *Mary* with out the help of man) and that the said stone should grow to be a mighty mountaine, and fil the whole earth, by which mountaine was signified the *Church of Christ* propagated through out the whole world, which should subdue to her obediēce, not only the Roman empyre, but also al other earthly kingdomes and states in time; whereas (I say) al this was signified by *Daniel* to *Nabucodonosor*, *Iosephus* neither saw the decay and fal of the Roman empyre, (which flourished cheefly in his time) nor the subiection therof to the empire of Christ and his vicars or substituts in earth (who haue already about 1500. yeres possessed the very seat of the Roman Emperours:) Whereupon I conclude, that we who haue scene & daylie doe see the accomplishment of these prophecies, more then *Iosephus* did, haue far greater cause, and more reason then he to acknowledge the manifest verity therof, and to admire the infynit wildome, & wonderful providence of almighty God, and confessing with *Daniel*, (as before I signified) that: *Ipse mutat &c. It is he which changeth times and ages, and transferreth, and setteth vp kingdomes*; though he vse therin the ministry of men, who are no other but his instruments to execute his wil. In which respect he called the King of the *Assirians*, the *rodde of his wrath*, and *his staff*, and compared him to *An axe and a saw*. which men vse for their seruice, because he ment to make him his instrument for t^e punishment of the Iewes, though the said *Assirian* had no such intention, nor any imagination therof; as it was also signified by the prophet, who hauing called him, the *rodde of his wrath*, and *his staff*, added: *Ipse autem non sic cogitabit, &c. but he shal not thinke so, neither shal his hart so conceiue which shalbe wholly set vpon conquest, and vpon the destruction of many nations.*

8. And this secret operation of almighty God, for the execution of his wil, is not to be vnderstood to haue place, only in Kinges and Princes and in particuler men, but also in whole kingdomes and empyres, which are in like manner secretly moued, gouerned, and disposed by him, the which is notably signified in the prophet *Zachary*, when the angel who shewed him the vision of 4. Chariots, said vnto him; *Isti sunt quatuor venti celi, qui egrediuntur & stent coram dominatore orbis*

orbis terra; These are the 4. Windes of the heauen, which goe forth to stand before the gouernour of the whole earth; that is to say as S. Hierom expounderh it; These are the 4. clymats or partes of the world, which attend to know the wil of almighty God: *Nihil enim hac 4. regna absque domini voluntate fecerunt*, for these 4. kingdoms or empyres (saith S. Hierom) did nothinge without the wil of our Lord. And a litle after the prophet speaking of the horses in the 4. chariot (which signified the Roman empyre) saith, *Qui erant robustissimi &c.* those vvhich vvere the strongest vvent forth and sought to goe & runne ouer the earth, and he (to wit, the Angel) said goe, and vvalk ouer the earth &c. wherein the prophet giueth to vnderstand that the Romans had a particuler commission or licence of almighty God to conquer the world, which is signified in that the angel said vnto them; *Ite & perambulate terram*: goe and vvalk ouer the earth, that is to say (saith S. Hierom) *Pedibus conculcate & subsernite regna*; subdue kingdoms, & tread them vnder your fecte.

Hieron. in zachariam ca. 6.

Idem.
Ibid.

The commission that God gaue to the Romans to conquer the vvorld.
Hierom. Ibid.

9. But this prouidence of God in the disposition of kingdoms or states wil the better appeare, if we consider the particuler causes why he giueth the same to some rather then to others; For besides the general cause proceeding from the reason and nature of commonwelth it selfe, to wit, the conseruation of the body politicke, by the supream power and authority of the head, for the administration of iustice, defence of the weake, remuneration of the good, and punishment of the bad, (in which respect the queene of Saba saith to Salomon; *Constituit te dominus regem &c.* our Lord hath made thee Kinge to the end that thou maist doe iustice and iudgement) besides (I say) this general cause indifferent to al Princes, as being the end and ground of al princely authority, there are other particuler respects, for the which God raifeth and aduanceth some men to supream dignity, wherof I wil recount such as occurre to me at this present.

The consideration of the particuler causes vvhy God giveth kingdomes to men.

3 Reg ca. 10.

10. Sometymes God giueth dominion to some men for his owne greater glory, and the aduancement of true religion, for which cause he gaue the Roman empyre and al felicitye temporal to Constantine the great, as appeared by his extraordinary vocation to the Christian faith, & his miraculous victoryes, & by the propagation of Christian religion, and the subuersion of Idolatry which ensued therof. The like may be said of an English

God giveth dominion to some for his owne greater glory.
Constantin the great.

King

King called *Edwin* King of that part of *England* which is on the northside of the riuer *Humber* (al which was then called *Northumberland*) to whom almighty God gaue that kingdom for his owne glory and the advancement of Christian religion, as may appeare by the circumstances therof which for that they are very rare, and remarkable I wil breefly relate.

Edvin King of Northumberland.

Beda. hist. eccle.

li. 1. ca. 12.

Folid. li. 4.

II. This *Edvin* sonne to *Alla* second King of *Northumberland* was deprived of his kingdome being very younge by *Edelfred*, and forced to flee to *Redoaldus* King of the *East Angles*, who though he receaued, and treated him at first with al curtesie, yet afterwards at the earnest sute of *Edelfreds* embassadours, determined either to kil him, or to deliuer him vnto them; *Edvin* vnderstanding the same, and being maruelously perplexed therewith, was comforted by an Angel appearing vnto him in the habit of an old man, who demanded of him what he would giue one who would not only deliuer him of his care and affliction but also restore him to his kingdome, and when *Edvin* promised that he would be most grateful for it; he asked him furder, if the same partie should teach him a heauenly doctrin for his eternal good, whether he would imbrace it or no, which he also promised most willingly: wherupon the old man approaching nere vnto him, laid his right hand vpon his head and said, when this shal be done vnto thee, remember then that thou performethy promise, and so vanished away; within a while after *Edvin* was aduertised that King *Redoaldus* by the perswasio of the Queene his wife, had not only changed his minde, but also resolved to giue him assistance against *Edelfred*, wherof he shortly after saw the effect; for by the heelp of *Redoaldus*, he ouerthrew and slew *Edelfred*, and recouered his kingdome; Some yeeres after *S. Paulinus* preaching vnto him the Christian faith, and not finding him so forward as he desired, was moued by the spirit of God to lay his hand vpon his head, and to aske him whether he remembered that signe, wherupon Kinge *Edvin* calling to mind his vision, cast him selfe downe at the feete of *Paulinus*, and promised to belecue and embrace the doctrine which he preached, and after a while was baptized with al his nobility and people; Thus writeth *S. Bede* our countriman, wherby it is manifest that almighty God bestowed that kingdome vpon *Edvin*, for his owne glory and service,

Ed. Edwin made a Christian.

uice and for the conuersion of him and his people to the Christian faith. But now to proceede.

12. Some times God aduancerh men to the gouernement of a kingdome for the cōfort of his seruants; so we read in *Isaias* the prophet, that God wold geue the empire of the *Chaldeans* to *Cirus* King of Persia, to the end he might deliuer the *Iewes* from their captiuitie. In which respect he called him, *his seruant, his anointed, and his pastor, or sheapherd*, 200. yeeres before he was borne.

Cirus aduanced to the empire of the Chaldeans for the comfort of the people of God.
1. Reg. ca. 45.

13. Sometimes God giueth a kingdome to some one to whome it doth no way appertaine, for the punishment of the King therof; so he raised *Dauid* against *Saul*: and *Iehu* against the sonnes of *Achab* King of *Israel*, which *Iehu* was anointed King by the prophet, to the end he might destroy al the children and posterity of *Achab*, which he performed.

1. Reg. ca. 16.
4. Reg. ca. 19.
Dauid made King for the punishment of Saul.

14. Some times also he permitteth some wicked man to obtaine a crowne or kingdome for the punishment of the people thereof; *Et malus malis puniat*: (saith *S. Hierome*) that a wicked man may punish others for their wickednes. To this purpose *Iob* saith; *God makes the hypocrite, or wicked man raigne for the sinnes of the people*; and to the same purpose also almighty God said to the people of *Israel* by the prophet *Ose*: *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo. I will giue thee a King in my fury*; which *S. Gregory* expoundeth thus *In furore Dei Rex datur, cum malis peior praeesse decernitur*; a King is giuen in the fury of God, when he giueth to wicked men a Kinge more wicked then the.

Sometimes a wicked man reigneth for the punishment of a wicked people.
Iob.
Hier. in *Daniel*. ca. 1.
Iob.
Ose. ca. 13.

Thus farre *S. Gregory*; Which may also be notably confirmed out of *Plutark* though he was a painim, who saith, that God doth serue him selfe of wicked tirants as of hangmen to execute his iustice vpon others, no lesse or more wicked then they: & that as poisons are some way medicinable, and necessary to purge bad humours, & cure diseases, euen so tirants are necessary to purge the sinns, and cure the vices of wicked subiects. To which end

Grego. in illud. 1. Reg. 9.

(saith he) *Phalaris* the tirant was ordained by almighty God to gouerne the *Agrigentins*; and *Marius* the *Romans*; and therefore *Apollo* him selfe also said to the *Scicionians* that they had neede of whippinge maisters to scourge them in good earnest; Thus saith *Plutark*. Therefore when God giueth such a King, it shal be wel to remember the counsel of *S. Gregory* who saith; Let not those which haue an euil gouernour accuse him, then him.

Plut. de seraninus vindicta.
God visiteth the ministry of a wicked King to execute his iustice.

These that haue a tirannical prince, ought rather to blame them selves, then him.

Greg. li. moral.
15. cap. 10.

for the same, seeing they deserved to be subiect to such a one; but let them rather blame themselves, for it is written, I wil giue thee Kingdomes in my fury &c. thus far S. Gregory.

Some are aduanced by almighty God, in reuward of some seruice donne to him.
Ezechiel. ca. 29.

15. Other whiles God giueth a kingdome, or encrease of dominion to a wicked man in reuward of some seruice which he hath done him; so he gaue al Egypt to Nabuchadonosor King of Babylon, because he had bene his minister in the execution of his iustice vpon the citie and state of Tyrus: Nabuchadonosor, (saith almighty God by the prophet) did me great seruice with his army against Tyrus, and hath receiued as yet no reuward, neither he nor his army for the same; Behould I wil giue him the land of Egypt and it shal be a recompence, for his army, and for the paines he tooke in my seruice. Thus saith the prophet; wherby we may gather how bountifully almighty God wil reuward such seruices as are done him willingly, and with intention to serue him, seeing he also liberally rewarded a seruice done him vnwittingly, for Nabuchadonosor made warre vpon Tyrus, not with intent to serue God therin, but either for some reuenge of iniuries, or for ambition to encrease his dominion.

The wonderful bounty of almighty God, in reuwarding seruice donne him vnwittingly.

Wicked men aduanced sometimes or prospered by some good deed: of their wicked progenitors.
4. Reg. 9. 10. 13.
14.

16. In like manner, sometimes God giueth gouernment and dominion to an euil man for some seruice done vnto him by his parents or progenitors, though they were as wicked as hee; wherof we haue an example in Ioachaz, Ioas, Ieroboam, and Zacharias Kinges of Israel, who though they were Idolaters, lineally descended of Iehu an Idolater as wel as they, yet reigned al of them, & succeeded one an other by a perticuler priuiledge of almighty God, for the seruice which Iehu their progenitor did him in extinguishing the howse of Achab: whereas by the ordinarie course of Gods iustice, al the other Idolatrous Kinges of Israel were deprived of their kingdomes by violent death, either the father or the sonne, or both, in so much that it neuer descended to the 3. generation, except in the posterity of Iehu, to which God gaue it vntil the 4. generation for the cause before declared.

God aduanceth sometimes wicked men for the good deserts of their virtuous parents.
Seneca. li 4. de beneficijs ca. 32.

17. Also some wicked men are aduanced to soueraignty for the vertues of good men their parents, or progenitors, for which cause almighty God continued the crowne & kingdome of Iuda for many dissents, in the posterity of the holy King David, though many of them were most wicked men, and this the painims also acknowledged, as appeareth in Seneca, who saith that some doe

raigne

raigne because some one of their ancestors was a good man, for whose sake they are advanced to government, not because, saith Seneca, they are woorthy of it; *sed quia alius pro illis meruit. But because an other deserved it for them: so that* (saith hee,) God giveth a kingdome to an vngodly man, not for his owne sake, or for any merit of his, but to pay an old debt to some of his progenitors.

18. Lastly an Empire or kingdome is sometimes giuen by almighty God and sometime amplified and encreased in reward of the vertue, iustice, and piety of him which possesseth it, I meane not only vertues infused (as true religion, iustice, and piety proceedinge of Gods grace) but also moral vertues, wherto honour and dominion, is so due by the law, and course of nature, that who so euer should excel al other men therein, should thereby deserue not only to be more honored then they, but also to haue dominion ouer them, and as *Aristotle* teacheth, he should naturally be their King, and Lord; Besides that the godnes and bounty of almighty God is such in rewardinge al vertue and goodnes what so euer, (accordinge to the merit, and worth of euery act) that whereas moral vertues proceedinge only of the force of nature, can not deserue heauenly, and eternal reward, (which is supernatural) he recompenceth them temporally in this life, sometimes with welth and riches, sometimes with prosperous successe, or other temporal contentments, and sometimes with honour dignity and dominion; and therefore although *St. Augustin* doth not acknowledge the vertues of the Romans to be true vertues, (for that they were commonly referred to vaine glory) yet he affirmeth that God gaue them the empire of the world in reward of their ciuil. and moral vertues, meaninge thereby that although they were not truly vertuous, yet because they were more vertuous then other nations, God gaue them dominion and commandement ouer al others: what then may be supposed of his bountifull goodnes in rewardinge true vertue in his seruants (I meane infused vertue proceedinge of his grace) seinge he so liberally recompenceth the vnperfect vertues of his enemies; it is not to be doubted, but that he wil reward the same, not only with euerlastinge glory, but also with temporal felicity, when it shalbe necessary and conuenient for their eternal good.

God giveth or
amplifyeth a
kingdome some-
times in reward
of moral vertue.

Arist. polit. li. 2.
&c.

Aug. de ciuit. dei
li. 5. ca. 19.

The empyre of
the world ge-
uen to the Ro-
mans for their
ciuil, and moral
vertues.

How God ge-
ueth kingdomes
or temporal fel-
icity in rewarde
of infused ver-
tues.

Psal. 33.

God geueth not
temporal felici-
ty to al his ser-
uants but only
to such of them
as will vse it
well.

1. cor. 16. 28. 5.

1. cor. 16.
2. cor. 16.

19. For although temporal felicitie being considered simply in it selfe as a thinge transitory & not truly good, can be no due reward for the infused vertues (which in respect of the dignity of Gods grace from which they proceed, doe merit a heavenly & euellastinge rewarde) yet if we consider temporal happines, as it may be referred to the seruice of God, and so made a meanes to attaine to eternal felicitie, it may be not only truly good, but also a true and proper reward of religious piety, and other infused vertues. In which sense the royal prophet saith; *Rich men haue wanted and bene hungry, but those which seeke our lord; Non minuentur omni bono; shal not want any good what soeuer.* That is to say, they shal haue al good, spiritual and temporal; including in this word good, al such temporal thinges, as may be necessary to saluation; (for what soeuer is contrary therto, is neither good nor profitable but bad and pernicious) and therefore God doth not giue temporal felicity to al his seruants, but only to such of them as he knoweth wil, with the helpe of his grace vse it wel to his honour and glory, and to such it is not only a reward for vertue, but also a furtherance & healep to saluation; whereas to wicked men, though it be also Gods giuft, (yea and some times giuen them in recompense of some good act or worke of theirs as I wil signify more at large hereafter) yet it is not properly to be accompted a reward but a punishment, not a blessing but a curse, not felicitie but misery, by reason that it maketh them more insolent, proud and licentious, and by consequence encrease their damnation.

20. Now thento returne to speake of kingdomes, empires, earthly glory, and encrease of dominion, it is not to be doubted but that as almighty God doth bestow them vpon euil men yea vpon the worst men, (partly for the causes lately declared, and partly for some other respects wherof I wil speake here after) so also he giueth them some times to his seruants in reward of their vertue, so far forth as he seeth it necessary for his owne glory and seruice, and for their eternal good. And this I would proue more at large in this place by many reasons and examples, but that the question more properly belongeth to the 2. parte of this Treatise, where I shal purposely speake of religion.

21. Therefore I will now prosecute that which I haue already touched.

touched before, and am specially to handle in this place, to wit, the iustice of God extended vpon kingdomes & commonwelth for sinne, and wil make it manifest by euident examples that alterations, and ouerthrowes of states and kingdomes, doe principally proceede from the iudgments of God, for the sinnes of men, which sinnes to speake thereof breefly and in general, may be reduced to three kindes; For, as there are 3. thinges specially which doe maintaine and vphold al commonwelthes, and for the which God doth blesse and prosper them (the first religion and pietie towards God; the second iustice and equity amongst men; and the third good discipline in life and manners) so also 3. other things contrary to those doe subuert commonwelths, and prouoke the wrath of God against the same.

The consideration of Gods iustice extended vpon states for sinne.

Three kinds of sinnes for the which God punisheth commonwelths.

22. The first is, al sortes of false religion, superstition, Idolatry, heresie and schisme, and such sinnes as belong therto; For the which the kingdome of Israel was by Gods iust iudgment destroyed in the time of the old law, as also since Christs time at Greece. And the easterne parts of Christendome haue bene ouerrunne, and are still tyrannized by the Turke, as shalbe amply declared in the second part of this Treatise. The second is al sortes of iniustice, as rapine, imoderat exactions, oppression of the poore, effusion of innocent blood, calumnation or slanders, and such like, for the which God punisheth kingdomes and states as the holy Ghost signifieth in Ecclesiasticus saying. *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur &c. A kingdome is transferred from nation to nation, for iniustice, iniuries, calumniation, or slanders, and diuers deceits;* and hereof I wil alleadged diuers examples after a while; The 3. kind consisteth in licentiousnes, and dissolution of life & manners, as shal appeare hereafter by perticuler examples of Gods punishments vpon commonwelths for the sinnes of the flesh.

Sinnes concerning religion.

Iniustice.

Eccle. ca. 10.

Dissolute and licentious life.

23. And in al this it is to be vnderstood, that almighty God punisheth or destroyeth whole commonwelths for sinns, especially in 4. cases: the first is, when any of the fore said kindes of sinne is growne to be so vniuersal & general in a commonwelth, that few or none, are free from it, as it was in Sodom and Gomorrah which God destroyed with fier from heauen for the abominable sinne of sodomy, wherewith al the inhabitants were infected from the highest to the lowest, as the scripture testifieth.

In what cases God punisheth a whole commonwelth.

The first case. Genes. ca. 18. & 19.

The second case.

The sympathy be-
twixt the head
and the members
in the body po-
liticke.

The Subjects pun-
ished for the
finnes of the
prince.

1. Reg. ca. 21.
1. Reg. c. 24.
2. Patal. ca. 28.

24. The second case is, when the prince or gouernour of the commonwelth is a notable offendour in any of the sinns before mencioned, wherby he iustly draweth the wrath of God, not only vpon him selfe but also vpon al the commonwelth, such being the sympathy in the body politicke, betwixt the Prince & the subiects, as in the body natural, betwixt the head and the members; and therefore as the hurt or dammage of the head may redound to the destruction of the whole body; euen so the sinne of the Prince may procure the wrath of God against the whole commonwelth, wherof we haue diuers examples in the holy scriptures; The iniustice which King *Saul* vsed towards the *Gabonites* was punished in the people with 3.yeeres famine 40.yeeres after in king *Dauids* tyme; and for king *Dauids* sinne in numbring the people there perished 70000. of them with pestilence; and in like manner for the sinnes of King *Acha?*: *Humiliavit dominus Iudam*, saith the Scripture, *God humbled & afflicted al the people of Iuda*, who also were afterwards carried away into captiuitie with their King *Ioachim*. by *Nabuchadonosor* for the sinnes of King *Manasses*, great grandfather to *Ioachim*; and hereof I shal also haue occasion to alledge some moderne examples after a while.

The third case.

Princes puni-
shed for the sin-
nes of the people.

1. Reg. ca. 22.

25. And the like also hapneth to Princes, & their whole state for the sinnes of the people, which is the 3. case wherein God punieth whole commonwelths for sinne; for as almighty God sometymes prospereth and blesteth the Prince for the peoples sake, and the people for the Princes, so also he punieth otherwhyles the Princes for the offences of the subiects, as *Samuel* signified to the people of *Israel* when he had annointed *Saul* their King, saying vnto them, that if they feared, and serued God, he wold protect both them and their King, and *if they persuered in their malice both they and their King should perish together..*

1. Reg. c. 24.
The participatio
of merit and de-
merit betwixt
Princes & their
Subiects.
Greg. li 5. in Iob.
c. 24.

26. Also for the sinnes of the people, God suffred K. *Dauid* to fall, whereupon followed the death of 70. thousand men who perished by Pestilence; by the occasion whereof S. *Gregory* teacheth notably the communication of merit and demerit in the commonwelth, betwixt the Princes & their subiects, saying; *The good King Dauid sinned and the people was punished; for according to the deserts of the people, the hearts of the Princes are disposed; and a little after The deserts of the people & their gouernour are so conioyned, that often time,*
the lines

the liues and manners of a good people, become worſe for the ſinnes of a bad Prince, and the liues of a bad Prince, become better for the merit and good deſert, of a good people. Thus ſaith S. Gregory.

27. The fourth caſe is when the magiſtrats doe notably neglect the execution of iuſtice, for as S. Gregory ſaith, *vvhen the vices of the ſubiects are diſſembled, and vvinked at by the gouernours, they are reſerued for the iudgement of God, who being the ſupreme Iudge, then iuſtly exercyſeth his authority, and power, as wel to puniſh his miniſters (that is to ſay, the Magiſtrats) for their negligence, as alſo to ſupply their defects, in puniſhing others, and therefore in ſuch caſe he commonly impoſeth ſome general penalty vpon the commonwelth, whereof we haue a notable example in the ouerthrow, which God ſuffred the people of Iſrael to receiue for the offence of one only man, to wit Acham, who hauing ſtolne part of the ſpoyle of Hiericho, contrary to Gods commandment was not diſcouered and puniſhed by the Magiſtrats, and therfore God ſaid vnto them, that he would abandon them vtterly except they ſerched out, and puniſhed the offender; Yf therfore he puniſh fo ſeuereſly the omiſſion of iuſtice, when the ſinne is ſecret, and vnknowne to the Magiſtrats, much more may wee thinke he wil doe it, when publike ſinnes are permitted, or diſſembled by them; as ſhal appeare by ſundry examples hereafter.*

28. And therefore for this tyme I conclude this point, and chapter with an obſeruatiō of S. *Auguſtin* concerning the participation of merit, and demerit amongſt men, to wit that the puniſhment of one doth redound ſome tymes to al men, *To recommend vnto vs, ſaith he, the conſideration of the ſtrait bond, and vinity of humane ſociety, to the end we may vnderſtand thereby, how carifull we ought to be, to hinder the offence of God in other men, as wel as in our ſelues, ſeeing we are al, quaſi vnum corpus, as it vvore one body, and ſubiect in ſome caſes to paye the temporal penalties, one of an others offence. Thus much in general concerning for what kinds of ſinne, and in what caſes God puniſheth whole commonwelths.*

29 And now to come to particuler examples of kingdomes, and ſtates, vtterly ouerthrowne, or greuously puniſhed by almighty God, for ſinne, I wil make choyce of ſome moſt mani-
feſt,

The fourth caſe.

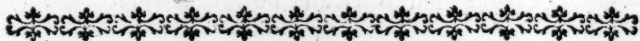
The negligence of magiſtrats in the execution of iuſtice drawveth the vvraſh of God vpon the commonwelth.
Greg. Ibid.

*The children of Iſrael puniſhed for a ſecret fault of one man vvun-
puniſhed.*
Iſolue c. 7.

ca. 20. nu. 1. & p. 4 j.

vvhy the puniſhment of one man redoundeth ſometymes to many.
Aug. de ciuit. dat li. 1. c. 9.

fest, amongst very many, which doe occurre vnto me, and wil beginne with two, testified partly by our holy scriptures, and partly by prophane authors, who declare the euent which the scriptures long before prophesied and foretold, The one example shal be the ouerthrowe of the great empire of the Chaldeans, and the other of the destruction of Hierusalem, and the vtter subuersion of the state of the Iewes.



EXAMPLES OF THE SEVERITY OF GODS

justice vpon kingdomes and states for sinne, and first of the subuersion of the most potent Empire of the Chaldeans, and of their admirable city of Babilon, and for what sinns the same was ouerthrowne, and that the euentstherof testified by prophane authors, answered exactly to the prophesies in our holy scriptures.

CHAP. 18.

The magnificence and riches of the Chaldean empire.

Tertul. aduer. Iudeos Metasthenes de rebus. Indictis. li. 4.

Dan. 2.

The welth beauty and strength of the city of Babilon.

Solin. ca. 60.

Plin. li. 6. ca. 26.

Diodor. Sicul. li.

3. Strabo. li. 16.

Etiaron. li. 5. in

Isay c. 14.

Arist. lib. 3.

Politie.



NOTHING was more famous in old time nor more celebrated by al historiographers, then the riches & magnificence of the Chaldean Empire, which besides the oriental countries, from India to Aethiopia included al Agypt, Arick, and Spaine, in which respect Danu the prophet said
TO Nabucodonosor who was King thereof, *Tues rex regum, et potestas tua in terminos vniuersę terre*; Thou art Kinge of Kinges, and thy power extends it selfe to the bounds of the whole earth, besides that the wealth, strength, and beauty of Babilon (the Imperial seate of the Chaldean Kinges,) was such, as it giueth sufficient testimony of the great power of that Empire. For the walles were 50. cubits thick, and 200. cubits high; the city was foure square 15. miles from one corner to an other, and 60. miles in compasse; in so much that Aristotle affirmeth that when it was taken, those which dwelled in the furthest parte of the city, did not heare of it in 3. daies; It had 100. gates, with the thresholds and posts of brasle; great

great numbers of marble tempells, and golden images; whole streets shining and glyttering with gold and pretious stones, and amongst other temples, there was one of *Belus* 4. square, containing 2. stades euery way, which was a quarter of a mile in length, and a myle in compasse, in the midst wherof there was a tower, which as wel in bredth, as in height, contained a stade, that is to say halfe a quarter of a mile, vpon the which were raised 8. other towers, one aboue an other, with easy staires to mount vp to the top, where there was a chappel with a sumptuous bed, and a table of gold; finally such wonderful things are written by graue authors of artificial mountaines, orchardes, and gardens, called, *horti pensiles*, hanging gardens, and such other things, that they seeme incredible.

Herodot. li. 1.

Rosius apud Euseb. hum.
Diodor. Sicul.
li. 3.

2. Hereby we may geather how admirable was the welth of the Kinges of Babilon, and how great the power of their monarchy; wherof the destruction was prophesied by *Isaias* 200. yeeres before it hapned, who said in the person of God. *Eccē ego suscitabo super eos Medos &c. Behold I will raise against them the Medians, &c. Babilon which is so glorious amongst al other kingdomes, and so notable, and famous in the pride of the Chaldeans shall be ouerthrowne.* And in like manner, *Jeremias* the prophet aboue 60. yeeres before it was taken, said: *Suscitauit dominus &c. Our Lord hath stirred vp the spirit of the King of the Medians against Babilon, and his meaninge is to destroy it;* Also *Daniel* the prophet interpreting to *Balthasar* King of Babilon the wordes *Mane Thecel, Phares*, (which were written miraculously on the wal before him as he was baqueting with his nobility) foretold him the very day before it was taken, that God had giuen his kingdome to the *Medians & Persians*, al which was accomplished the night followinge, when *Darius* Kinge of *Media* and *Persia* (whome *Xenophon* called *Ciaxes*) beseeging Babilon tooke it on a suddaine, with the help of his nephew, *Cyrus* the persian in the time of a great feast, when the King, nobility, and people, contemning their enemies by reason of the great strength, of the city, attended only to banquetes and sportes, as both *Xenophon*, and *Herodotus* do testifie, who doe also declare the meanes how they tooke it, conforme to the predictions of the prophets, to wit, by a stratagem of *Cyrus*, who caused certaine ditches to be cut and opened, to draw away the riuer *Euphrates*, which passed

The destruction
of Babilon pro-
phesied 200.
yeeres before it
hapned.

Ilay. ca. 13.

Jerem. ca. 51.

Dan. ca. 5.

Zeno. li. 7.
How the pro-
phesy of the de-
struction of Babi-
lon was accom-
plished, by the
testimony of pra-
phane authors.
Xenophon.
Ibid.
Herodot. li. 1.

through the towne, whereby the channel was left drye, and the soldierys entering suddenly surprisid it with out resistance.

Jeremy. ca. 17.

3. Of this drawing away the riuer *Jeremy* prophesied plainly saying, *Desertum faciam mare eius, et siccabo venam eius; I wil make her sea* (that is to say her great and famous riuer *Euphrates*) *desert, and I wil drye vp the same or channel therof.* And againe; *Vada præoccupata sunt*: her fords or waters are preoccupied or intercepted. and againe *Siccitas super aquas eius et arecent; her waters shal become drye.*

Jerem. ca. 51.

Idem. ca. 50.

Isay ca. 13.

4. Thus began the execution of Gods wrath vpon *Babylon* and vpon the empire of the *Chaldeans*, which was then translated to the *Medians* and *Persians*, according to the predictions of the prophets; which predictions neuertheles were not fulfilled al at once but in processe of tyme; for the prophets fore told not only the surprise of the city, but also the vtter desolatio thereof and of the whole cuntry of *Babylon*; *Murus ille Babilonis laissimus* (saith *Jeremy*) *suffossione suffodietur &c.* That exceeding broad wal of *Babylon* shal be vndermined, and digged vp, and the high, and magnifical gates therof shal be burnt; And againe in an other place speaking to the *Babylonians*, he saith. *Confusa est mater vestra. &c.* your mother, (that is to say, *Babylon*), is wholly confounded, and made euen with the ground &c. and al those which shal passe by it shal be amazed, & shal bisse at it in respect of the plagues that shal fall vpon it. Also *Isaia*s prophesied that it should become a wilderness, saying *Non habitabitur vsque in finem, nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs, nec pastores requiescent, sed requiescent ibi bestiae; &c.* It shal not be inhabited to the end, nor the *Arabian* (who driues his cattel from place to place to seeke feeding for them) shal not pitch his tents there, nor so much as shepheards shal remaine there, but it shal be a receptacle for vild beasts.

Hier. l. 1. c. 13.
Iustin. li. 1.

Plinius ca. 6 li. 16.

Hierom li. 7. in
Isay. c. 13. in fine.

5. At this, I say was fully accomplished after wards, for *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspis* the *Persian*, tooke *Babylon* againe the second tyme, about 40. yeeres after the first surprise, by the occasion of the rebellion of the *Babylonians*, and then he raised the strong and stately walles therof: & though the city was left standing yet it fel by litle and litle to desolation, especially after the building of *Seleucia* by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and of *Ctesiphonte* by the Kinges of the *Parthians*, from which time forward it grew to be dispeopled, in so much that in the time of *Adrian* the emperour, there was nothing left of *Babylon* but a poore wal which serued in s: Hieroms

tyme,

tyme, as he witnesseth, for an inclosure of al kind of wild beastes, which were reserved and kept there for the recreation of the Kings of that country, when they came to hunt in those partes; and those which have traueled lately that way, affirme, that al that part where *Babilon* stood, is so full of Lyons & sauage beastes, yea and of murdering theeues and robbers, that the passengers are faine to haue gardes of soldiers for their safety; which I also note by the way, as an accomplishment of the prophesie of *Jeremy* who said; *Habitabunt ibi dracones cum fatuis scarijs*; dragons or beasts of the desert with wicked murderers shal dwell there.

The great desolation of that place where *Babilon* stood.

Jerem. 50.

6. Lastly it is certainly reported by others which haue bene there, that there is not there about any towne or village (for *Bagadat* which is now called new *Babilon*, is a daies iorney from the place where the old stood) nor so much as a tree or greene hearbe in al that territory, but that al is (as the prophet *Jeremy* foretold) *Deserta et arenes*, desert and drye, which may be wondered at, considering the admirable fertility therof in times past; for (as *Pliny* saith) it was the most frutefull country of al the east, and *Herodotus* affirmeth that the ground yeilded ordinarily 200. for one, and some yeers 300. & he forbearerh as he saith, to recount other perticulers therof because the same would seeme incredible to such as had neuer seen it.

Bagadat now called new *Babilon*, a dayes iourney distant from where the other stood. *Bozias* de ruins gent. & regno. Not a greene hearb or tree in the territory of old *Babilon*. *Plin. nat. hist. lib. 6. ca. 26.*

Herodot. lib. 1.

The admirable

fertility of the

country of *Ba-*

bilun in times

past.

Ezay. ca. 26.

The particuler

causes why God

destroyed *Babi-*

lon.

The pride of the

Babilonians.

Witchcrafts.

Ezay. ca. 47.

Ibid.

Superstitions

Astrology.

7. But for as much, as the prophets doe also specify the perticuler causes that is to say, the sinns wherby the *Babilonians* and *Chaldeans* incurred the wrath of almighty God, and deserved so great a punishment, I wil breefly lay them downe in the prophets owne wordes. *Ezayas* speakinge of *Babilon* in the person of God. said: *Quiescere faciam superbiam infidelium, & arrogantiam fortium humiliabo*; I wil make the pride of the miscreants, or infidels to cease, & I wil humiliate the arrogancy of the strong: And in an other place the same prophet speakinge to *Babilon* of the calamities that should fall vpon her said; *Vniuersa vnerunt super se &c.* Al thy miseries fell vpon thee for the multitude of thy witchcrafts, & for the hardnes of the hartes of thy inchanters &c. stande forthe with the multitude of thy witchcrafts, vberin thou hast laboured, euen from thy infancy, and see whether they can profit thee any thing, Thy astrologers, and those which were wont to cōtemplate the starrs, & to count the moneths to tel thee thinges to come, let them now come forth, and saue thee if they can; Behold they are al made like

straw or stuble the fire hath burnt them, euery one of them hath erred in his way and none can sane thee.

Hierem. ca. 51.
The cruelty of
the Babilonians
towards the
people of God
& their temple.
Hierem. ca. 50.

8. Also Hieremias comforteth the *Iewes* in their captiuitie saying in the person of God; *Reddam Babiloni &c. I wil render to Babilon, and to al the people of Chaldea al the euil and hurt they haue done in Syon; And againe; the foundations (saith he) of Babilon are fallen, the walls are destroyed, for it is the reuenge of our Lord, and the reuenge of his temple;*

Dan. ca. 5.
Idolatry and the
profanation of
holy vessels.

9. Lastly *Daniel* expounding to *Baltasar* the last King therof, the inscription written vpon the wal by the hand, which appeared as he was banqueting with his nobility, signified vnto him that God had giuen his kingdome vnto the *Medians* and *Persians*, as wel for his pride and Idolatry, as also because in that banquet he prophaned the holy vessels of the temple, which *Nabuchadonosor* his grandfather had brought from *Hierusalem*, when he led the *Iewes* into captiuitie, so that the special sinns for the which God did ouerthrow the mighty and potent empire, were pride, witchcraft, the superstitious vse of astrologic, cruelty towards the people of God, and the destruction of his temple in *Hierusalem*, Idolatry, and the profanation of holy vessels dedicated to Gods seruice; wherby we may see how hainous the said sinns were in the sight of God, and how greuious is the penalty of sinne; and Lastly how true it is which s. Hierome saith, (speaking of the subuersion of that mighty empire; *Al humane power, (saith he) is but dust and ashes. When the wrath of God striketh for sinne.* Thus much concerning the destruction of *Babilon*, and the translation of the *Chaldean* empire to the *Medians*, and now I wil proceede to treat of the destruction of *Hierusalem*.

Hieron. li. 5. in
Isay. ca. 14.
Al human
power but dust
& ashes: when
God striketh for
sinne.

* * *

OF THE

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF HIERUSA-
lem, & of the great calamities of the Iewes euer since for their
sinnes; and how the prophetes of Daniel and of our Sauour
him selfe were fulfilled therein; wherby the prouidence and
iustice of almighty God, is evidently proued.

CHAP. 19.



D O M I T for breuityes sake the prophetes of
Esayas & Hieremias, and wil only speake of two
other, the one of *Daniel*, and the other of our
Sauour him selfe. *Daniel* writing after the first
destruction of *Hierusalem* by *Nabuchadonosor*, du-
ring the captiuitie of the Iews in *Babylon*, and

Isay ca. 10. & 23.
Hierem ca. 19.

The prophesie of
Daniel of the
destruction of
Hierusalem.

Dan. c. 7.

hauing prophesied of the reedificatiō of the temple, saith further
in these wordes; *Et post sexaginta duas hebdomadas occidetur Chri-*
stus &c. After threescore and two weeke (that is to say. 490. yeeres)
compting the weeke by yeeres & not by dayes to wit, 7. yeeres
to euery weeke) *Christ* or the *Messias* shalbe killed, & the people which
shal not be his people, and the city & sanctuary shalbe destroyed by a people
that shal come with their captayne, and the end of it shalbe destruction, &
after the end of the warre shal followe the determined desolation.

2. This was the prophesie of *Daniel* of the destruction of *Hie-*
rusalem, and of the cause thereof about 500. yeeres before it hap-
ned; which our Sauour him selfe foretold more perticulerly,
who a litle before his passion going downe to *Hierusalem* from
the mount *Olives* (whence he had the full view and prospect of the
city) wept for the compassion he had of the misery that was
fall vpon it, saying; *Veniet dies in te &c.* The dayes shal come in thee
Hierusalem, that thy enemies shal enuiron thee round about, & shal strag-
gle thee on euery side, and shal not leaue in thee, one stone vpon an other,
because thou knewest not the tyme of thy Visitation; And againe after-
wards he sayd to his disciples; *When yee shal see Hierusalem besegged*
with an army, then knowe yee that the desolation thereof is at hand; *Then*
those which are in iudea let them fly to the mountaynes, and *those which*

The prophesie of
our Sauour of
the destruction
of *Hierusalem*.

Luc. 19.

Luc. 21.

Math. 24.

Marc. 13.

are in the midst of it, let them depart, and those which are in the countreyes adioyning, let them not enter into it, for that these are the dayes of reuenge, to the end that al those thinges which haue bin written therof may be fulfilled; yvoo be to yvomen yvith childe, and to nurses in those dayes for there shalbe great misery vpon the earth and vvrath vpon this people, and they shal fal in the face of the svord, and shalbe caried captiues into al nations, and Hierusalem shalbe trodden vnder the feete of the gentils.

Luc.ca. 23.

3. And after ward againe when the women of Hierusalem bewayled and lamented him when he went to his passion, he sayd to them; Weepe not for me (o yee daughters of Hierusalem) but for your selues and your children, for loe the dayes shal come vwhen they shal say happy are the barren and the wombes that haue not borne children, and the paps that haue not giuen suck; then they shil begin to say to the mountaines, fal vpon vs, and to hills couer vs &c. Thus sayd our Sauour, which I haue set downe the more particularly to the end we may consider how the euent corresponded to his prophesie, by the testimony of prophane authors, and especially of the famous Iosephus the Iew, who was an eye witnes and partaker of the comon calamity of his country, though being blinded no lesse then therest, he had not the grace to acknowledge the true cause therof.

The siege of Hierusalem 40. yeeres after our Sauours passion.

4. Although there passed almost 40. yeeres before the seegge of Hierusalem after our Sauours death, yet almighty God began much sooner to execute his iust iudgments vpon the Iews in most euident and rigorous manner, not only in Hierusalem & Iudea, but also in al other parties where they dwelled, it seeming conuenient to his iustice, that as they were from al partes assembled in Hierusalem at the time of his passion, and al consenting to his condemnation, so they should in like sort pay the penalty therof in al parts, wherefoener they liued; and therefore with in 7. or 8. yeeres after our Sauour suffred, there were infinit numbers of them, slaughtered in al the cityes of Syria, Egypt, and other countreyes, by conspiracies of the people against them, as in Seleucia 50000. In Damascus 18000. In Casarea 20000. In Scithopolis 13000. In Ascalon 2500. in Alexandria 50000. 100000. more in other cittyes of Egypt, and 5000 in Ioppe.

The wonderful punishments of God vpon the Iewes, many yeeres before the siege of Hierusalem.

Ioseph li. 2. de bello Iudaico. ca. 21. & in 42. Idem. de bello Iudaico li. 2. ca. 19. 10. & li. 7. ca. 18.

5. And with in a few yeeres after, Claudius the Emperour banished al the Iewes out of Rome by a publick edict, & out of al the coun-

coun-

country of *Iudea*; besides that the city of *Hierusalem* was miserably infested with theeues, robbers, murderers, magicians, false prophets, and seditious persons, prophaning the very temple with blood, in so much that 20000. were killed, and the most of them stifeled in a tumult in *Hierusalem*, at a feast of *Easter* (as we call their *Pascha*;) At which *Iosephus* recounteth as the preambles to their ruine; besides that their gouernours did vse such tyranny vpon them vnder the emperours *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, that very many of them were forced to abandon their country and the rest to rebel, which brought vpon them the armyes of the *Romans*, first vnder *Cestius* gouernour of *Syria*, who burned spoyled and ransacked al *Palestina*, & besieged *Hierusalem* it selfe; and after againe *Vespasian* destroyed al the country and great numbers of the people with fier and sword, whiles also in the meane time they were miserably afflicted with famine and ciuill warrs, by reason of 3. feuerall potent factions, which arose amongst them, first in the prouinces abroad and after in the city of *Hierusalem*, where the seditious slew great numbers of their aduerfaries in the temple it selfe & committed with al such horrible facriledges, and other abominable mutcheefes therin, that *Iosephus* saith therof. *Non recusabo dicere &c. I vvil not forbear to say that Which sorrowe forceth me to vtter, I verily think that if the Romans had not come when they did against those most wicked men of my nation, either the earth would haue opened and swallowed vp the city, or an other deluge vould haue drownded it, or thunderbolts or fier from heauen, vould haue destroyed and consumed it.*

6. Thus saith *Iosephus*, and this was the state of the *Iewes* when *Vespasian* being chosen emperour of the *Romans* left the chardge and profecution of the warre against them to his sonne *Titus*, who presently after planted his seege before the city of *Hierusalem*, whiles the *Iewes* according to their yeerly custome, were assembled there, out of al parts to celebrat their feast of *Pascha*; which time was no dout ordayned by the special prouidence of God for that seige, partly to the end, that the time of their punishment might answer to the time of their offence, (for that they had put our Sauour to death at their *Paschal* feast) and partly to the end that the reuenge might be the more complete vpon the whole nation, by reason of the infinit number of them

Sueton. in Claudio. anno. 51.
Ioseph. li. 20. de antiquit. ca. 6.
& de bello Iudaico li. 2. ca. 11.
12. 13. 14. 15.
Idem li. 20. de antiquit. ca. 4.

Idem. li. 2. de bello. 22. ca.

Idem. Ibid. li. 3. ca. 2. 3. 4.

Idem. Ibid. li. 6. ca. 1.

Ioseph. de bello Iud. li. 6. c. 16.

Hierusalem besieged by Gods special prouidence at a feast of Easter.

them that were assembled there for the celebration of the feast from al parts of *Iudas*, and the countries adioining.

Now our Saviours prophesie was fulfilled.

Luc. 19.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. li. 6. ca. 13. & li. 7. c. 7. & 8. The extreme famine in Hierusalem besieged.

Luc. ca. 23.

7. The towne being beleiged was with in a few daies enuironed by the *Romans* according to our Saviours prophesie, not only with a trench, but also with a wal, in such sort, that no liuing creature could issue out any way; by meanes wherof, and of the great multitude of people with in the towne, there grew with in a while such extremity of famin, that they were forced to eate, not only horses, asses, dogs, rats, and mice, and the leather that couered their sheildes and bucklers, but also the very dunge out of the stables, yea and a noble woman was knowne to eate her owne childe that suckt vpon her brest wherin no dout was fulfilled the prophesie of our Saviour, when he said; *Beati steriles &c. Happy are the barren, and the bellies which haue not brought forth children. &c.*

The extreme misery of the Iewes besieged.

Ioseph. li. 6. ca. 12.

Luc. 23.

8. Butto proceede; In the meane time the beleiged were no lesse infested with cruel sedition and wars amongst them selues, then with famine, or the assaults of their enemies abroad; In so much that they filled the citty & temple with their owne blood, and such as were taken by the *Romans*, were by the commandement of *Titus*, crucified before the walles of the citty to the number of 500 euery day, vntil at length, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) there wanted both crosses for the bodies, and place for the crosses, so that there clamorous sentence of *Crucifige* giuen against our Saviour *Christ*, was iustly executed vpon them selues.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. li. 6. c. 15.

Ioseph. li. 6. de bello iudaico. ca. 14.

Luc. ca. 19.

9. Also great numbers of them, who being forced with famine sought to saue their liues by yeelding them selues to their enemies, were neuertheles killed by the *Syrian* and *Arabian* soldiers, and their bowells ript vp in hope to find gold therein, vpon a report, or atleast a conceite, that the *Iewes* did swallow their gold to conuaigh it out of the citty by that meanes; and such was the mortality and misery within the citty by famin, pestilence and the cruelty of the factious one against an other, that as *Iosephus* reporteth, al the sinkes, void places and retreats, yea the very streets were ful of dead bodies, which were continually cast out from the howses and trodden vpon like dust and durt, wherin the prophesie of *Isaias* was fulfilled who said; *Falta sunt morticina &c. Their carcases became like durt or dunge in the mydd of the streets.*

Streets. And although it was ordained at the first that the dead bodies should be buried at the publike charge of the city to, remedy the contagion which daily encreased by the pestilent fauor therof, yet the number grew with in awhile to be so great, that there was not place to bury them, in so much that the living were forced to cast the dead ouer the walles in to the ditch of the towne in so great numbers, that *thus* the General of the Romans seeing it, and noting the filth and corruption that issued out of their woundes and plague-sores, loathsome to behold, exclaimed saying, that it was some extraordinary punishment of God vpon them for their sinns, and not any effect of his seige, as I haue also declared * before, when I treated of miraculous victories.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. li. 6. c. 14.

* ca. 7.

10. Finally after 5. months seige, the temple and city were burned, and the walles razed excepting one litle peece therof, which was left for some shelter and defence for the soldiers who were to remaine in those parts, besides some peeces of 3. towers which *Titus* commanded should be left for a monument and remembrance of his seige, whereas al the rest of the city was so destroyed (as *Iosephus* saith) that it seemed neuer to haue bene inhabited; which our saviour signified when he said. *Et prosternent &c. And they shal lay thee flat vpon the ground, and one stone shal not be left vpon an other in thee*; To conclude; the number of those which were slaine and died during the seige was (as *Iosephus* reporteth) a million, and a hundreth thousand, and of the captiues 97000. (wherof *Iosephus* him selfe was one) and of those some were condemned to the publike workes, others of the stronger and handsomer sort carried in triumph, and such as were vnder the age of 17. yeers, were sold for litle or nothing, and those which remained in the country were loaden with such greuous impositions and tributes, that they liued in continual misery and slavery.

Hierusalem taken & destroyed after 5. months seige. Ioseph. li. 7. ca. 10.

Luc. 19.

Ioseph. li. 7. c. 17. The number of the Iewes that dyed and were slaine in the seige, and of the captiues.

11. Thus much concerning the destruction of *Hierusalem*, wherof I thinke the like hath not bene read or heard of in antiquity; But what? was the iustice of God satisfied and his wrath towards the *Iewes* appeased with this? No; for (as the prophet *Esay* said) when he prophesied of the lamentable destruction, and desolation of the city: *In omnibus his non est auersus furor eius*,

The continuance of Gods punishment vpon the Iewes ever since the destruction of Hierusalem. Esay. ca. 5.

A a

sed ad

sed adhuc manus eius extenta; his wrath was not averted from them with al this but his hand is stil stretched out to punish them.

12. This may evidently appeare by the wonderful calamities, which fel vpon them after, not only in *Iudaea*, but also in al o-ther places where they were disperfed; as first, in the next age, in the tyme of *Traian* the emperor, with in lesse then 50. yeeres after the subuersion of *Hierusalem*; *Infinita eorum millia* &c. (saith *Eusebius*) *Infini* thousands of them were killed for their rebellions in *Egypt*, *Mesopotamia*, and the *Iland of Cyprus*: for in *Alexandria in Egypt*, where they liued in great multitude, al of them were put to the sword; in *Macedonia* they were vtterly extinguished, and in *Cyprus* they were al either killed, or banished; and a law made that it should be death for any *Iew* to arriue there, though he were driuen thither by tempest against his wil, and a few yeeres after, *Iulius Seuerus* being called out of *Brittany* by the emperor *Adrian* and sent into *Iudaea* (to repress a rebellion of the *Iewes*) destroyed almost al the country.

13. For as *Dion* writeth, he dismantled 50. strong forts, and razed or burnt 985. townes and villages, and killed aboue 50000. *Iews* in battaile, besides that an infinit number of others either died by fier, famine and pestilence; or were sold for slaues; And such saith (*s. Hierome*) as could not be sould were translated into *Egypt*, or els perished by ship wrack, famine, or by the sword of the *Gentils*; And the emperor hauing lately before reedified the city of *Hierusalem* and called it after his owne name *Ælia*, *Adria* commanded by publike edict, that no *Iew* should euer after enter into the territory or iurisdiction therof, nor so neare vnto it that he might behold it from any hil or high place; Shortly after *Adrians* tyme they were also miserably afflicted by the emperor *Antonius Pius* for an other rebellion, and after him againe by *Marcus Aurelius*, who being wearied with their continual tumults, (as saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*) exclaymed against them, saying, that they were worse then the *Marcomani*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatæ*; whome he held to be the most beastly of al barbarous nations; And againe some yeeres after they were subdued and destroyed by the emperor *Seuerus*, who triumphed for his great victory against them, and renewed the decrees of *Adrian*, for their exclusion from the sight of their country, by meanes wherof

Anno. 116. & 117.

Euseb. in Chron.
18. an. *Traiani*.

Euseb. li. 4. ca. 2.
& in *chron.*

Infini numbers
of *Iewes* slaine
in diuers parts
of the world in
the tymes of the
Emperours *Tra-*
ian and *A-*
drian.

Dion. in Ha-
driano.

Hierom. in Za-
chariam. ca. 11.
Anno. 137.

Euseb. Ecclesiast.
hist. li. 4. ca. 6.
Iewes forbid-
den by edict to
behold their
owne cuntry a
fayre of.

Iulius capitolin
in *Anton. an. 141.*
The affliction
of the *Iewes*
vnder *Anto-*
nijus Pius, *Mar-*
cus Aurelius,
and *Seuerus*.

Ammianus li. 22.
Anno. 178.

Spartian in Se-
uer. o.

Bas. an. 199.

wherof they were counted no better then vagabondes.

14. And therefore *Tertulian* who wrote in the same tyme said of them thus: *Dispersi, palabundi celi & soli sui extorres, vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine Deo rege; They wander about the world, dispersed scattered and banished from their native soyle and ayre, having neither God nor man for their King; Quibus nec aduenarum iure, terram patriam salutare conceditur; Who may not so much as in guest-wise salute or see their ovne country;* Thus said *Tertulian*, and so odious & hateful became they afterwarde to al men, that they were tearmed *Fœtentes Indæi*, filthy and stinking Iewes, as appeareth in *Amianus Marcellinus* a Pagan historiographer.

Tertul. contra. Iudeos ca. 11. & Apolog. ca. 21.

The pagynimes called the Iewes fœtentes Indæi. stinking Iewes. Amianus Marcellinus li. 12.

15. Wherof some also yeeld a perticuler reason manifesting Gods malediction vpon them, to wit, that al Iewes haue a filthy and loathsome fauor continually, euer since their dispersion, and that they perswade them selues that the same can not be cured, but with drinking the blood of Christians; for which cause they haue killed many children at diuers tymes, and in diuers * countries, & perticulerly in *Trent* in the yeere of our Lord 1475. at what time they miserably tormented and crucified a young child of 20. months old called *Simon*, by whose body so many wonderful miracles were done, when it was found, that he was canonized for a Saint, and the Iewes being taken for the fact, confessed that one of the causes that moued them therto, was to drinke his blood for remedy of their stinking disease, as writeth: *Iohannes Mathias Tiberinus* a learned phisitian who liued in *Trent* at the same time.

The reason of the stink that the Iewes haue and the remedy which they haue sometymes vsed for the same.

** See Math. Paris and Ioan Capgrau. of the passion of S. Hugh a child crucified at Lincolne anno. 1155. and another at Norwich. an 1146. Surius 24. marcij. Ioan. Math. Ep. ad senatum. populumque. Brixianum. Christoff. orat. 2. aduer. Iudeos circa. anno. 319. The misery of the Iewes in the tymes of Constantine the great, and Constantius his sonne. Hieron. in chron anno. 319. Sozomen li. 4. ca. 6.*

16. But to returne to the former ages from whence I haue a litle digressed. After the time of the emperour *Seuerus* they rebelled also against *Constantin* the great, for the which great numbers of them had their eares cut of, and were by the emperours commandement dispersed throughout al countries with that and other markes of infamy, for the general reproach and shame of al the nation; and not many yeeres after there were many thousands of them slaine in *Indæi*, without respect of young or old, and 3. or 4. of their cheife cities, and very many of their townes were burnt in the time of *Constantinus* sonne to *Constantin* the great for an other rebellion.

17. And here I can not but note by the way for the furder

The fauour done
to the Iewes
by Iulian the
Apostata tur-
ned to their con-
fusion.

manifestation of Gods wrath towards them, that although the emperour Iulian the apostata who succeeded Constantius, fauored them so much for the short time of his raigne (which was but 20 months) that he gaue them leaue, not only to returne to Hierusalem to inhabit there, but also to reedifye their temple, yet it rather turned to their confusion, then to their contentment and commodity; For first, as concerning the reedification of their temple, when they had made collections of great sommes of money (wher to as wel women as men most zealously contributed as much as they were any way able, with intention to make it more beautiful, & sumptuous then euer it was) they lost both their labour and charges, being forced by 3. prodigious accyents to surcease the woorke after they had began it.

The reedifica-
tion of the tem-
ple in Hierusa-
lem miraculou-
ly hindered.
Dan. 9.

18. For when al things necessary for the building were provided, the foundation layd ypon the groundworkes of the old temple, the walles rising apace, the Iewes tryumphinge and insulting against our Sauour Christ and the Christians (who were much dysmayed in respect of the cleere prophesies of Daniel fortelling the perpetual desolation of the temple) it pleased almighty God that first an earthquake dissolued the foundation, and ouerthrew the wall that was begon, and then a fyer from heauen consumed as wel the tooles and instruments of the workemen, as also al the tymber and other matter prepared for the building, yea and burnt very many of the Iewes themselves; and lastly for their further confusion, and that it might be manifest vnto them from whence al this proceeded, there appeared a crosse in the ayre, and the apparrel of al those which were present was also miraculously besprinkled and marked with crosses, which could neuer after be washed out, nor taken away by any meanes, wherwith the Iewes were so confounded, that they desisted from their worke, and many of them became Christians.

Anno. 361.

Ruffin. li. 1. ca.
37.
Socrat. l. 3. c. 17.
Greg. Nazian.
orac. in Iulia-
num.
Christost. orat. 2.
aduersus Iudeos.

19. This story is written by Ruffinus, Socrates, S. Gregory Nazianzen and S. Chrysostom who saith; *Huius rei nos omnes testes sumus nostra enim etate ante annos viginti hac acciderunt; We are al witnesses of this matter, for it hapned in this our age litle more then 20. years agoe.* Loc then how litle the fauor of earthly kinges and Priuces auaileth when the heauenly King disfauoreth and punisheth for sinne, and

and also how true it is which the royal prophet saith; *Nisi dominus edificauerit domum &c: Except our Lord build the house, they labour in vaine who build it.* Psal. 126.

20. And now as concerning the abode of the Iewes at Hierusalem afterwards, it is euident that they remayned not long there but that with in a while after *Iulians* death (who dyed presently after that this chanced) they were not only expelled thence, but also forbidden again to enter into the citie, for we read that within 20. yeeres after or there abouts, in the tyme of the emperours *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, their custome was to purchase licence for money yeerely to goe thither to bewaile the subuersion of their temple in the anniuersary day thereof, as witnesseth *S. Hierome* who liued many yeeres in those partes and wrote there at the same tyme his learned commentaries vpon the lesser prophets, wherein he notably describeth the miserable state, as wel of the whole country as of the Iewes themselves; which therefore I thinke good to lay downe in his owne wordes.

Circ. 2. anno. 39.

The Iewes purchased licence for money to goe to Hierusalem to bewail the subuersion of their temple, in the tyme of Theodosius.

21. As for the destruction of the strong citties (saith he) ,, which were wont to be in Iudaea, I think it may better be iudged by the eye then by the eare, better by sight then by report, ,, and I especially who now am in this prouince, can not but see it, and approue those things which haue bene written of it, for we see now scant any litle monument of the old ruynes in some of the greatest citties which flourished in tymes past; In *Silo*, where the tabernacle and ark of the testament of our Lord was, the very foundations of the altar scant appeare; *Gabaa* that great citie of *Saul* is pulled downe to the very ground; *Rama* and *Bethoron* and the other famous citties built by *Salomon* are now litle Villages; And a litle after: And at this present day the perfidious and traiterous Iewes are forbidden to enter into Hierusalem, except it be to weepe and bewaile the subuersion of their temple, for the which also they are forced to pay money, so that as in tymes past they bought the blood of Christ, so now they are faine to buy their owne teares and can not be suffred so much as to weepe of free cost; you shal see in the day that Hierusalem was taken and destroyed by the Romans, that wooful people, old women at deaths dore, and old men loaden

Hieron. in Sophoniam. ca. 10. S. Hierome an ego witnesse of the delolation of Iudaea and the misery of the Iewes.

As the Iewes bought the blood of Christ, so they were faine afterwards to buy their owne teares.

“no lesse with raggs then with yeeres, come flocking thither bearing the testimony of Gods wrath in their very bodies and habir: And a litle after. A woeful multitude of miserable people (whome yet no man pittierh) assemble them selues there to lament the ruine of their temple, and whiles they haue yet their cheekes bedewed with teares, and their naked armes stretched vp to heauen, and their haire spread about their eares, the pittilesse soldier asketh them some reward to suffer them to weepe a litle longer; and can any man who shal see this dout but that this is the day of their tribulation, and the time of their calamity, anguish and misery wherof the prophet speaketh? Thus saith *s. Hierome* of the infelicitye of the *Iewes* and their exclusion from *Hierusalem* in the tyme of *Theodosius*.

Chrysost. orat. 2.
contra Iudaeos.

Circa. an. 397.

The misery of
the Iewes in the
tymes of *Arcadius*
and *Honorius*.
Cod. Theod. li.
24. anno. 418.

22. Furthermore *s. Chrysostome* writinge some yeeres after in the time of the emperours *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, affirmed that the *Iewes* hauing lost their liberty and country, were contemptible and ridiculous to al men through out the world from the east to the west, and to the very extremity and further most bounds of the earth.

23. Their misery also in those tymes appeareth by 2. lawes of *Honorius* the emperour, the one against them, & the other in fauor of them: by the first he ordaynd, that no *Iew* should haue, any kind of honour or office in the common welth, and that such as already had any should be deprived thereof; the other law made in their fauor, was, to repress the fury of the people against them in al parts; For that for 4. yeeres together before that law was made, their synagogues were burnt, and they them selues dispitefully and cruelly handled euery where, which the emperour restrayned by a publike edict, least otherwise they might be vterly extinguished.

The calamities
of the Iewes in
al Christian
countrys since
the yere of our
Lord. 600.
Aimoinus & ap-
pendix ad Greg.
Turo. an. 614.
Ioan. vassar chron
Hisp. anno. 694.
Glaber. li. 3. co. 7.
Baron. an. 1009.

24. And who is able to recount al the plagues and calamities which since that tyme haue fallen vpon them euery where, and how they haue bene oppressed, spoyled, bannished, and massacred, wherfoeuer they haue liued; In *France* 90000. of them were forced either to be baptised or to flye the coutry, in the yere of our Lord 614. In *Spayne* (a conspiracy of theirs being detected in the yere 694.) al their goods were confiscate, them selues made slaues, and their children vnder the age of 7. yeeres taken from them and christened. In the yere 1009. it being dis-

con-

couered and published that certaine Iewes in France, had intelligence by letters with the prince of Babilon, and had procured the subuerſion of a moſt famous church in Hieruſalem wherein was the Sepulcher of our Sauour, there was ſuch a general hatred conceiued againſt them throughout Chriſtendome, that they were tormented & ſlaine in al places where they dwelled, ſome hanged, ſome drowned, ſome burned, others put to the ſword, beſids very many that to auoide torments killed them ſelues. Alſo in the yere 1348. infinit numbers of them were maſſacred in Spayne, France, Germany, & Italy vpon a report that they had poyſned the wells in al theſe countries, and cauſed a great mortality of people; which died at the ſame tyme: and after againe in the yere 1492. al Iewes were expelled out of Spayne to the number of 124000. families of whome there dyed 2000. of the plague, as they were remouing, and the like rigour was vsed againſt them in Portugal ſome yeres after.

25. Alſo in our country in the time of King Richard the firſt, great numbers of them that then dwelled in Lincolne and Yorke were ſlayne, as wel women as men, in a tumult of the people; And vnder K. John they were miſerably oppreſſed with taxes and impositions, and ſuch of them, as would not pay what was demanded of them, were cruelly tormented vntil they gaue ſatisfaction: and amongſt others it is written of one of them, that 7. of his teeth were pulled out one after another, before he would graunt, to pay a taxe of ten thouſand marks, which he was content at laſt to pay to ſaue the reſt; Laſtly vnder King Edward the firſt they were al baniſhed out of England by acte of Parliament.

26. And at this preſent time experience ſheweth that wherſoeuer they yet dwel amongſt Chriſtians, they liue in al cōtempt & ſubiection, being as it were ſlaues to them whome they moſt hate, and ſo odious is the race and name of them in moſt Chriſtian countries, that it is compted infamy to be deſcended of them, or to marry with them, although they become Chriſtians: in ſo much that in Spayne and Portugal where there are great numbers of baptiſed Iewes, (whome they cal *Chriſtianos nuevos*, new Chriſtians) no man is capable of any Knighthood, or yet (in ſome places) of any dignity Eccleſiaſtical, or temporal, if he be any

Nacler. in anno
1938.
Pero Mexia. de
vitis imperat. in
caro.
Naclerus. anno
1492.

The miſery of the
Iewes in En-
gland vvhyls
they liued there.
Polidorus in
Ricart. primo.
Idem, in Ioan.

Mattheus paris.
Hiſt. in Ioanne.

Polidor. in Ed-
vardo. 1.

Iewes at this
preſent euery
where contem-
ned, and oppreſ-
ſed, as wel a-
mongſt Turkes
and Mores, as
amongſt Chriſti-
ans.

way

way descended of them, which is specially enquired of, by expresse commissions sent forth for that purpose, neither is this their oppression or seruitude only amongst Christians, but also amongst *Turks* and *Moors*, as graue authors doe testify, and those which trauel their countreyes doe finde by experience,

The blyndnes of the Iewes, and their hardnes of hart, their greatest pla. ue.

Aug. in psal. 9.

Isay ca. 6.

Psal. 68.

Deuter. ca.

The Iewes shall be conuerted in the end of the world.

Rom. ca. 11.

Psal. 58.

27. Finally we may ad hereto an other plague surpassing al the rest, which God hath laid vpon them for the consummation of their infelicity and misery, I meane their blindnes and hardnes of hart, which is not only of it selfe, *magna damnatio*, a great damnation, as (S. Augustin calleth it) but also doth exclude them from al remedy, so long as it continueth.

28. This the prophet *Isayas* signified when he said, *Excaca cor populi huius, &c: Make blind the harts of this people, and agrauate their eares, and shut vp their eyes, lest peraduenture they may see with their eyes and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their harts: and be conuerted, and I moued to heale them.* Also the royal prophet *Dauid* to the same purpose: *Obscurentur* (saith he) *oculi eorum &c: Let their eyes (o Lord) be obscured that they may not see, and lay a perpetual load or burthen vpon their backs.* And the same was also signified or rather prophesied by *Moyse* when he threatned the people of the Iewes saying: *Percutiet te dominus amentia &c. Our Lord wil stricke thee with madnes, blindnes and fury of mynde, that thou maist goe groping in the midday as the blind man gropes in the dark, and maist not direct thy waies, but alwaies sustaine shame and reproach, and be oppressed with violence, and not haue any man to deliuer thee.*

29. Thus said *Moyse* threatning the children of *Israel* (in case they should forsake their Lord God) but prophetically describing the inuincible blindnes and miserable state wherein the whole nation of the *Iewes* should liue after our Sauours passion, vntil the end of the world; at what tyme our Lord hath promised to haue mercy vpon them; and therefore the Apostle said that the blindnes of the whole nation of the *Iewes* in general should continew: *Donec plenitudo gentium intraret: vntil the fulnes of the gentils should enter*, that is to say vntil al nations should be conuerted; *Et sic omnis Israel saluus fiet; and so al Israel should be saved*: and to the same purpose the psalmist saith; *Conuertentur ad vesperam; They shall be conuerted towards the eueninge* (that is to say) towards the end of the world.

30. Now then al this being considered, and that not with standing their disperſion through out al countries for 1500. yee- res ſpace, they haue euer conſerued vntil this day their name, and nation, we cannot but acknowledge with S. Auguſt: that almighty God hath of his providence and juſt iudgment ſigned, and marked them like *Caine*, that they may neuer be extinguiſhed, but remaine alwayes a diſtinct people from al other, to beare and indure the deſerued ſcourge of his wrath, and to ſerue not only for a manifeſt example of his iuſtice, but alſo for an euident teſtimony againſt them ſelues and al infidels, of the om- nipotent diuinity of our Sauour *Ieſus Chriſt*, whome they cruci- fied, and of the verity of our Chriſtian religion which they im- pugne.

Aug. in pſal. 58.

Genes. 4.

The cauſes why God hath ordain- ed that the Iewes ſhall ſtil remaine a diſt- inct people from al other, not- withſtanding their general dif- perſion.

Pſal. 58.

31. This S. *Auguſtin* wel conſidered, who expounding this verſe of the pſalme; *Ne occideris eos, nequando obliuiſcantur populi mei*; ſaith that it may wel be vnderſtood, as the wordes of our Sau- our to his father concerning the Iewes, as though he ſhould ſay: *Iſlos inimicos meos qui me occiderunt noli tu occidere, maneat gens Iudaor- um*; *Theſe my enemies (o father) who haue killed me, doe not thou kill, but let the nation of the Iewes remaine*; wherof he alſo yeeldeth two rea- ſons, the one that they remaining in continual affliction, may be a teſtimony to the world, as wel of their owne ſinne and great ingratitude to almighty God, as alſo of his iuſtice in puniſhing the ſame; the other reaſon is, *Quia neceſſary ſunt credentibus gentibus*; *Be cauſe they are neceſſary for the gentils which beleete; & why? may (ſaith hee) to the end that (as the pſalmiſt ſaith) almighty God may ſhew vnto vs his mercy in our very enemies*: that is to ſay, that by their ob- ſtinace and reprobation, we may ſee his mercy towards vs in our vocation; beſides that, *they ſerue vs alſo* (ſaith he in an other place) for porters to beare and carry after vs the law and the prophe- tis, in teſtimony of the doctrine of our Chriſtian catholic Church.

Aug. in pſal. 58.

Aug. Ibid.

Aug li re. con- tra Fauſtum.

32. In which reſpect S. *Bernard* ſaith notably, *Non ſunt perſe- quendi Iudæi, non ſunt trucidandi, nec effugandi quidem &c.* The Iewes are not to be perſecuted, they are not to be killed, no nor to be chaſed from amongſt vs: and then giuing the reaſon therof, he ſaith; *Vni qui- dam apices nobis ſunt.* &c. They are lively letters, repreſenting vnto vs the paſſion of our Lord, for they are diſperſed into al countries, to the end that whiles they pay the penalty of their horrible crime, they may be witneſſes of

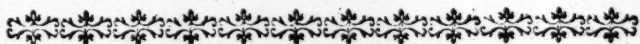
The Iewes ought not to be expelled from, a- mongſt Chriſt- ians, and why. Bernard. ad e- piſcop. clertum & populum ſpir. ep. 322.

our redemption; Besides that (saith he) if they were cleane' extinguished, how should the promise of their reduction, and conuersion in the latter end of the world be fulfilled? Thus reasoneth s. Bernard, which I haue thought good to note by the way, to satisfie the scruple of some in these daies who are scandalized to see the *Iewes* suffered to liue in *Rome*, and other Christian countries, not considering, as it seemeth, the perticuler prouidence of God therein, who so ordaineth it for their greater punishment, his owne greater glory, the manifestation of his loue towards vs, the confirmation of our Christian religion; yea and for the saluation of some of them, whome it pleaseth him to cal to the Christian faith, whiles neuertheles their whole nation in general beareth the heauy burthen of their owne malediction, which they gaue against them selues, when they cried. *Sanguis eius super nos, et super filio. nostros. His blood light vpon vs and vpon our children.*

*Why the Iewes
are suffered to
liue in Rome, &
other Christian
citties.*

Math. ca. 27.

33. Thus much concerning the iustice of God vpon the people of the *Iewes* for their sinne, which sinne, as it was the greatest that euer was committed, so also it hath had, and still hath the greatest and most rigorous punishment, that euer was laid vpon any nation or country, and is so euident, that it can not be denied.



OTHER EXAMPLES OF GODS SEVERE
iudgments vpon commonwelths for sinne, and particularly
for negligence in the execution of iustice vpon offendours, and
for the sinnes of the flesh.

CHAP. 20.

*A great plague
and famin in the
citties of Rome
and Laurentum,
for negligence in
the execution of
iustice.
Plutar. in Ro-
mulo.*



VT to leaue the scriptures apart for awhile, and to prosecute this matter a litle further with the examples of prophane authors, we read in *Plutark* that when *Romulus* King of Rome, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabins* after cruel warrs, had made their composition to gouerne the *Romans* and *Sabins* ioynly, their fel a strange kind of plague and famin in the citties of *Rome* and *Laurentum*,

ventum, for 2. murthers committed by the *Romans* and *Laurentins*, the one by the kinsmen of *Tatius* vpon certaine embassadours of *Laurentum* (which murder *Tatius* neglected to punish) and the other by the friends of the said embassadours vpon *Tatius*, in reuenge of the iniustice done by his kinsmen, and suffered by him, which also *Romulus* let passe whpunished; whervpon it being noted, that the plague and famine encreased strangely in both cities, and a common opinion conceiued that it was a punishment of God vpon them for those murthers committed, and not punished, they resolved to doe iustice vpon the offendours, which being done, the plague ceased presently in both places.

2. Also the same author ascribeth the sack of *Rome* by the *Gaules* to the iust iudgment of God vpon the *Romans*, for two iniustices committed by them; The first was the vniust banishment of *Camillus*; The second, their refusal to punish certaine embassadours of their owne, who being sent to treat peaceably with the *Gaules* in behalfe of the *Clusians*, committed acts of hostility against them contrary to the law of armes: and when the *Gaules* sent to *Rome* to demand reparation of the iniury, the *Romans* not only refused to giue them satisfaction, but also made their embassadors who had done the iniury, Generals of an army to assist the *Clusians* against them, not with standing that the *Feciales* (who were certaine officers ordained by *Numa Pompilius*, to determine of the iust and lawfull causes to make peace or warre) made great instance to the *Senat* that the embassadours might be punished, lest the penalty of their fault might otherwise fall vpon the commonwelth, as indeede it did; for the *Gaules* giuing battaile to the embassadours, easely ouerthrew them, and prosecuted their victory, spoiled, & sacked *Rome*, as I haue declared * before vpon an other occasion.

Plutar. in Camillo.

Rome sacked & spoiled by the Gaules, in punishment of two iniuries committed by the Romans.

* Chap. 5. nu. 6.

3. Herein I wish to be noted how greiuous a sinne it is in the opinion of the very Paynims themselves, and how dangerous to commonwelth, to neglect and omit the punishment of wronges and iniuries done therein; Wherby the offences of particuler men, are made the sinnes and offences of the whole state, and draw the wrath and punishment of God vpon the same. Wherof an other example may also be gathered out of the same author and history, concerning the cause and manner of the first coming

Plut. Ibid.

ming of the *Gauls* into Italy, and of the great spoyle they made in *Tuscane*, which seemed to proceede of the iust iudgment of God for the like negligence in the execution of iustice.

The cause why
the Gauls came
into Italy.

4. For one of the cuntry of *Tuscane* called *Aruntius*, hauing his wife taken from him, and kept by force by a noble man called *Lucumo*, and finding no remedy by iustice (by reason that his aduersary was supported by the Magistrats) was so incensed therewith against the whole state, that he went into *France*, and caryed with him some of the grapes and other commodities of *Italy*, to inuite the *Gauls* to accept the inuasion of *Tuscane*, wherto he easily perswaded them, & serued them for their guide, God so disposing of his iustice, as it seemed, that he to whome the state had done the wronge, should be the meanes and instrument of the punishment due for the same.

Plutar. in his
treatise intituled
Narrationes ama-
torie.

Dio. for. Sicul.

li. 15. c. 14.

Cicero. de diui-
nat. li. 1.

The Lacedemo-
nians gre viously
punished for o-
mission of iustice
& for the sinnes
of the flesh.

5. Hereto I wil adde an other notable example in the same kind, of the ouerthrow of the *Lacedemonians*, & their losse of the empyre of *Greece*, by the iust iudgmēt of God for the like offence, as both *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutark*, *Cicero*, and others affirme, and the euent it selfe made it manifest, the story is thus.

6. Two *Lacedemonians* passing ouer the playne of *Leuttra*, were lodged & courteously entertayned in the howse of one *Scedalus*, who had two handsome women to his daughters, and returning that way shortly after, and finding the two young women at home, and their father absent, first rauished, and after killed them both; Their father at his returne finding his daughters slaine, and vnderstanding who had bin the doers of it, went to *Lacedemonia* to craue iustice against the malefactors; but so potent were they and their freends there, that he could by no meanes obtayne it, wherupon after infinit malidictions powred forth in the sorrowe of his hart against them, and their whole state, he went home and desperatly killed him selfe vpon the graue of his daughters; Not long after, warts growing betwixt the *Thebans*, and the *Lacedemonians*, the soule of *Scedalus* appeared to *Pelopidas* (one of the cheefe captaines of the *Thebans*) and encouraged him to giue battayle to the *Lacedemonians* in the plaine of *Leuttra*, where he and his daughters were buried, telling him that their death should be there reuenged, and so afterwards it fel out. For there the *Lacedemonians* lost not only the the battaile,

but

but also the empire of *Greece*, which they had many yeeres before possessed; wherein may also be noted how God executed his iustice vpon them in an other respect. For whereas the sinne of the flesh was growne in *Lacedaemonia* to such excessse, as that no part of *Greece* was so much infected therewith (as I haue signified before) it seemed conuenient to the diuine iustice, that the same should also be a meane to draw his further wrath vpon their whole state, that so they might be punished by the meanes of that sinne, wherby they had most offended.

7. And truly though many sinnes are compted more heinous and are more seuerely chastised by humane lawes then the sinnes of the flesh, yet almighty God hath not more rigorously punished any in whole countreyes & states then the same; as to omit the examplar plague that fel vpon *Sodoma* and *Gomorrah* by fyre from heauen, for the detestable sinne against nature (which in that respect is called *Sodomie*) we read in the holy scriptures, that al the whole trybe of *Beniamin* excepting only 600) was slaine by the children of *Israel* by the commandement of almighty God, for a rape that those of the towne of *Gabaa* committed vpon the wife of a *Leuit*, whome they abused in such excessse that shee presently dyed, wherupon the other trybes assembled them selues, and first demanded to haue the malefactors deliuered vnto them, and then vpon the refusal therof, consulted with almighty God whether they should inuade them or no, which God commanded them to doe, and appoynted them a captain, & although in two battailes the children of *Israel* had the worst (for such cause as I haue declared before vpon another occasion) yet in the 3. battaile; *Percussit eos Dominus* (saith the scripture) *in conspectu filiorum Israel* &c. Our Lord stroke those of the tribe of *Beniamin* in the sight of the children of *Israel*. Who killed of them 25100. men, that bore armes; wherby we may see no lesse then by the former examples, as wel the enormity of the sinne of the flesh, as also that the refusal to doe iustice vpon a few offenders of one towne of *Gabaa*, drew al the tribe of *Beniamin* into the participation of the offence, which was therefore punished in them al alike.

8. But to omit the later consideration (to wit, of the omission to doe iustice vpon offenders) and to say some what more

Gen. ca. 19.
Examples of
Gods seuerer iudgements vpon
whole common-
wealths for the
sinne of the
flesh.
Li. Iudic. ca. 20.
Ibid. ca. 19.

Chap. 12. an. 20.

Spaine conquered by the Mores for the sinnes of the flesh.

Roderic. Tole-
tan. li. 3. de rebus
Hispan. c. 14. 15. 16.
17. 18. 19.

*Idem. Ibid.
Ioan. vassus.
chron. an. 11.*

concerning the punishment of God for the sinnes of the flesh, we haue a notable and fearful example therof in the kingdome of *Spaine*, conquered by the *Moores* and possessed by them 700. yeeres for that offence; For when the kingdome had flourished, as wel in religion as power,* from the tyme of King *Recared* (the first Catholique kinge therof) for the space of 120. yeeres, the wicked kinge *Vitiza* being a man giuen ouer to al lust, and carnallity, infected and corrupted al *Spaine*, not only with the bad example of his owne dissolute life (hauing many wiues at once besides diuers concubines) but also with abominable lawes, wherby he gaue leaue to al sorts of men to haue as many wiues and concubines as they listed, yea & forced priestes, and such as would haue liued chaste, to marry; by which meanes al *Spaine* became with in a while to be no better then a common stew or brodel. And although almighty God according to his accustomed mercy expected their conuersion & amendment al the time of his raigne, & laied only the penalty therof vpon him, whome he deprived both of his crowne and of his eye-sight, by the meanes of *Roderick* who succeeded him in the kingdome: yet when the said *Roderick* followed his stepps as wel in his vicious life, as in the maintenance of his abominable lawes, it pleased God of his iustice to permitt him to giue the occasion both of his owne ruine, and also of the ouerthrow of al *Spaine* by the sinne of the flesh, wherwith the whole kingdome was, as it were, overflowed.

9. For whereas King *Roderick* had sent a kinsman of his owne called *Count Iulian*, embassadour into *Africk*, and in the meane tyme rauished his daughter, or (as some write) his wife; the *Count* vnderstanding it at his returne, was so incensed therewith against the king, that in reuenge therof he practised with the *Moores* to bring them into *Spaine*, who with his assistance conquered it so speedily, and with such destruction of the people, that the punishment of God was most euident therein. For hauing first ouerthrowne King *Roderick* (whose body could neuer after the battaile be found) they subdued almost al *Spaine* in 8. months, or in 14. as some say, and slew 700000. of al sortes of people; besides great numbers of captiues, which they sent prisoners into *Barbary*, and from that tyme forward they reigned in the

*Almost al
Spaine conquered
by the Mores
in 8. months.
* Ioan vassus in
chron. an. 714.*

in the possession of that kingdome, or of some great part therof for the space of 700. yeeres;

10. This example of the conquest and subuersion of *Spain* for the sinns of the flesh, was so famous, and so much obscured, by godly and wise men at the same time when it hapned, that *S. Bonifacius*, a countiman of ours and bishop of *Mentz* in *Germany* (who liued in the same age, and conuerted the *Saxons* and *Frisons* from paganisme to the Christian faith) propoſed it to an english King called *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, to with draw him from his dissolute life; and for as much as his epistle to him containeth very notable matter, I wil alleage here some part therof, translated out of the latin, wherin this zealous, and blessed bishop hauing reprehended the King for his loose life, faith furder thus.

The subuersion of spayne by the Mores attributed by vryse and holly men in the same age, to Gods iustice for their sinnes of the flesh
Baron. anno 745.

11. I beseech you deare sonne in our Lord, that if this be true which is reported of you, you wil repent and amend your life, remembering how vnfitte it is for you, who haue the Image of God created in you, to conuert the same in to the Image of the deuil by licentiousnes, and that you, whome no merits or deserts of your owne, but the bountifull piety of almighty God hath made a prince, and King, to gouerne many, should make your selfe slaue of the diuel by the sinns of the flesh; For as the Apostle, faith, what sinne soeuer a man committs, he makes him selfe slaue therof, and the Paynims them selues who know not the true God, doe obserue in this point, that which God ordayned from the begining, liuing in al true loue and loialty with their wiues, and punishing adultery, and fornication. For if in old *Saxony*, where there is no knowledg of Christ, either maide or wife doe comit adultery or fornication, she is first strangled, and after burnt, and he that corrupted her is hanged ouer her; or else she is stripped naked to the middle, & whipped by chaſt matrons from towne to towne, and prickt with sharpe kniues vntill she dye therewith. If therefore the gentils who know not God, haue such a zeale and loue to chastity, what should you doe, that are a Christian King; Therefore haue pittie vpon your owne soule, and vpon the multitude of your people which perish by your example, for whose soules you are to yeeld account. Consider also this, that if the english nation (as the

Bayon cod. 28.
A notable epistle of S. Bonifacius an Englishman, bishop of Mentz to King Ethelbald to wish draw him from his dissolute life.

How rigorously the Saxons in Germany being paynims punished adultery and fornication.

very

The hurt that
followeth to
commonwealth
of vnlawful
procreation.

very Painims in France and Italy doe cast in our teeth) doe con-
temne mariage, and giue them selues ouer to vnlawful lust, it
must needs follow that the children which shal proceede of
them wil degenerat, and al the people grow euery day worse
and worse, and become at last towardly and weake in warre,
“ vnstable in faith, shameful and reprochful amongst men and
“ hateful to God, as it hath already chanced to the *Prouensals*,
“ *Burgundians* and *Spaniards*, who falling from God by the same
“ meanes, are now by his iust iudgment seuerly punished for the
“ same by the *Saracens*, with the losse of the Christian faith.

Baron. cod. an.

The vnfortunat
ends of the kings
Celred, *Osred*, &
Ethelbald, in
punishments of
their licentious
lives.

12. Thus wrote this famous bishop a few yeeres after *Spaine*
was conquered by the *Moores*, and further added certaine exam-
ples of Gods iustice extended vpon some english Kinges, for
their licentious life and other offences, as vpon Kinge *Celred*
predecessor of *Ethelbald*, who he saith was not only a desflowerer
of religious women, but also a breaker of ecclesiastical priui-
ledges, and that therefore God suffred a wicked spirit to take and
possesse him, as he was banquetinge with his nobility, and to kill
him after that he had made him blaspheme almighty God, and
to the same cause he also attributeth the vnfortunate end of *Os-*
fred King of *Northumberland*, who he saith was *Earundem culpax*
reus, guilty of the same faults, and that therefore God suffred him to
be miserably killed Thus this holy man admonished King *Ethel-*
bald; who as it may be presumed, contemned his counsell, and
therefore receiued at Gods handes, the punishment which the
blessed bishop had threatned him, for he was afterwards cruelly
murdered as appeareth in our histories.

Polidor. li. 4. &
supplement Epi-
tomes hist. Bede.

13. This I haue said, with desier that it may serue for a do-
cument to al princes & maiestrats to labour by al meanes to re-
presse and reforme that vice of the flesh, not only in them selues,
if neede be; but also in their subiects, lest if it grow to excessse
in either, it may draw the wrath of God vpon the whole com-
monwelth, wherof I haue declared the reason in the 17. chap-
ter. Therefore now I wil proceede to other examples of Gods
wrath executed vpon commonwelths, & wil lay downe only 4.
most manifest. Three in our owne country, and the fourth in
the kingdome of *Naples*.

THAT

THAT THE THREE CONQUESTS OF
our country by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans proceeded
of the finnes, either of the Princes, or of the people, or of both;
and what their finnes were which deserved so great a puni-
shment; Also by the way, it is declared what great mercy
God shewed towards the Brittrians and English from tyme
to tyme.

CHAP. 21.



IF WE consider the three diuers conquests of
our country since it receiued the Christian
faith, and the state therof at the same time, to-
gether with the iudgment and testimony of
the grauest authours that haue written therof;
we shal easily see that the same haue proceeded
of no other cause but of the sinns of the Princes, or of the peo-
ple, or of both; For although the infirmity of man is such, that
there neuer wanteth matter for Gods iustice to punish in com-
monwelths (by reason wherof we see that in al countries the
people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not only
perticulerly euery one in his owne person, with misaduentures,
sicknes, losse of goods, death of children & such like, but also ge-
nerally with plagues, famin, inundations and warrs) yet the su-
buersion of commonwelths neuer chanceth, but for some great
excesse of sinne, either in the Prince, or in the people, or in
both; & commonly after many warnings & admonitions giuen
by gentle and sweere corrections, such being the longanimity
and patience of al mighty God, that he lieth the axe at the foote
of the tree long before he cut it downe, and triethal meanes
to cure the sores of his seruants, by lenitiues and fomentations,
rather then by cauyeres and incisions, or by cutting off the infe-
sted member, which he neuer doth but when there is no other
remedy.

2. This course we see he held with his owne people, for
though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, inua-

C c

sions

The causes of the
3. conquests of
our cuntry by
the Saxons Da-
nes & Normans

The proceedinge
of almighty God
towards his
owne people
like to the course
he held with
the Britains.

Hierem. ca. 2.
Hierem. ca. 5.

4 Reg. ca. 17.

4 Reg. ca. 23.
24. 25.

The patience
which God vsed
towards the
Brittains before
their conquest.

The miserable
state of the Bri-
tains inuaded by
Pittles and Scots.
Gildas de exci-
tio Britan.

The Britains desti-
tute of humane
help, had re-
course to the de-
vill, and obta-
ined it.

sions of enemies and ciuill warres; yet after a while he euer restored them to tranquillity, plenty & peace, vntill at length they proued so incorrigible, that the prophet lamented in the person of God, that al his fatherly correction was lost vpon them, saying; *Frustra percussisti filios vestros. I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine*; and againe the said prophet saith to almighty God; *Percussisti eos &c. Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not bene sorry; thou hast afflicted them, and they haue refused to receaue thy discipline*; As who would say, there is noe other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them; & therefore almighty God gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies, sitteth the ten tribes in *Samaria* which were al taken with their King *Osee* and translated into *Syria*, and after also the other two tribes in *Iuda*, were caried into captiuitie by *Nabuchadonosor* King of *Babylon*, where they remained 70. yeeres; & though they were after restored to their country and their temple reedified, yet at length they were for their extreame ingratitude and peruerse obstinacy vtterly ruynated, as I haue declared before.

3. The like proceeding almighty God vsed with our country in the time of the *Brittains* after they receaued the Christian faith, for he chastised them some times with dearth and famine, some tymes with pestilence, and other whiles with incursions of their enemies, and with ciuill wars amongst them selues, so long as the same sufficed to reduce them to repentance and amendment of their liues, as some tymes it did; which our famous country man *S. Bede*, and the ancient *Gildas* called the *Sage*, doe testifie, declaring that the *Brittains* being driven partly by famine, and partly by inuasions of *Scots* and *Pitts*, either to abandon the country, or to hide them selues in mountaines woods and caues, craued help of the Romans writing vnto them that lamentable epistle, wherof *Gildas* maketh mencion, in the which they said; *Our barbarous enemies doe drine vs to the sea, and the sea drineth vs back to them againe, so that of two kind of deaths we haue our choice, to wit, whether we wil haue our throats cut, or els be drowned*; Thus wrote they to the Romans:

4. But being not succored by them, by reason of their great wars at the same time with *Attila*, they begane to haue recourse to the mercy of God, and to rely wholly vpon his helpe (as the
fore

fore said authors report) and so with his assistance assailed their enemies out of the caues, and woods where they lay hid, and not only gaue them great ouerthrowes, but also droue them out of the country, & shortly after had such plenty of corne, fruite, and al kind of victualls, that the like had nor bene seene, nor heard of before in many ages; wherupon followed the effect which Moyses noted and lamented in the children of Israel; *Incrassatus est dilectus* (saith he) *& recalcitrauit*; The beloued people of God was made fatte, and then they began to kick, that is to say (as he expoundeth it presently) *incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum*: Being become faire and fatte, they forsooke their God and Creator, and so it fel out with the Britains.

The Britains by prosperity became insolent, and vngrateful toward God.

Deuter. 32. Ibid.

5. For they proued so vngrateful for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the foresaid authors affirme) they fel into the extremity of al mischeefe and wickednes: *Non solum seculares viri* &c. Not only secular men, but also the ecclesiastical, giuing them selues wholly to dronkenes, to animosity, and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of truth, loue of lies, and al vice; wherupon our Lord scourged them againe with such a pestilent mortality, that with in a while there were not men enough a liue (as these authors testify) to bury the dead, and when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith S. Bede) *acrior gentem peccatricem vltio diuisceleris secuta est*; Shortly after a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednes followed vpon that sinneful people; For the Picts and Scots began againe to make such irruptions vpon them, that not being able to withstand them, they were forced to cal in the Saxons to assist them, *Quod domini nutu* (saith S. Bede) *dispositum esse constat*. &c. vvhich it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receaue due punishment. For with in a while the Saxons did confederate them selues with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed al the country with fier and sword, burning vp howses, villages, and townes, and killing al sorts of people, in so much that many fled into forreine countries, and others hid them selues amongst the hills, mountaines and woods, vntil acknowledging the iust iudgment of God vpon them, they called to him for mercy; *Vnanimi consensu auxilium caeleste precentes*; Crawing help from heauen with vni forme consent; wherwith Gods mercy was mo-

Beda. hist. li. ii. ca. 14. The Picts and Britains.

Idem. Ibid. New inuasions of the Britains by Picts, and Scots.

Idem. Ibid. The Britains called in the Saxons for their defence vvhich by Gods iustice turned to their vtter overthrow in the end. Idem. ca. 15. Idem. ca. 16. The reuenance of the Britains for their sinnes, and Gods mercy towards them

ued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuers notable victories by his meanes, and especially at *Blackamore* in yorke there (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*. as saith *Polidore*) where they made such great slaughter of them, that for some yeeres, they did not further molest them, God so disposing in reward of their repentance at that time.

Pol. Virgil. li. 3.

The relation of
the Britans into
their former
vices.

Gildas de excidi.
Britan.

The vices of the
clergy and laity
in Britanny.
Idem.
Ibid.

6. For being as *Gildas* saith myndful of their former calamities and afflictions laied vpon them for their sinns, al sorts of men, spiritual and temporal, as wel the Princes as their subiects, did euery one his duty in his vocation; *At illis* (saith *Gildas*) *decedentibus*. &c. But they being dead, and an other age succeeding ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure, al trueth and iustice was so subuerted, that there appeared not so much as any signe therof in al the fore said states of men; *Exceptus paucis et Valde paucis*. Excepting a few, a wise very few; for the *Kinges* (saith hee) *Weretruans*, and the *lugges*, most wicked and corrupt, the priests negligent of their duty; *Raro sacrificantes et nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*; Seeldome sacrificing and neuer comming to the altar with a pure hart, ignorant, impudent, simoniacal, and lasciuious; and al sorts of laimen loaden with wickednes, with murder, paricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and al iniquity.

Gild. Ibid.
The horrible finnes
of the princes
of Britanny be-
fore the conquest
thereof by the
Saxons.
Galfred monu-
met. hist. li. 12.
ca. 15.
Kin. Cadwall-
ladar sleing into
France, acknow-
ledged Gods in-
flicke vpon him
selfe, and his
people for their
sinnes.

7. And to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of almighty God was powred vpon the whole nation, the same author toucheth breely the liues of some of the kinges and princes that were in his time, as of *Constantinus*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglasus* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyranny, periury, sacrilegious murders, and paricides, (committed euen before the holy altars) adulteries, horrible incestes, breach of vowes, of religion, and chastity, yea and 2. of them with beastly Sodomy; for the which enormities, and the general corruption and wickednes of the whole nation, he threatneth or rather prophesieth vnto them the vtter ruine and destruction which shortly after worthily fel vpon them, as the British cronicler *Geffrey of Monmouth*, also acknowledgeth. saying that King *Cadwalladar* (who was the last of the race of *Britans*) vsed these wordes as he fled by sea into France, with the reliques of the Britan nation; *Vae nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra*.

nostra, &c. For be to vs sinners for our greivous finnes wherwith we haue neuer ceased to offend God vvholes we had time of repentance, and therefore nowv the punishment of God falleth vpon vs, vvwhich rooteth vs out of our native soyle. Thus said King Cadwalladar, and much more to the same purpose, wherby, as also by that which I haue said before it evidently appeareth that the finnes of the Britans, as wel of the Princes as of the people, was the cause of their ouerthrowe, and of the conquest of their country by the Saxons.

8. And now to speake of that which followed in the raigne of the said Saxons & English, & how almighty God punished them also for their finnes, it cannot be denied but that there were amongst them many holy men and great *saints* of God, as wel of the kinges, as of the bishops, prelates, religious men, and others; as 8. Kinges, aboue 60 Princes of royal blood (to wit, sonnes, daughters, nephewes, or neeces of kings) and 35. bishops, besides a far greater number of religious and holy men and women, also famous for their holy life and miracles, before, or after their deaths, that they were and are held and honored for Saints, neuertheles there neuer wanted amongst the rest of the Princes, and people, matter, and as I may tearme it, fewel, to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realme, in so much that *s. Bonifacius* bishop of *Mentz* in Germany (of whome I haue spoken before) writing to an archdeacon in England called *Hecbert* about the yeere of our Lord 745. exclaymed against the vices of the english Christians saying; *Inauditum malum est prae ceteris seculis* &c. The like mischeefe hath not bin heard of in former ages, to vvizt, that a Christian nation should far exceede & surpasse the Sodomits in sinne, and that contemning lawfull marriage, & the custome of the vvhole vvorld; sion. and the precept of God, they shoud liue in continual incest, adultery, and abominable vvhoredome, euen with religious vvomen.

9. Thus wrote *s. Boniface* in the same age, & not many yeeres before that the *Danes* first entred England, wherby it may wel be iudged that for those enormous finnes of the flesh, which he so much reprehended in the English, almighty God chastised them, not only by ciuil warres, which seeldome ceased there vvholes there were many kinges, but also by inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracyes & after by open wars, cruelly infested and troubled the realme at diuers and sundry tymes, for the

Of the conquest
of the English by
the Danes.

The great vertue
of many of
the Saxon kinges
vvhereof 8.
were canonized
beside 60. princes
of royal
blood.

Guliel. Malmsh
li. 2. c. 11.
Martirolog.
Roman. & alij.
Chap. 10. nu. 10.
Baron anno. 745.
The great vice
that rayned in
England vvhen
the Danes made
their first inua-
sion.

The Danes infested
& troubled
the English by
piracies and
warres 200.
yeeres;
Circa an. 740.
Polidori. s. hist.
Angl.

Gods wrath
appealed to-
wards the En-
glish by the
prayers and me-
rits o the Saints
of the nation.
Polid. li. 3. hist.
Anglic.

K. Alured being
greatly distressed
by the Danes
was comforted
by a vision of
S. Cuthbert.

Gulielmus Mal-
sburiensis de ge-
stis Anglo. li. 2.
ca. 4.

Polid. li. 3.
Ingulphus Hist.
Angl.

K. Alured ex-
pelled the Da-
nes, which
would not be
Christians.
Polid. virg. hist.
li. 3.

Idem. li. 6.

The mercy of
God towards
the posterity of
the good King
Alured to the
4 generation.
Guliel. Malmsb.
li. 2. ca. 8.
Ingulphus hist.
Anglorum.

space of almost 200. yeeres, vntil at length, the iustice of God was satisfied and his wrath appealed by the prayers and Merits of the Saints of the nation, as it was reuealed to the good King *Alured*, or *Alfred* founder of the famous vniuersity of *Oxford*, who hauing had many yeres warres with the *Danes*, and being driuen by them at length to great extremity, and forced to retire him selfe into a certaine fenny and marish ground in *Somersetshyre*, with his mother and other of his nobillity, was comforted with a vision of S. *Cuthbert*, who appeared not only to him, but also to his mother in their sleepe, telling them that whereas the english had for a long tyme before borne the heauy penance of their sinnes, by the inuasion and molestation of the *Danes*, God would of his mercy ease them therof: *Indigenarum Sanctorum meritis* for the merits of the home borne Saints, or holy men of the nation. And therefore bad him be of good comfort, for that he should with in a while be restored to his former state and haue the victory of his enemyes, which after proued most true.

10. For he recovered al that which he had lost and droue the *Danes* out of *England*, excepting such as were content to become Christians, to whome he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *Eastangles*, who duringe his tyme neuer moued more warre, & they of the easterne parts stirring afterwarde against his sonne called *Edward* the first, were by him vtterly ouerthrowne, as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner and vpon like occasion, were subdued by his grandchild *Adelstane* who made *England* a monarchy, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the raigne of 4. Kings the successors of *Adelstan*, to wit, his 2. bretheren, *Eamond* and *Eldred* (who succeeded one an other) and the 2. sonnes of *Edmund* called *Edyvin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was for his excellent vertues and prosperous raigne called; *Honor & delicia Anglorum*, the honor & delight of *England*, or as *Ingulphus* termeth him, *honor & rosa regum*, the honor, and rose of Kings, of whom it is written hatt in his tyme al ecclesiastical orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, al ciuill and forrein warrs ceased, *Scotland* was tributary to him, and he was called the King of *Albion*, being no lesse powerful by sea then by land; no yere of his raigne passed wherein he built nor

some

some monasteries, or else did not some great and notable good to his country, and such were his vertues and so great the fame of his felicity, that there came principal men out of al countries adioyning to see him, and to be acquainted with him.

11. Loc then how the promise of *S. Cubert* to Kinge *Alured* was fulfilled, partly in him, and partly in his posterity to the 4. generation, and how the *Danes* were expelled, and the english flourished, when the penalty of their sinnes past was paid, and Gods wrath appeased, by the merits of the *Saints* or holy men of the *Iland* as *S. Cubert* signified.

12. Therefore whereas the *Danes* returned againe into england shortly after *Edgar* in the raigne of his sonne *Etheldred*, and not only molested it with incursions (as they were wont) but also conquered and possessed it for a time, it may wel be presumed that they were but the instruments of Gods iustice therein for the punishment of sinne, as wel as in former times; and although the iudgments of God are so inscrutable, that no certaine iudgment can be made thereof, furder then it pleaseth him selfe to reueale, neuertheles speaking probably according to the course of his diuine iustice declared in the the scriptures in like cases, it may be thought that the said conquest made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the sinns partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though he were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*, and lastly of their sonne *Etheldred* in whose time the country was conquered; For although King *Edgar* excelled in al piety and vertue in his later daies (as I haue declared) yet he did an act in his youth wherof it may be thought his children and posterity paid the penalty.

The *Danes* returned into England for the punishment of sinne.
Polid. hist. Angli. li. 7.

The *Danes* conquered England (as it may be thought) for the sinnes of *K. Edgar*, and his sonne *Etheldred*.

13. This I say for that after the death of *Elfeda* his wife (by whome he had King *Edvard* the martyr) he fell in loue with *Alfreda* wife to a noble man called *Etheivvalfe*, whome with her consent he caused to bee killed, to the end he might marry her, and how greuous this sinne of his was in the sight of almighty God, and how iustly punished in his posterity, we may wel iudge by the like offence of King *David*, who to the end he might marry *Bersabe* procured the death of *Urias* her husband, for the which the prophet *Nathan* told him from almighty God, that the sword should neuer depart out of his house, and that his

Polid. Virg. hist. Anglic. li. 6.
What the offence was of *K. Edgar*, and *Alfreda* his wife.

1. Reg. ca. 12;

sonnes

sonne in the cradle should dye therefore, besides that God permitted for punishment of that sinne, that al his other children except *Salomon* died most vnfortunatly; For *Amnon* hauing deflowred his sister *Thamar* was killed by his brother *Absolon*; & *Adonias* by *Salomon*, & lastly *Absolon* rebelling and fighting against his owne father Kinge *Dauid*, was miserably slaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head; & therefore no meruaile that the like sinne of Kinge *Edward* was also seuerely punished in his children.

14. To this purpose it is to be noted, that his marriage proved most vnfortunate, not only to the fruite that proceeded thereof, and to the whole realme (as shal be declared here after) but also to King *Edward* his sonne by his former wife, who succeding him in his kingdome, was shortly after killed by the means of *Alfreda* his stepmother, for the aduancement of her sonne *Etheldred*, wherein I can not but note by the way, the seuerity of Gods iustice in punishing sinne, seeing the said young Prince being so holy and innocent of life, and so higly in Gods fauor, that presently after his death many notable miracles were done at his body, and he canonized for a *Saint*, yet he could not escape the temporal punishment due to his fathers offence.

15. I ut to proceede, such was the common opinion of the innocencye and holines of this young King *Edward*; and of the enormity of the sinne committed by *Alfreda* in the murder of him, that the conciete of most men was at that time (as *William of Malmesbury* witnesseth) that the conquest of *England* by the *Danes* was a punishment of God for the same; which may wel be presumed, especialy if we adde therto the offence, not only of his father (whereof I haue already spoken) but also of his brother *Etheldred*, for whose cause he was murthered, and in whose time that conquest hapned; for it may be thought most consonant to the iustice of almighty God, that *Etheldred* being the sonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the cursed marriage, yea and with al most wicked him selfe, should beare the penalty as wel of his owne, as of both his parents sinnes. This holy *S. Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury* fore saw, and foretold of him, partly at his coronation (saying, that for his mothers sinne in the murder of King *Edward*, both he and his childrens should be seuerely punished, and his kingdome transferred to strangers)

Idem. ca. 13.

3. Reg. ca. 2.

2. Reg. ca. 18.

Polid. Virg. li. 6.
in fine.
The severity of
God iustice in
punishing sinne.

Guliel. Malmf.
de gestis Reg. Ang.
li. 2. c. 9.

S. Dunstan prophesied of the
conquest of En-
gland.
Idem lib. 4. c. 10.
Polid. Virg. li. 7.
Legolaphus Hist.
Angl.

and partly afterwards, when vpon displeasure taken against the Bishop of *Rochester*, he beleeged him in the said City, and was nothing moued, either with the humble sute of *s. Dunstan*, or els with his threats of the wrath of God; and *s. Andrew*, patron of the church of *Rochester* vntil at length *s. Dunstan* gaue him a hundreth pounds in money, for the which he was content to raise his sege; where vpon the holly man sent him woord, that seeing he preferred money, before God and his Apostle, *at this mischefe which God had ordained, should shortly fall vpon him*, meaning the inuasion of the *Danes*, and losse of his kingdome, which fel out to be true.

16. And if we consider the manner of his life, and the nature, and quality of his offences, we shal find, that they were the very same which the scriptures affirme to be the cause of the translation of kingdomes, from one nation to an other wherof the booke of Ecclesiasticus saith *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur &c.* *kingdomes are transferred from nation to nation for iniustice, iniuries, calumniation, and sinners deceits.* In which kind of sinnes, King *Ethelred* greatly exceeded, for he had his eares so open, and showed such fauour to al kind of accusers and calumniatours, that (as *Polidor Virgil* saith) no mans life was in security; besides that vpon euery light occasion, he spoiled, and banished the richest, and welthiest of his subiects, being geuen withal to al kind of riot, and dissolution; and therefore *William* of *Malmesbury* writeth of him breefely thus; *Sus vite cursus fauus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu; The course of his life was cruel in the beginning, miserable in the midst, and shameful in the end.*

17. Furthermore he was so cowardly & base minded, that he was no lesse contéprible to strangers abroad, etthen hateful to his owne subiects at home; wherupon the *Danes* tooke courage againe to enter *England*, who first made him graunt them a yeerely tribute, wherwith they were content for a time, & after turning thither againe, forced him to flie into *Normandy*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sveno* their King who exercitid al kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the kingdome as long as he liued, which was not past 5. yeeres, after whose death *Ethelred* recovered it againe, and possessed it 2. yeeres, whilst *Canutus* sonne to *Sveno* was held occupied at home with a rebellion of the people

The offences of K. Ethelred in whose tyme the Danes conquered England. Eccli. ca. 10.

Polidor. li. 7.

Galiet Mal. de ges reg. li. 2. ca. 10.

Polid. Virg. li. 7.

K. Ethelred expelled out of England by Sveno King of the Danes, who reigned there five yeeres. K. Ethelred after Suenos death recovered England again; and vsed his former cruelty and impiety.

of Norway, in which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his old vomit of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who then had bene for some yeeres planted and marroed in England) causing many of them to be killed with cruel torments, and amongst others, *Sigifredus*, and *Morgandus* two of the noblest of them, were falsly accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same; besides that Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred* rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beauty, then commendable for her chastity, al which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being moued with desire as wel to reuenge these iniuries done to his countymen, as also to reconer the kingdome of England conquered by his father, passed ouer thither with an army, and put al to fier and sword; wherupon *Etheldred* died for sorrow, and although his sonne *Edmund* surnamed *Ironside*, after diuers conflict & a combat fought hand to hand with *Canutus* possessed the one halfe of England by cōposition, yet with in a yeere *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the suddaine death of *Edmund*, slaine vpon a priuie as he was easing him selfe, and so he remained absolute King therof, as long as he liued, which was about 20. yeeres after.

Idem.
Ibid.

Canutus sonne
to *svveno* in-
uaded England.

K. *Etheldred*
died for sorrow.
Edmond Iron-
side sonne to *K.*
Etheldred.
Canutus king of
England.

The mercy of
God towards
the English in
turning their
conquest to their
comfort.

The great vertu
and piety of *K.*
Canutus.

18. Herein neuertheles it is to be noted, how the mercy of almighty God concurred with his iustice, and moderated the rigour therof, for that of his infinit bounty he determined by this conquest as it seemeth, rather to chastise. correct, and redresse England then to ruine and oppresse it, and therefore after he had some what satisfied the seuerity of his iustice not only vpon the realme, by the 5. yeeres cruel raigne of *svveno* (who ransacked and spoiled al sorts of men, as wel ecclesiastical, as temporal) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred* and his sonne *Edmond*, he gaue them *Canutus* sonne to *svveno* for their King, who though he was a stranger, yet gouerned with al clemency and good example of life, doing continually acts of piety, making good and hollesome lawes, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deseruing wel of al states, by the meanes wherof England flourished in his time in peace and plenty, of whome I can not forbear (this occasion being offred) to declare here by the way a notable act, which I wish al Princes would wel waigh and consider in the height of their prosperity.

19. It chanced once that as he was walking at *Southampton* by the sea side some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled about al measure his great power, calling him the most mighty and potent King of al Kinges commanding absolutely ouer men, land and sea, wherupon to correct their flattery (and to shew mans infirmity) he went to the very sea side, and sitting downe there, said to the waues (as the tide was comming in) I command you, that you touch not my feete, and being presently wel washed with a waue that came in vpon him, he arose, and turning to his noble men, said, *Loe my Lordes you cal me King of Kinges and Lord of land and sea, though I can not command one of these litle Waues of Water; therefore know yee, that the only King of Kinges, and he that commandeth land and sea, is the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose Wil and providence al thinges are gouerned;* And hauing said thus he returned to *Vinchester*, and tooke the crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it with his owne handes vpon an image of Christ crucified, which was in the church of *S. Peter and Paul*, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Posid. Virgil. Angl. hist. li. 7. in fine.

A memorable act of K. Canutus.

Henricus Huntingd. hist. Angl. li. 6.

20. Though this may seeme to be a digression from my matter, yet I haue thought good to recompt it here, as wel for the rarenes of the example, as also that it may appeare how mercifully God dealt with the people of *England* to giue them such a kinge, by whose piety their conquest turned to their comfort. And this his mercy appeared much more afterwards, when it pleased his diuine maiesty so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of *Canutus*, and his two sonnes *Haraldus* and *Hardicanutus*, or as *Polidor* calleth him *Cunueus*, which two raigned but 6. yeeres the crowne returned againe to English blood, yea & to so excellent a Prince as was *S. Edward the Confessor*, who raigned in al tranquility peace and felicity about 23. yeeres, so that it may seeme that almighty God sought, not only by so great benefits, but also by the good endeauor and example of two such vertuous & pious Kinges, to induce the people of *England* to reforme their liues, which had bene before so corrupted, by the cuil example, negligence, and bad gouernment of *Etheldred*; But when he saw their obstinacy and ingratitude towards him; to be such that neither seuerity, nor lenity, could reclaime them, he gaue them

Guliel. Malsin. de gest. reg. li. 1. ca. 12.

Polid. Virg. li. 8. Ingulphus. hist.

Henric. Huntingd. li. 6.

Roger. Houed. Annal par. 1.

S. Edward the Confessor sunne to K. Etheldred

succeeded Canutus.

them ouer into the handes of the Normans, partly to punish them according to their desertts, and partly to consummate the punishment due to the sinns of *Edgar* and *Etheldred*; For which cause it may be thought he would not suffer the good King *Edward* (who was *Etheldreds* sonne) to haue any issue, or any other then liuing of the race of *Etheldred*, to succeede him in the kingdome; for at the same time liued *Edgar*, sonne to *Edmund Ironside* and his two sisters, *Christine*; who was religious in a monastery at *Ramesey*, and *Margaret*, who was after married to *Malcolme* King of *Scotlād*; And *Edgar* (as *VVilliam* of *Malmesbury* witnesseth who wrote in the time of King *Henry* first sonne to the *Conquerour*) hauing bene tossed and tumbled too, and fro, with great variety of fortune *Nunc* (saith he) *remotus, & tacitus canos suos in agro consumer*; He now wasteth and consumeth his hoary haire far from the court, in a silent and quiet country life.

21. But what soeuer may be supposed of Gods iudgments in this point, the other concerning the punishment of God vpon the people for their sinns is euident enough, partly by the circumstances and the euent, and partly for that it pleased almighty God to reueale the same to King *Edward* him selfe alittle before his death, who liuing in a trance 2. daies together, signified when he came to him selfe, that two religious men whome he had knowne in *Normandy* to liue and die with great edification) had appeared vnto him, and tould him from almighty God, that after his death the kingdome should for a time be giuen ouer into the hands of Diuels, and wicked spirits for the sinns of the clergy and people. And further he said, that when he made instance to haue leaue to signify the same vnto them to the end that they might repent, & auert the wrath of God from them selues as the *Ninivites* did, the said religious men answered that it would be to no purpose, for that neither they wold repent, nor God would forbear to punish them, and when he furdur insisted to know when the wrath of God would be appeased towarde them and their sinnes remitted, they answered him in this parable.

22. When a greene tree; say they, being cutte of in the midst, and one part thereof separated from the other the breadth of 3. akers, shal with our helpe come together againe, flourish, and fructify,

Cal. Malmf. de
gest. reg. Angl. li.
2. c. 13.
Guliel. Malmf.
bury. li. 3. de
VVilhelmo. 1.

Guliel. Mal. de
gest. reg. Angl.
li. 2. c. 13.
The conquest of
England by the
Normans reuea-
led to S. Ed-
ward in a vi-
sion.
Alfredus Abbas
in vita Edvard.
apud Surium 5.
lanuarij.

Guliel. Mal. vbi
supra.
A parable sig-
nified to King
Edward in his
vision.

fructify, then shal they receaue some comfort, and their sinns be remitted; This he tould to the Queene his wife, the Lord *Robert* steward of his house, *Harald* (who was after Kinge) and *Sigand* bihop of *Centerbury*, al which were present when he came out of his trance, and the euent shewed shortly after, the truth of the first part therof, when Duke *VWilliam of Normandy* slew King *Harald*, and conquered the realme, and brought al the states therof to miserable seruitude; and as for the later part (to wit the parable) some haue expounded it, that it was fulfilled, when *Henry* the first married *Maude* the King of *Scotlands* daughter, whose mother *Margaret* was daughter to *Edmund Ironside* & neece to *Edward the Confessor*, as I haue signified before; so that the tree, that is to say, the raigne of *English* Kinges being cut asunder by the death of Kinge *Edward* in whome it ceased, was seperated from the trunk the breadth of 3. akers, that is to say, the raigne of 3. Kinges, to wit *Harald*, *VWilliam the Conquerour*, and *VWilliam Rufus*, and came togeather againe in *Henry* the first, when he married the forsaid *Maude*, who was (as I haue said) daughter to *Margaret* and she daughter to *Edmond Ironside*, and the tree fructified when *Maude* the Empresse issued of that mariage, who was mother to *Henry* the 2. in whome ceased the raigne of strangers in *England*, al his successors being naturally english.

23 But to returne to speake of the sinns of the people, which according to the prophesy of *s. Edward* deserued so great a plague, we may sufficiently vnderstand the same by the testimony of *VWilliam of Malmesbury* liuing in the same age, who saith, that although al learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeeres amongst the english, yet a litle before the comming of the *Normans* the same was vtterly destroied and decaied; For the priests (saith he) were so vlearned that they could skant pronounce truly the very wordes of the sacraments, and diuin seruice; and such was the ignorance generally of al men, that a gramarian was held for a wonder, religious men were wholly giuen to delicacy and kept no rules of religion, the noble men and gentlemen gaue them selues ouer to gluttony and laciuiou'nes, there was no respect of religion, nor care of iustice; in so much that the common people serued for no other then a praie to the nobility, who spoiled & ransacked them at their pleasure; It was a common

The exposition
of the parable.

Guliel. Malmesb.
hist. Angl. li. 3. de
VWilhel. 11.

The enormous
sines of the
Clergy Nobility
& people of En-
gland at the
tyme of the con-
quest therof by
the Normans.

custome, when men had got their maidseruants with child, either to send them to the stewes, or to sel them for slaues, drounkenes, and al the vices that commonly accompany the same, or follow therof, were generally through out the realme; Thus saith *William of Malmesbury* in substance.

Alred. in vita
Edvardi.
What S. Edward said at his death concerning the sinnes of the English, and the conquest to follow in punishment thereof.
William the conquerour minister of Gods iustice to chastise the English.
Polid Virgili. 3. in fine.
Idem. li. 9. per totum.
The tyranny of William the conquerour vpon al states.

24. Also *S. Edward* him selfe when he declared his vision said, that the magistrats as wel spiritual as temporal, were no better then ministers of the diuel, that God was euery where dishonored, law contemned, truth trodden vnder foote, pittie and mercy banished, cruelty held for a pastime and entertainment; and therefore (said he) *the wickednes of the english is now complete, and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment therof is shortly to follow.*

25. This was proued to be true by the euent with in a yeere after, when *William Duke of Normandy* called the Conquerour came into England, whome God made the instrument and minister of his iustice to chastise them, for being admitted and crowned King (presently after the bloody battaile wherein King *Harald* & 20000. men were slaine) he began to tiranize vpon al states, he spoiled the nobility of their landes, goodes, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the *Normans*, he oppressed the people with infinit, and intollerable taxes, and impositions; he depriued cities, bishopricks and monastaries, of their immunities, and priuiledges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe, for great sommes of money; he tooke, from churches & religious howses, not only such money as they had in store, but also the holy vessels dedicated to Gods seruice; he abolished the old lawes and ordained new, and caused them to be written in the *Norman* tounge, which the english vnderstood not, wherupon there grew great confusion in the exercise therof, in al sorts of actions and pleas, as wel criminal as ciuill, & many wrongfully lost their lands and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was opened to al kind of iniustice.

26. Furthermore he was not content only to spoyle the english of their wealth, but also depriued them of their pleasures, taking from very many noble men, and gentlemen their parkes, and chafes for his owne vse, yea and ouerthrew howses, churches, villages and whole parishes to make forrests, in so much that

that (as *Polidor Virg*: witneseth) to make the chafe which now is called *new forest* he dispeopled and made desert al the country betwixt *Salisbury* and the seafide for 30. miles space, and when diuers of his nobility by reason of his tyranny rebelled against him, he tooke occasion therupon to vse al kind of seuerity, and cruelty, not only vpon their persons when they fel into his handes, but also vpon whole countreyes and prouinces, which he so spoyled and ransacked, that they lay wast for some yeeres after; Finally his gouernment, during the tyme of his raigne, seemed to tend to nothing else, but to extirpate, and extinguish the race, and name of the *English*.

27. Wherto if we add the frequent warrs in *England* in his tyme, partly by rebellion of his subiects, and partly by inuasion of strangers, as of *Danes* and *Scots*, we shal find that *England* had not one veere, no nor one day of ease and repose during the 21. yeeres of his raigne; which calamity also continued, or rather encreased for 13. yeeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne *William Rufus*, who far exceeded his father in cruelty, auarice, oppression of his subiects, and contempt of God and man, by reason wherof, he was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne which was most suddaine and exemplar, (for he was killed by chance with an arrow as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the churches to giue God thanks therfore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to *England*, in hope that the last day of his life would be the first day of their liberty; If therfore we consider al this, we shal euidently see how true the prophesie of *S. Edvard* proued when he said, *That England should be giuen for a tyme into the handes of diuels, and vicked spirits, for the sinnes of the nobility, clergy, and people.*

28. Here then I conclude, that wheras the first conquest, seemeth to haue proceeded of the sinnes as wel of the people as of the princes, and the second of the offences rather of the princes then of the people, the last was (as *S. Edvard* testified) in punishment of the peoples sinnes, rather then of the princes; Wherby we may see as before I noted, the sympathy in the body politike, no lesse then in the natural body, betwixt the head and the members, in the participation of punishment for sinne

Polidor. Virg.
li. 9.

*The extreame
cruelty of K.
William the
conquerour.*

*The English had
not one day of
ease or repose
during the 21.
yeeres of William
Conquerours
raigne.*

*The cruelty and
auarice of K.
William Rufus
sonnes to the
conquerour.*
Polid. Virg. li. 10.

*The conclusion
of this chapter
concerning the
three conquests
of England, and
the causes
therof.*

OR RE-

An aduertise-
ment to princes,
and magistrates.

or reward for vertue; Which may serue for a motiue to al Princes and magistrats, to haue special care to auoid the offence of God, not only by their owne good liues, but also by punishing and reforming the sinnes of their subiects, lest their negligence in ether, may draw Gods wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole commonwelth. Thus much for the three conquests of our country.

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOME
of Naples by Charles the 8. King of France, for the sinns of
the Kinges therof, with the conclusion inferring vpon the pre-
misses the providence and iustice of God in the disposition of
States, and the insufficiency of man for the gouernment therof,
with out Gods assistance.

CHAP. 22.

The conquest of
the kingdome of
Naples.



Philip. de Comi-
nes in Carolo. 8.

Philip. Comines.
The iudgement
of Philip de Co-
mines of the co-
quest of Naples
for the sinnes of
the Kings
therof.

THE fourth example which I promised was of the kingdome of Naples geuen by almighty God into the handes of Charles the 8. King of France for the sinns of the Kings therof, as al men generally conceived, and the effect it selfe seemed to make manifest, wherof also Philip de Comines (who was counsellour to the said King Charles, and serued him in the action) giueth notable testimony, which I thinke good to set downe in his owne wordes in respect of his grauity & authority, who speaking of the cruelty and tyranny of Ferdinando King of Naples, and of his sonne Alphonso in causing 24. noblemen their subiects to be most cruelly murdered in prison, discourseth first of their vices and wickednes, and after of Gods iust iudgments vpon them for the same. Of the first he saith as followeth.

2. No man (saith he) was euer more cruel, more wicked, more vicious, nor a greater glutton then Alphonso, though his father Ferdinando was more dangerous then he, for in makin g men faire weather and good cheere, he commonly betrayed them,

them, as he dealt by Count *Jacques* whome he murdered villainously, though he were Embassadour with him for *Francisco* sforza Duke of *Millan*, and so he dealt also with many others, neuer vsing mercy towards any, no not so much as towards his owne neare kinsman, besides that he neuer had any pittie or compassion of his poore people, for he made a very marchandise of his kingdome, in so much that he forced his subiects to feede, and fatten his hogs, and pay for them if they chanced to dye, he bought vp al the oyle and graine in the country before it was ripe, and sold it after, extreemly deare, compelling them to take it at his price, and whilst he sold, no man might sel any; If any nobleman or gentleman, were more rich then the rest he forced him to lend him great sommes of money, he tooke from his nobility their races of horses, or els made them keepe them for him, wherby he had many thousand of horses, mares, and colts; Both the father and the sonne tooke many women by force; They neuer had reuerence, nor respect to the holy Church, they sold bishopricks, as for example that of *Sarano* which *Ferdinando* the father sold for 11000. duckets to a Iew for his sonne, who he said was a Christian, he gaue *Abbeys* to falkongrs with charge to keepe him a certaine number of haukes at their expences; *Alphonso* the sonne neuer kept any lent, nor made so much as any shew to keepe it, and for many yeeres togeather he was neuer confessed, nor communicated, and to conclude, it is not possible to doe worse then they did both.

31. Thus saith this author of the liues and manners of these 2. Kinges, and then he further addeth concerning Gods iudgements vpon them, it may (saith he) seeme to the readers that I haue said this of some particuler passion, or hatred toward them, but (in good faith) I haue not said it to any other end, then to continue the course of my history, and that it may appeare, that this voiage of kinge Charles to Naples proceeded only of the wil of almighty God, who ordained that so young a Kinge destitute of counsell money, and al sufficient meanes for such an enterprise, should be, as it were, his commissary to chastise these Kinges who were wise, potent and rich, & had many wise Counsellours and graue personages about them, and many subiects and friends, and allies abroad in *Italy*, whome it imported to

The tyranny,
cruelty, and
vicious life of the
Kings of Naples.

Philip. de Com.
Ibid.

Charles the eight
K. of France the
Comissary of
God to chastise
the Kings of Na-
ples.

The admirable
facility of the
conquest of Na-
ples.

conferue and defend that kingdome, & yet neuertheles (though they foresaw the storme long before) they could not find meanes to auoid it, nor make resistance any where, for, excepting only the castle of Naples, there was not any place, towne, or fort that staid King Charles one whole day; in so much that Pope Alexander said very wel, that the Frenchmen came with chalke in their hands like harbingers, to make and take vp their lodgings where they list, for they had not occasion so much as to put on their armour in al the voiage.

The euident pu-
nishment of God
vpon the kingz
of Naples.

4. Therefore I cōclude according to the opiniō of very many good religious men, & other of al sorts of people (& the voice of the people is the voice of God) that God did punish these kinges visibly & in such euident māner, that it might serue for an example & admonition to al Princes to liue wel, according to the cōmandmēts of God; for these Kinges wherof I haue spoken, lost their honours and realme, great riches, & moucables of al sorts, and their owne persons in the end, three of them in the space of one yeere or litle more; and as I haue vnderstood of some that were very neare them, they found in pulling downe an old chappel, a booke, wherof the litle was, *The truth with her secret counsel*, in which booke was contained al that hapned after vnto them, and when they three only had read it they burnt it.

A prophesie of
the conquest of
Naples.

5. Thus much I haue thought good to set downe in the wordes of this wise and graue author, to the end that not only the bad liues of these Kinges, but also his iudgment may appeare concerning Gods iustice shewed vpon them and their whole kingdome for the same; And this may also be confirmed by the other prticulars, which Guicciardin, recounteth of them and of the successe of that warre, signifying that Ferdinando the father being very wise, & vnderstāding of the intention of king Charles to come to inuade his kingdome, feared so greatly the successe, in respect of his owne bad life and his sonnes, that he labored by al meanes possible, by embassadours and frends to diuert him from his purpose, offering him to pay him a yeerly tribute of 50000. duckets, and to hold his kingdome of him by fealty and homage, and when he saw that nothing would preuaile, he fell sicke for sorrowe, and died before king Charles entered into Italy.

Guicciardin li. 1.
hist.
K. Ferdinando of
Naples dyed for
sorrow.

6. And *Alphonso* his sonne (who then succeeded him in the kingdome) though he bragged long before that he would goe as farre as the mountaines to meete king *Charles* if he came forward (which he said he would neuer belecue he durst doe) yet afterwards when the *French* were in *Italy*, & came as farre as *Rome*, he tooke such a fright that he cried out euery night, he heard the frenchmen comming, and that the very trees and stones cried *France*; and as *Guicciardin* affirmeth (who was not a man either easely to belecue, or rashly to write fables) it was credibly and constantly reported, that the spirit of *Ferdinando* his father appeared to one that had bene his phisition, and bad him tel his sonne *Alphonso* from him, that he should not be able to resist the frenchmen, for that God had ordained that his progeny should after many great afflictions be deprived of their kingdome, for the multitude and great enormity of their sinns, and especialy for that which he had done by the perswasion of *Alphonso* him selfe in the church of *S. Leander* in *Chisia* neare to *Naples*, wherof he could not the particulers.

Guicciardin.
Ibid.

The soule of *K. Ferdinand* appeared after his death.

The kings of *Naples* deprived of their kingdome especially for one sinne.

7. Furthermore the same author signifieth that *Alphonso* was exagitated with suspitions and feares, whiles he was waking, & in his sleep with the representation of the noble men whome he had caused to be secretly murdered in prison (as I haue declared before (and that being in this miserable perplexity he resigned his crowne to his sonne called, *Ferdinãdo* (as his grãdfather was) & ranne away into *Sicily* in such hast, that his mother in law with whome only he communicated his intention, being desirous to flee with him, could not perswade him to stay for her so much as three daies which shee earnestly desired, to the end the might haue that comfort at least to be *Queene of Naples* a full yeare, but he tould her that if she would not goe presently with him, he would leaue her, protesting, as *Philip de Comines* testifieth, that if any sought to stay him by force, hee would cast him selfe out of the windowes, asking her further if shee heard not euery one cry *France, France*. And thus being tormented with the horreur of his owne conscience, and the terroure of Gods iust iudgments already fallen vpon him, he fled into *Sicily*, taking with him only diuers sorts of delicat wines (which he had alwaies loued ouerwel) and some garden feedes to sowe, and a

Guicciard.
Ibid.

The torments of a guilty conscience.

Philip. Comin.
in *Carolo. 8.*
K. Alphonso being strangely tormented with the horreur of his owne conscience fled into *Sicily*.

few iewels, and a little money, without giuing any order in the world to his goods and moueables which he left in great quantity in the castle of *Naples*.

8. But being arriued in *Sicily* and touched with Gods grace, he fel into the account of his bad life past, and of Gods iustice executed vpon him, and meaning to doe some satisfaction for the same, he entred into Religion and did great almes, and penance, in which state he dyed within awhile of the stone, with the extreamest torments that could be imagined, as some of the Religious with whome he liued told after ward to *Philipp de Comines*, as he himselse writeth.

*R. Alphonso
died in Sicily
very repentant.*

*Item ca. 19.
K Ferdinand
sonne to Alfonso
so brin forsaken
of his subiects
fled into Sicily,
and dyed there.*

9. And to conclude the tragical history of the Kinges, his sonne *Ferdinando* to whome he resigned his crowne, hauing assembled al his forces, durst make no resistance any were to the *French* but fled before them from place to place, vntil at length almost al his subiects forsooke him, and rebelled against him, whereupon he fled also into *Sicily*, & with in awhile died there.

10. Loe here the miserable calamity which for the sinnes of these Kings fel not only vpon them, but also vpon their whole kingdom, seruing for many yeeres after for a praye and spoyle to forreine nations, vntil at length Gods wrath being appeased, & his iustice satisfied he gaue it the repose which it now enioyeth vnder the Catholique King of *spayne*.

*Certain aduer-
sities infer-
red vpon the
premisses.*

*The prouidence
of God in the
disposition of
kingdomes.*

*How hateful
sinne is to al-
mighty God.*

*All the calami-
ties of kingdo-
mes are punish-
ment for sinne.*

11. This shal for this tyme suffice for the exemplyfication of Gods iustice in general vpon commonwelths for the sinnes of the Princes and people wherein I wish certaine things to be noted, which occurre vpon the due consideration of the premisses; First, the prouidence of almighty God in the assayres of men, and particularly in the disposition of kingdomes, and empires, seeing he correcteth, punisheth, transferreth, & overthroweth them for sinne.

12. Secondly how enormus & hateful a thing, sinne is to almighty God, and how terrible are his iudgments for the same, seeing the offences of a part of the commonwelth, as either of the Prince or subiects, may cause the calamity of the whole.

13. Thirdly that al the miseryes and calamities which fall vpon kingdomes and states, are no other but the effects of Gods iustice, punishing in them the sinnes and offences of men.

14. Fourth

24. Fourthly how necessary it is for euery particuler man to auoid the offence of God, not only for the publike good of the commonwelth (to the punishment wherof his sinnes may redound) but also for his owne particuler benefit; For seeing the seuerity of Gods iustice is such that he punisheth sinne in whole commonwelths (wherein many times some good men participate of the punishment due to wicked mens offences) no particuler man that is an offendour can make account to be exempt from the penalty due to his owne sinne, but that he shal pay it sooner or latter, here or hence, of which point I shal haue occasion to speake more amply hereafter.

No man can escape the punishment of sinne.

15. Lastly it followeth vpon al this discourse, that no wit or power of man, is able to vphold any state when God striketh & punisheth the same for sinne; wherby appeareth the insufficiency of man, for the gouernment of comonwelth, without the help and assistance of almighty God which is the point that I specially intended to proue throughout al this Treatise.

No wit or power of man able to vphold a state, when God punisheth it for sinne.

THE IMBECILLITY OF MANS VVIT IS further discovered by the answere of certayne obiections of the Athiests against the prouidence of God; and first somvvhats is said of the inscrutability of Gods iudgments, and of mans ignorance in ordinary, and triniual things, and how that ignorance is the mother of Atheisme.

CHAP. 23.



SEING I haue made it euident that God doth execute his iustice vpon whole kingdomes and commonwelths, in punishing them for sinne (wherupon as wel his prouidence in humane affaires, as also mans imbecility and weaknes is necessarily inferred) it resteth now, that for confirmation therof, and for thy furder satisfaction (good Reader) I cleare certayne doubts and difficulties which occurre in this matter, and serue for stumbling blocks to such

Why Atheists
dout of the pro-
vidence of God.

The iustice of
God most euident
though his iudg-
ments are in-
scrutable.

Psal. 35.

Rom. ca. II.

Aug. de verbis
Apostle. ser. 20.
A notable sen-
sence of S. Aug.
concerning the
inscrutability of
Gods iudgments.

†

as are weake in faith, to cast them headlong into the depth of Atheisme, who measuring the infinite power and wisdom of God with their owne weaknes, wil beleue no more then they know, and cal in question the prouidence and iustice of God, because they cannot comprehend the reason of his secret iudgments, not considering that although nothing is more euident nor apparant, euen to the vnderstanding & eyes of men (as I haue partly declared already) then the execution of Gods iustice here on earth; yet nothing is more abstruse, inscrutable, and incomprehensible, then his iudgements, that is to say, the reasons and causes why, and the manner how he proceedeth therein, which the royal Prophet signifyeth very aptly saying; *Iustitia tua sicut montes Dei, iudicia tua abissus multa*; They iustice (o Lord) is like to the highest mountaynes, and they iudgments like to a bottomlesse sea; That is to say, as on the one side thy iustice may be compared to the mightiest mountaynes, not only for the sublimity and immobility, but also for the perspicuity and euidence therof; so on the other side they iudgments may be likened to a bottomlesse sea, for the vnmeasurable depth and profundity of them, which the Apostle considering, exclaymed; *O altitudo diuinitarū &c.* O how wonderful is the deapth of the riches of Gods wisdom and knowledg, how incomprehensible are his iudgments, and vnsearchable are his wayes who knoweth the sence or meaning of our Lord, or vyho is his counsellour?

2. Thus saith the Apostle; wherupon also S. Augustin. *Quæritur* (saith he) *rationem*? Dost thou seeke a reason of Gods iudgements? I for my part wil feare and tremble therat; reason and argue thou, and I will wonder and admire, dispute thou, and I wil beleue, I see the pitt, but cannot sound the deapth, & seeing the Apostle saith that the wayes of God cannot be found; thinkest thou to find them out? To search thinges inscrutable is as vnpossible as to see thinges inuisible, or to speake thinges ineffable. Thus saith this famous and learned father, acknowledging his owne imbecility, & incapacity, for the comprehension of Gods iudgments, though neuertheles for his sharpnes of wit, his excellent knowledge and learning, both humane and diuine, and other notable gifts of nature, he was inferiour to few men that haue liued either before him or since, and yet now a dayes euery jangling sophister and poore grammarian, euery shallow an

little headed companion, plungeth himselfe boldly into the depth of Gods secret counsell, and either must haue a reason therof, or else he wil deny his iustice, his prouidence and his deytie, not considering in the meane tyme how little men know, or can conceaue of common and triuial things, which are daily before their eyes.

3. For who is he that can yeild the true causes and reasons of al such natural effects as we daily see in common experience: as of the properties of the load stone which doth not only draw yron vnto it, but also hath an admirable vertue for the vse of nauigation; For, the needle of the compasse being touched with the head of the load stone, euer turneth to the north pole; whereas if it be touched with the other end, it turneth south ward, and being rubbed with the one side, it looketh eastward, and with the other side, westward; which vertue is strengthned & redoubled, as some Spanish nauigatours writ, if the Loadstone be made hot in the fier & laid sometime in the oyle of *Crocomarcium*; as also they say, it is vtterly lost and extinguished, if the stone be steeped in the oile of quicksiluer; besides they obserue that the said neede of the compasse neuer standeth iust north, but only in one meridian, to wit, in that which passeth by the *Iland of S. Maria* (which is one of the *Azores*, otherwise called *Terceras*) and of *S. Antony*, which is the most westward of the *Ilands of Cabo Verde*, and that in al other meridians it inclineth more or lesse to the east or west.

4. Who then is able to yeild the true cause therof? or of infinite other secrets in nature, as of the fountaine in *Lucania* in the kingdome of *Naples* which (as *Baptista Fulgoso* witneseth) a man shal find very cleare if he goe to it with silēce, but if hee speake, it is presently troubled; or of a wel in the, Peak forest some two or three mile from the bath of *Bucston* in *Darbishire*, which wel, being on the side of a high hil, ordinarily ebbeth and floweth with great equality and proportion, 4. times with in the space of an hower, or there about, whereof I haue bene my selfe an eye witnes; or of the wonderful proprietie of a little fish called *emora* not past a spanne long, which is able to stay a ship vnder a pile, wherof the experience hath bene diuers time seene, as in the naual battaile at *Actium*, betwixt *Augustus Caesar* and *Antonius*, wherein

Men exalt reasons of Gods secret counsell, & yet know not the reasons and causes of common effects.

Leninus Lemnius de occulto natura mirac. li. 3. c. 4.

The causes of the admirable properties of the loadstone unknowne.

Poca de hydrographic. hispanice.

Idem. Ibid.

Idem. Ibid.

A strange well in Lucania.

Baptist. Fulgoso. li. 1. de dict. & fact. mirab. ca. 6.

A well in Darbishire, which ebbeth and floweth 4. times in an hower.

The strange properties of the fish called *emora*.

Bapt. Fulgoso Ibid.

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2. Thus saith the Apostle; wherupon also S. Augustin. *Quæritur* (saith he) *rationem*? Dost thou seeke a reason of Gods iudgements? I for my part wil feare and tremble therat; reason and argue thou, and I will vnderstand and admire, dispute thou, and I wil beleue, I see the pitt, but cannot found the depth, & seeing the Apostle saith that the wayes of God cannot be found; thinkest thou to find them out? To search thinges inscrutable, is as vnpossible as to see thinges innuisible, or to speake thinges ineffable. Thus saith this famous and learned father, acknowledging his owne imbecility, & incapacity, for the comprehension of Gods iudgments, though neuertheles for his sharpnes of wit, his excellent knowledge and learning, both humane and diuine, and other notable gifts of nature, he was inferiour to few men that haue liued either before him or since, and yet now a dayes euery angling sophister and poore grammarian, euery shallow and idle

idle headed companion, plungeth himselfe boldly into the depth of Gods secret counsellis, and either must haue a reason therof, or else he wil deny his iustice, his prouidence and his deytie, not considering in the meane tyme how little men know, or can conceaue of common and triual thinges, which are daily before their eyes.

3. For who is he that can yeild the true causes and reasons of al such natural effects as we daily see in common experience: as of the properties of the load stone which doth not only draw yron vnto it, but also hath an admirable vertue for the vse of navigation; For, the needle of the compasse being touched with the head of the load stone, euer turneth to the north pole; whereas if it be touched with the other end, it turneth south ward, and being rubbed with the one side, it looketh eastward, and with the other side, westward; which vertue is strēgthned & redoubled, as some Spanish nauigatours writ, if the Loadstone be made hot in the fier & laid sometime in the oyle of *Crocomarcium*; as also they say, it is vtterly lost and extinguished, if the stone be steeped in the oile of quicksiluer; besides they obserue that the said needle of the compasse neuer standeth iust north, but only in one meridian, to wit, in that which passeth by the *Island of S. Maria* (which is one of the *Azores*, otherwise called *Terceras*) and of *S. Antony*, which is the most westward of the *Ilands of Caboverde*, and that in al other meridians it inclineth more or lesse to the east or west.

4. Who then is able to yeild the true cause therof? or of infinit other secrets in nature, as of the fountaine in *Lucania* in the kingdome of *Naples* which (as *Baptista Fulgoso* witnesseth) a man shal find very cleare if he goe to it with silēce, but if hee speake, it is presently troubed; or of a wel in the Peak forest some two or three mile from the bath of *Bucston* in *Darbishire*, which wel, being on the side of a high hil, ordinarily ebbeth and floweth with great equallity and proportion, 4. times with in the space of an hower, or there about, whereof I haue bene my selfe an eye witnes; or of the wonderful propertie of a litle fish called *Remora* not past a spanne long, which is able to stay a ship vnder saile, whereof the experience hath bene diuers time seene, as in the naual battaile at *Actium*, betwixt *Augustus Caesar* and *Antonius*,

wherein

Men exalt reasons of Gods secret counsellis, & yet know not the reasons and causes of common effects.

Leninus Lemnius de occulto naturæ mirac. li. 3. c. 4.

The causes of the admirable properties of the loadstone unknowne.

Poca de hidragraphic. hispanice.

Idem. Ibid.

Idem. Ibid.

A strange well in *Lucania*. Baptist. Fulgoso. li. 1. de dict. & fact. mirab. ca. 6.

A well in *Darbishire*, which ebbeth and floweth 4. times in an hower. The strange properties of the fish called *Remora*.

Bapt. Fulgoso. Ibid.

us, wherein the ship of *Antonius* was staied by that fish in such sort that he was faine to imbarke him selfe in an other. Also *As Cains Caligula* the emperour passed once to *Antium* by sea his galley being vnder saile & rowed with 400. oares was detained by a *Remora*, and could not be moued, vntil some who considered the cause, diued into the water and tooke away the fish from the side of the galley wherto it had fastned it selfe; And hereto may be added the strange property of an other fish cauled *Torpedo*, which being taken with an anglerod so benummeth the arme of the fisher that he is forced to let the rod falle.

Plinius histor.
natur. li. ix. c. 1.

Idem.
A fish cauled
Torpedo.
Ibid.

5. And although I doe purposely forbear to speake here of infinite other examples notorious in this kinde (for that they are common to be found in such as write of the natures and properties as wel of liuing creatures, as of waters, trees, hearbs, plants, & such like) yet I can not omit to declare some particulars of the propertie of a kind of spyder, which is found only in *Apulia* in the kingdome of *Naples*, and is cauled *Tarantola*, or *Phalangium*.

The admirable
property of the
Tarantola.

The biting or
stinging of the
Tarantola cured
by musick.

Alexan. Genial
diat. li. 1. ca. 16.

The manner
how those
which are veno-
med by the *Ta-
rantola* are
cured.

6. This spider is not venomous or poisonfull at any time of the yeere, but in the greatest heats of summer, at what time if any man be bitten, or venomed therby, he receiueth no cure but by musicke, in which respect, musicians doe ordinarily in the summer time, passe with their instruments from village to village to cure such as are venomed by the *Tarantola*, who are therefore called in that country *Tarantati*, as witnesseth *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who saith, that as he and others of his company trauailed through *Apulia* in the heat of the yeere and heard musicians playing vpon diuers instruments in euery vilage, they inquired the cause, and vnderstood that they were such as cured the *Tarantati*; wherupon he and the rest being desirous to see the experience therof, dismounted from their horses and went into a howse where one was to be cured, whome they found not only speechles but also senseles in appearance, and yet neuertheles after that the instruments had sounded a while, he began first to moue his handes, and then his legges in measure according to the sound and stroake of the instruments, and at length rose vp and danced with a good grace, and when the musician

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musicians ceased to play (as of purpose they did to shew vnto the beholders the strange nature of that disease) the sick man fel downe againe as though he had bene dead, and when they retourned to their instruments and plaied againe, he arose and danced as before, vntil at length al the venime & poison wherewith he was infected, was dissipated and dissolued, and so he returned to his senses, and recovered perfect health; And further the said author testifieth, that if there be any infected and not fully cured he can neuer forbear to dance, when soeuer he heareth any musick. This I haue thought good to relate for the strangenes therof, vpon the report of so graue an eye-witnes as was the author that writeth the same, wherto I might adde many other so stupendious effects, and secrets of nature, that al mans wit faileth in the consideration of the true causes therof.

Idem.
Ibid.

7. But what neede I speake of things so rare and strange seeing no humane wit is able to comprehend and vnderstand the admirable science and art which almighty God hath vsed in the creation of the least flower, worme, flea, or flee, vpon the earth? For as *Lactantius* saith; *Deo soli nota sunt opera sua* &c. Gods workes are knowne to him selfe alone, and man can not attaine to the vnderstanding therof by disputing or arguing, but by learning of him who only knoweth them and can teach him. Thus saith he.

Lactan. li. 7. ca. 2.
No humane wit
able to vnder-
stand the art
which God hath
vsed in the crea-
tion of the least
creature in the
world.

8. But if any man desire to see how shorte is the sight of his owne vnderstanding in things about him selfe let him consider how litte he knoweth of him selfe as what his owne soule is, which giueth him life, or of what members and partes his body is inwardly compacted, and what is the office, vse, and function of euery bone, vaine, arterie, & sinewe, which no man fully vnderstandeth as *Galen* him selfe coffesseth, saying that those, who doe applye them selues to the study and speculation of Anotomies al their liues, are deceaued therein; and therefore *Lactantius* saith: *Multa esse constat in corpore, quorum vim, rationemque perspicere, nemo nisi qui fecit, potest*; It is manifest that there are many things in the body of man, the force and reason wherof no man can conceine but he which made them; neuertheles by that which is vnderstood therof, *Gallen*, being a Painim notably inferred against the *Epicurians* (whome he calleth beastes) that the creator of man must

No man know-
eth fully the
partes of his
owne body.
Galen. de An-
tom. administrat.
o *Lactan. de Ira.*
dei. ca. 14.

*Galen. de vsu par-
tium. li. 3.*

needes be of infinite wisdomes bounty and power.

*The true causes
of mens diseases
unknowne
many times.*

9. Furthermore, what is either more conuenient or profitable for man to know and vnderstand exactly then his owne constitution and complexion, the state of his body and the true causes of his diseases wherby he may conserue his health, remedy and preuent sicknes, and prolong his life; and yet neuer theles we see that neither the complections of mens bodies, nor the causes of their diseases are perfectly knowne, either to the patients them selues, or to the phisicians, be they neuer so wel learned or practized, so that many times the ignorance therof, breedeth error in the cure, and consequently procureth the death of the patient.

*Men erre many
times in that
which they pre-
sume to know
best*

ca. 4. 11. 12.

10. But what meruaile is it, that there are infinite thinges in nature, and many in man him selfe, which man doth not know or vnderstand, seeing he is deceaued and erreth many times in that which he presumeth best to knowe, as it is manifest by al the precedent discourse concerning the imbicillity of mans wit, which I haue already sufficiently shewed, as wel by reason and testimony of most learned and graue authors, as also by examples of the errours of the wisest Philosophers and, greatest Politikes, who haue absurdly erred in those thinges wherein they haue sought to make the greatest shew and ostentation of their knowledge and wisdom.

sep. ca. 9.

11. Therefore I conclude with the wise man that seeing, we hardly attaine to the knowledge of thinges in earth, and find out with labour euen those thinges which are in our sight; *Celestia quis inuestigabit* who shal be able to find out heauenly thinges, or who knoweth (o Lord) thy counsels and meaning, except thou giue wisdom and send thy holy spirit from the highest? Thus saith he wise man in the booke of wisdom, and this is euident ynough by common experience, as I haue already declared.

*The intolerable
presumption and
folly of those
which make
them selues iudges
of Gods iudg-
mente.*

12. What then may we say of those men, who make them selues iudges of Gods iudgments, and limite his infinite wisdom and power within the compasse of their smal capacity? may it not be said of them that they are as wel and wisely occupied, as if they should seeke to putal the world into a nutshel? which how vnpossible soeuer it is, yet it may be said to be more probable then the other, for betwixt the whole world and the shel of

a nut

a nut, there is some kind of proportion, by reason that neither of them is infinit, but haue both of them their limits & bounds; but betwixt a thing infinit (as is Gods wisdom and power) and a thing finite or limited (as is the created vnderstanding of man) there is no proportion at al; and therefore it is no lesse then meere madnesse for any man to seeke to comprehend the infinit wisdom and power of almighty God, within the strait and narrow limits of his vnderstanding and to make his weake and light wit the plummet to sound the bottomlesse sea of the inscrutable iudgments of God.

13. And truly if we consider the reasons that moue men many times to cal in question, or to deny the prouidence of God, we may wonder no lesse at their grosse ignorance and folly, then at their impiety; I meane such as are *Atheists* in opinion; For some there are (and that ouer many in these wicked daies) who though they openly blasphem the holy name of God, and most wickedly curse, defye, yea and deny his deitye, yet they rather doe it vpon some rage and fury, then for that they beleue as they say, for so farre are wicked men transported many times with fury and passion, when they are hindred of their desires, that no reuenge vpon any creature can content them; and therefore they seeke to be reuenged vpon the Creator him selfe, blaspheming, or denying him for euery trifle, which also the Poets amongst the Painims obserued in the humours of men in their times towards their God.

Two sorts of Atheists, some in opinion and some only in words.

For humane causes wicked men blaspheme or deny God. Propertius.

14. Propertius describing the desperat passion of a woman forsaken of her louer faith of her.

-----*Et queritur nullos esse relicta Deos,
Seing her selfe forsaken she complaineth
straight that there are no Gods.*

And in an other Poët, a forlorne louer made the periurie of his mistrisse, & her beauty withal, an argument to proue that there were no Gods.

*Esse Deos credamne? fidem iurata fefellit,
Et manet in solito qui fuit ore decor.
Shal I beleue that there are any Gods, seing
she hath forsworne her selfe, and yet as
faire as euer she was?*

FF 2

And

Andan other Poët chargeth the Gods with cruelty, for no greater a reason, but because serpents are said to renew their youth yearly, when they cast of their old skinns, and yet beauty of women hath no such priuiledge, but fadeth without remedy.

Tibullus

*Crudeles diui serpens nouus exuit annos,
Forma non ~~nam~~ Fata dedere moram.
O cruel Gods; the serpent euery yeare chan-
geth his skinne and reneweth his youth, and
yet the Fates haue graunted no stay nor
repaire to beauty.*

15. Thus did the Poëts expresse the fury of mens passions denying God and his providence, or blaspheming him for euery trifle, which altho how truly it may be applyed to our tyme, such may be witnesse as doe haunt *dyin-borvses*, and heare the horrible blasphemies of many gamesters, who when their successe answereth not their expectation, stick not presently to deny God or to blaspheme his holy name, or his Saints; wherof I thinke it not amisse to recount a notable history of the miraculous punishment of a blasphemous gamester which hapned in the city of *Luca* the 30. of march in the yeare of our Lord 1588.

*A story of a
blasphemous
gamester miracu-
lously punished.*

16. The story is thus, *Iacomo Pietro* disant *Romano* a young man of 26. yeeres of age hauing lost his money at dice, powred out many blasphemies against almighty God, and seeing a picture of the blessed virgin *Mary*, tooke vp the dice and aimed with his eye and hand to throw them at it, which when he attempted to doe, and streached out his arme to that purpose, it broke in the midst of the bone, betwixt the shoullder and the elbow, and he him selfe fel downe in a sownd, and being hardly recouered by them that were present, remayned in such horrible torment, that both he and they acknowledged the manifest hand of God therin, in so much that one of the best surgeons in the towne called *Rocco*, beinge sent for to cure him, and vnderstanding the cause & manner of his hurt, refused to deale with it, wherupon he was carryed to the Hospital, to be cured there; the same wherof caused great concourse first of the cittizens of *Luca*, and after of the country people to see the picture of the blessed virgin, and

A

gin, and it pleased God so to satisfie their deuotion, and to glorifie his sonne our Sauour in his holy mother, that very many wonderful miracles were daily done there, and al sortes of diseased persons were cured; wherupon the magistrates of *Luca* caused the said miracles to be printed, and the bookes to be published the yeere following, at what tyme I my selfe was not far from *Luca* at *Genua*, where I remained almost 2. months, and heard the constant fame of the dayly miracles that were done there, which vpon so iust an occasion, I haue thought good to signify in this place, to the glory of God and the honor of the blessed virgin, as also to the end it may appeare, that although almighty God is of infinit patience and longanimity, yet neuertheles he otherwhiles taketh exēplar reueng euen in this world of iniuries done in this kinde, either to him selfe or to his Saints and seruants; wherof I could alleadge innumerable examples, if this place did permit it, where my purpose is not to speake, but only by the way, of this sort of *Atheistical* blasphemers, who are *Atheists* rather in wordes then in beclife or opinion.

17. Therfore this might suffice concerning them, but that I can not but lament, that so great an impiety as blasphemie is being so common in England, as it is, both passe there vnpunished, wheras in other cōtries the least blasphemies are seuerely chastised, in so much that in *spayne*, I haue knowne a man set in the market place the greatest part of the day, gaping with a gag in his mouth, for swearing only *Por la vida de dios by the life God*, wheras other *Atheistical* blasphemies are more rigorously punished by the *Inquisition*; And with great reason, seeing the law of *Moyse* ordaineth, that he which should blaspheme the name of God should be stoned to death, and *Nabuchodonosor* a Pagan and Idolatrous King, being moued with the miracle of the 3. children, made a decree that whosoever should blasphemie the name of the God of *Israel* should be killed and his howse destroyed; yea and the very law of the *Turks* and *Mahometans* ordaineth great pecuniary penalties and 60. bastonades for such as blasphemie our Sauour Christ or his mother; as diuers Christians who haue traueled in Turkey do testifie.

18. And amongst the decrees of Christian princes, we find one of the holy *S. Lewis* King of France who commanded that al

How blasphemies are punished in *spayne*.

Leuit. ca. 24. Blasphemers stoned to death in the law of *Moyse*.

Dan. ca. 3. Blasphemy against Christ punished amongst the *Turks*.

Giles Corozet de
propos memorabilia.

A decree of S.
Lewis K. of
France against
blasphemers.

Blasphemy unpunished may
draw the
wrath of God
vpon the whole
commonwealth.
ca. 23.

Of Atheists in
beleefe and their
grosse folly.

Atheists haue
not the true
light of natural
reason.
Iob. ca. 3.

blasphemers, should haue their tounge perced with a hot yron, and when some complayned vnto him of the seuer execution therof, he wished that his owne tounge were perced in like manner, vpon condition that the name of God might be no more blasphemed in his kingdome, wherby Christian princes and magistrats may learne, what zeale, and ieaousy of Gods honor they ought to thew in the rigorous punishment of such horrible blasphemies, as are now euery where ouer common. And truly how dangerous the permission therof may proue to their states and commonwelths in tyme (through Gods iust iudgement) it may be coniectured by that which I haue already discoursed concerning the participation of merite & demerite betwixt the commonwelth and euery member therof; seing that (as I haue declared before) some great offence of some one man may drawe the wrath of God vpon a whole kingdome, especially when the magistrats are negligēt in punishing the same; For so, it is made the offence of the commonwelth which remaineth engaged to pay the penalty. Thus much concerning this kind of *Atheists* in woords.

19. But now to speake of an other sort of *Atheists*, who though they are more wary and spare of their speach, yea and many tymes shrowd them selues vnder some shew of religion and pietie, yet in opinion and beleefe are truley *Atheists* (not acknowledging the prouidence of God in humane affayres) of such (I say) that although many of them are esteemed for great wise men, yet when I consider the reasons that induce them to *Atheisme*, I cannot but greatly wonder at their grosse folly, seing that how wise soeuer they seeme either to them selues, or to other men, it is euident that their *Atheisme* proceedeth of meere ignorance and blindnes, as it also doth in al o her that are infected therewith, who by the iust iudgment of God haue their harts so obscured and possessed with ignorance and error, that they loose the very light of natural reason in thinges pertayning to their saluation; wherein is verified the saying of Iob: *Auferetur ab impijs lux sua; Vicked men shal haue their light taken from them*, which is the greatest punishment & malediction that God layeth vpon the most wicked men for their sinnes. In which respect the scriptures euery where testify of the

Iews;

Jews; That their harts were blinded, their eares dilled, & their eyes shut vp, so the end they might neither see wth their eyes, nor heare wth their eares, nor vnderstand wth their harts; And in like manner the Apostle saith of the Philosophers, that for punishment of their wickednes they were not only giuen ouer to a reprobate sence, but also that their foolish harts were obscured in such sort, that esteeming themselves for wise men, they became fooles..

20. Therefore I say that for as much as by the iust iudgment and malediction of almighty God, this blindness of hart and obscurity of vnderstanding is common to al *Atheists*; it may truly be said that ignorance and blindness are the true mothers of *Atheisme*, seeing no man that hath the true light of natural reason can doubt, either, that there is a God, or that he governeth the affaires of men, as we may perceave by the ancient Philosophers, who being guided by the only light of reason, arrived to the knowledge as wel of Gods providence in humane affaires, as of his deity; and therefore it is no meruaile that the *Psalmist* calleth al *Atheists* fooles in diuers places, as, *Dixit insipiens &c.* The foole said in his hart there is no God, And againe (speaking of the admirable magnificence of Gods workes, and of the profound depth of his diuine counsell, he addeth; *Vir insipiens non cognosceret, et stultus non intelliget hac; The vnwise man shal not know these thinges, and the foole shal not vnderstand them*, And lastly reprehending the folly of such wicked *Atheists*, as thinke that God doth not see their iniquity, nor yet that he wil punish them *You vnwise men (saith he) vnderstand, and you fooles be wise at last; he which planted the eare vpon the head of man, can not be heare? and he which framed and made the eye, can not be see, and consider? and he which doth correct and chastise al nations, wil not be punish?*

21. Thus you see how the *Psalmist* treateth *Atheists* with the title of fooles, and now to shew further how worthy they are thereof, and how true it is, that *ignorance is the mother of Atheisme*, it is to be considered, that al their reasons against the providence of God doe notably bewray their ignorance and folly, partly because they are notable arguments against them (as I wil shew after a while) and partly because it is euident thereby that the only reason why they calle in question the providence of God, is, because they vnderstand not the reason of his iudgments in

some

Isay. 6.

Isay. 12.

Rom. 11.

Act. 28.

Mat. 13.

Mar. 4.

Luc. 8.

Psal. 68.

Rom. 1.

Ignorance the mother of Atheisme, and folly.

Psal. 52.

The holy Scriptures doe calle Atheists fooles.

Psal. 91.

Psal. 93.

Al the arguments of Atheist. doe notably bewray their ignorance and folly.

some things; so that the ground of their doubt and infidelity, is no other, but their ignorance; and therefore they argue much like, as if a blind man should say, that the sunne shineth not because he is so blind, that he seeth it not; For no otherwise can they conclude vpon their reasons against the prouidence of God, the which is so manifest in infinite things, and by such euident arguments, (as I haue partly shewed already and wil doe more amply hereafter) that the obscurity of some points can not preiudice the cleere light of the rest, but ought rather to moue men to acknowledge their owne infirmity, and to admire the ineffable wisdom of God, and to say with *Lactantius*; *Hoc differt ab humanitate diuinitas, quod humanitatis est ignoratio, diuinitatis sciencia*; This difference there is betwixt diuinity and humanity, that ignorance is proper to humanity, and knowledge to diuinity.

Lactan. de Ira.
lib. ca. 1.

22. This wil be most manifest if we examine some of their principal arguments, and although for answer therof I must endeavour to yeild some reason of Gods iudgments in some things, I would not hane any man to thinke that I presume to sound the depth therof, or to wade further therein, then I shal be warranted and guided either by the holy scriptures (wherein it hath pleased God to reueale some part of his counsell in behalfe) or by the writings of Gods seruants, and Saints, whome his diuine maiestie hath illuminated, for the instruction of the weake in faith.

* *

THE

THE OBJECTIONS OF THE ATHEISTS
are discussed, and answered: vvhetherby it appeareth that their arguments against Gods providence, are notable and evident proofes of the same; And first, how it standeth with the providence, iustice, and mercy of almighty God, to suffer so much sinne, euil, and mischeife in the vvorld.

CHAP. 24.



THE principal arguments of the *Atheists* consist in these points following. If God (say they) haue care of men, and be with al infinitely wise, bountifull and omnipotent, why doth he suffer so much euil and mischeife in the vvorld? why is innocency oppressed? truth obscured? vertue of most neglected? vice embraced? good men despised? euil men honored, and aduanced? yea and those which serue God best, and are counted most deare vnto him, more oppressed and afflicted many times, then his greatest enemies? Either (say they following their old maister *Epicurus*) God can remedy this and wil not, or he would and can not, or he neither can, nor wil, or he both can and wil; If he can remedy it, and wil not, he is not (say they) infinitely good and bountifull; if he would and cannot, he is impotent and weake; and if he neither can, nor wil; he is neither omnipotent nor infinitely mercifull and good; (and by consequence he is not God) and if he can and wil, why doth he not (say they) remedy such great inconueniences, why doth he not exterminate al euil out of the vvorld, cherish and honor his frendes, punish his enemies, aduance vertue, suppress vice, maintaine and support innocency and truth; and why suffereth he such confusion as we see dayly in mens affayres, by reason of the variable and vncertayne euents good and bad, which are common to al men alike, be they iust or vniust? wherein (say they) rather appeareth meere chance and casualty, then a diuine providence.

The cheife arguments of Atheists against the providence of God.

G g

2. Thus

Aug. de ciuit. dei.
lib. 11. ca. 11.

The blindnes of
Atheists in that
their arguments
are notable proofs
of Gods provi-
dence.

The arguments
of Atheists, re-
duced to 4.
heads.

Aug. de vera re-
ligione, ca. 11.
& 13.
Al euil consist-
eth either in
sinne, or in the
punishment of
sinne.
Idem. li. 1. re-
tractat. ca. 9.
& de libero. ar-
bit. ca. 1.

2. Thus argue they, wherto I say, as *S. Augustine* said of some arguments of the *Platonicks*; *Ecce qualibus argumentis diuina omnipotentia humana contradicit infirmitas, quam possidet Vanitas*, that is to say, behold vvith vvhat vvise arguments the omnipotency of God is contradicted by the infirmity of man, posses vvith Vanitie; Thus said *S. Augustine* of certaine obiections of the *Platonicks*, against some points of Christian religion. And so may I say with farre more reason of these arguments of the *Atheists*, which are so farre from confirming their assertions, that being wel wayghed, they cleerey proue the contrary, and conuince them notably of ignorance and blindnes, seeing that the same reasons, whereby they impugne the omnipotency, bountry, iustice, wisdome and prouidence of almighty God, are cleere and inuincible proofes therof, as I wil make manifest in this chapter, and the three other next ensuing; For wheras their arguments may be reduced to foure heads, the first concerning the permission of euil. The second concerning the affliction of good men. The third touching the prosperitie of wicked men. And the fourth concerning the variable and vncertaine euents, that are common to good and euil men in this life, I wil treat of al these 4. points severally, and first of the causes why God permitteth so great euil in the world as we dayly see.

3. And for as much as al euil consisteth (as *S. Augustin* saith) *In peccato; or In pava peccati*, either in sinne, or in the penalty of sinne, that is to say, either in the offence of God, or in the misery & affliction which God iustly inflicteth vpon men for the same; and againe, seeing that al sinne proceedeth from mans free wil (in which respect *S. Augustin* also affirmeth, that the free vvil of man vvias the cause of al the euil in the vvorld) it shalbe necessary for the clearing of those difficulties, and the explication of this whole matter, to consider two things; the one, why almighty God gaue free vvil to man; and the other, how it could stand with his mercy and goodnes to suffer man to be tempted, knowing that he would abuse his free vvil, and consequently incurre his indignation, and draw vpon him selfe al that misery which since hath fallen vpon him.

4. As for the first point, to wit, the causes why God gaue free vvil to man, though many reasons & causes may be giuen for the same,

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Why God gaue
free wil to man

The 1. reason.
Genes. 1.
pſal. 8.

Damaſcen. li. 2.
de ſide ortho.
ca. 12.

The 2. reason.

The 3. reason.
Ignat. ep. ad
Magnes.
Juſtin. mart. in
Apolog.
Iren. li. 4. c. 71.
& 72.
Basil. in pſal 61.
Aug. li. de vera
religione. ca. 14.

The 4. reason.
Chriſtoſt. ho. 22.
in Genes.
Hieron. ad Da-
maſum. ep. 146.
Ariſt. li. 3. ethic.
c. 4.
The 5. reason.

The 6. reason.

ſame, yet I wil content my ſelfe, with theſe few following. Firſt the dignity of mans nature did require it, for ſeing it pleaſed almighty God not only to create him of an intelligent, and reaſonable nature, and to his owne Image, but alſo to make him Lord of the earth and of al earthly creatures, and as it were his Lieutenant and vicegerent ouer them, it was moſt conuenient alſo for man to be Lord of his owne wil, that is to ſay, not to be moued, or to worke by neceſſitie or compulſion (as other creatures inferiour to him doe) but freely and by election of his owne wil, by which freedome of wil, and by his vnderſtanding, he became the Image of almighty God his Lord and Creator, as witneſſeth S. Iohn Damaſcen; wherby it appeareth that it was moſt honorable for him, and requiſit to the dignity and excellency of his nature to haue free wil.

5. Secondly God gaue free wil to man that it might appeare therby, that although he ordayned man for his ſeruice, yet he had no neede of him; For wheras men, the more neede they haue of their ſeruants, the more they ſeeke to bind them vnto their ſeruice, and to depriue them of liberty and freedome of wil, almighty God meaning to ſhew that he had no neede of man, gaue him free wil to doe what he would.

6. Thirdly, that therby his iuſtice and equity might appeare, in rewarding and puniſhing euery man according to his deſerts, which could haue had no place, if man had not free wil, vpon the which is grounded the reaſon of merit and demerit, and conſequently of reward and puniſhment, as not only al our diuines, but alſo the paynim philoſophers doe teach.

7. Fourthly; to ſhew his infinit bounty in propoſing to man ſo highe a reward, as euerlaſting glory, to be obtayned by the meanes of freewil, helped and aſſiſted with his grace.

8. Fifthly, to the end, that the endles treaſure of his riches might appeare, ſeing that he would not appoint, or ordayne for man, any certaine meaſure or limits of his rewards, but gaue him free wil to merit with the heape of his grace, and to obtayne as much as he liſt.

9. Sixtly to ſhew his omniporency and infinite wiſdome in governing the affayres of man, ſeing that the freedome of their wills is no way able to hinder the execution of his wil, for as

much as al the actions of men, be they neuer so voluntary or freely done, yea the actions of wicked men, do finally concur to the working of his holy wil, through the admirable disposition of his wisdom & omnipotency, much like as if a man were able to direct the arrowes of al the archers in the world to his one butt, though they were shot al at rouers, and at infinite sundry markes; This *S. August*: signifyeth saying, *Multa sunt a male* &c: *Many things are done by euil men against the vvil of God, but such his vvisdome and porver, that al those things which seeme to be contrary to his vvil, do finally tend to those ends: which be of his bounty and iustice both foreseene and ordayned*, thus saith *S. Augustin*.

Aug. de ciuit. dei.
li. 22. ca. 1.

Freewil was
giuen to man for
his great benefite
and Gods great
glory.

How it stood
vvith Gods
goodnes to suffer
man to be tempt-
ed.

God did no iniury
to man in
suffering him to
be tempted.

Eusebius. de opte-
parac. euangel.
li. 6. ca. 5.

God gaue Adam
sufficient meates
to overcome the
temptation if he
would.

Aug. de ciuit. dei.
li. 14. ca. 27.

Vvhy it was
not conuenient
that God should
hinder the tempta-
tion of Adam
though he knew
he vvould fal.

10. Hereto other reasons might be added; but by these it appeareth sufficiently, that it was most conuenient for man to haue free vvil, not only for the glory of God, and the manifestation of his infinite power, wisdom, iustice, and mercy; but also for the dignity of mans nature and his exceeding great benefite;

11. And now to speake of the other point proposed, to wit, how it could stand with Gods infinit goodnes to suffer man to be tempted, knowing that he would fall into sinne, misery, and damnation. I say first that almighty God did man no iniury therein, in respect that he had giuen him sufficient meanes to ouercome the temptation of his aduersary with al facility, if he him selte would. For as *Eusebius* bishop of *Casaria* noteth very wel, God gaue not only free wil to man, but also the light of vnderstanding, reason & conscience, euer mouing him to good; wherto he incited him also with the promise of reward for vertue and wel doing, and terrified him with threats of punishmēts, in case he should transgresse his law; wherto I add that he was also ready to assist him with his grace, if he would haue put his confidence in him, as teacheth *S. Augustin*, who saith, *Homo sic erat institutus &c.* *Man was so framed and ordayned, that if he had trusted vpon the healp of God, he had ouercome the temptation of the euil angel*.

12. Secondly I say that although almighty God did know that man would abuse free wil to his owne hurt and damnation; yet it was not conuenient that therefore he should exempt and free him from temptation afterwards, for that, as on the one side temptation had serued man for a notable occasion of merit, and consequently of great benefite to him selfe, if he had resisted it (as he

carefully

easily might haue done if he had list) so also on the other side, when he sel, it ministred to almighty God sufficient occasion and matter, to shew his infinite mercy, iustice, wisdom, and omnipotency, in turning the same not only to his owne glory, but also to mans benefit and to great good many wayes; For which cause *s. August*: saith, that although God knew that man would sinne, yet he made him of a mutable nature, & suffered him to be tempted, because he foresaw what great good he would draw out of his fall. *Iudicans potentius & melius esse &c.* Iudging it to be better and more for his glory, and for the manifestation of his power, to doe good by the occasion of euil, then not to suffer any euil at al to be done. And *s. Chrysostome* also saith: *Deus praescius futurorum &c.* God, vvho knoweth al things to come, made man to his owne image and likenes, and gaue him precepts, foreseeing both his transgression, and also the great good, vvhich his diuine vvisdome vvvas determined to dravv out of the same. Thus saith *s. Chrysostome*.

Aug. de ciuit Dei
li. 22. ca. 1. et. li.
de corrupti. et
gre. ca. 10. et. 11.
et in enchirid. ca.
27.

Chrysost. hom.
de lapsu primi
hominis 10.
More for Gods
glory to dravve
good out of euil
then not to suf-
fer euil to be.

13. And now to recount some of those goods and benefits vvhich almighty God did foresee would redound vpon mans sinne, and vvithal to ansvvere the obiection of the *Atheists* concerning his permission of euil. The first good or benefit may be, that the vvorld it selfe is much more perfect and complete therby; For although euil being considered in it selfe, is hateful and loathsome; yet being wayghed together vvith al other things, vvhich are necessary to the composition of the vvorld, we shal find it to be also couenient for the same, for diuers respects. First, for that the very nature and condition of earthly things, doth seeme to require a mixture of good and bad; for seeing that in heauen there is nothing but goodnes and felicitie, and in hel nothing but badnes and misery, it vvvas very couenient that this our terrestial vvorld, vvhich is betwixt both, should in some degree participate of both. To vvhich purpose *s. Augustin* saith, that God hath made 3. habitations, or mansions, to vvith, the highest, the lowest, and one in the midst, vvherof the two extreames are altogether contrary, and the other in the midst hath a great affinity or likenes vvith both the extreames.

Why God per-
mitteth sinne &
other evils.
The vvorld is
more perfect and
complete by the
euil that is there-
in.
The nature of
earthly things
requirerh a mix-
ture of good and
bad.
Aug. de triplici
habitu. 10.

14. For vvheras almighty God did compact the vvorld of contrarieties, as of 4. contrary elements, contrary qualities of moisture and drynesse, heat and cold, of light and darknes, day and night, soft and hard, high and lowe, it vvvas couenient also that

The vvorld com-
pacted of contra-
rieties.

he should permit the oppositiō of euil to God, to the end that the good might thereby become more prescious, eminent, & laudable, for *Contraria* (saith the philosopher) *iuxta se posita magis elucescunt*; *Contrary thinges being set together doe make each other more apparent*; And euen as a shadow in a picture, or a litle mole or wart in a beautiful face, or a foyle vnder a diamound, though they are of themselves imperfections, yet being considered in their composition they are ornaments therto, euen so saith *s. Augustine*: *Tha which is called euil, being wel ordayned and disposed in the vniuersity of thinges, that is to say in the whole world; Eminentius commendat bona, ut magis placeant & laudabiliora sint*; Doth more eminently or excellently set forth good thinges to make them the more delectable and commendable.

15. Thus farre *s. Augustin*, who also in an other place concerning this matter saith notably: that euen as a man of a very short sight, who in a great table full of checher worke or marquetry should be able to see no more but some one or two litle peeces therof, could not discern the cunning of the workman in the composition of the whole, but would perhaps blame both the worke, & the workeman; euen so it chanceth to ignorant men, who not being able to comprehend in their weake vnderstandings, the great arte vsed by almighty God in the cōposition of the whole world, are many tymes scandalized with the consideration of some particuler thinges; wheras (saith he) if they could lift vp their eyes to see and consider al the whole together, they should find euery thinge notably ordayned, and disposed in due manner and place.

16. Hereof we see euident examples in euery man, in euery howse, in euery cōmōwelth. For if we regard some partes of man in them selues, they are but vnseemly and loathsome, yet being cōsidered with the whole body, they are conuenient & necessary; the like also may be said of some homely places, needles to be named in the most beautiful pallaces or of some base & odious offices in cōmōwelths which neuertheless are most necessary therto, as of catch poles, promotors, hangmen and such like; yea saith *s. Augustine* *Quid sordidius meretricibus & lanonibus? &c.* *What is more filthy then bawds and queans, neuertheles they are sometimes necessarily permitted in citie?* Lastly to conclude, what more offendeth mans

care

Arist. problem.
Sect. 21. q. 11. &
Rhetoric. li. 2.

Aug. enchirid ad
Laurent. ca. 10.

Aug. li. de or-
dine ca. 1. & li. 2.
ca. 4.

though euil con-
sidered by it selfe
seemeth inconue-
nient yet to the
composition of
the whole
world it is ne-
cessary.

Some partes of
man vnseemly
and loathsome
in themselves
yet necessary for
the body.

Aug li. 2. de or-
dine. ca. 4.

care then a discord in mulick, yet being wel placed with good cordes in a musickal composition, it greatly graceth the harmony and giueth contentment to the eare, and euen so al euils in the world being regarded apart by them selues, seeme inconuenient and absurd, but being considered togeather with the vniuersity of al other things, doe help to the consummation and perfection therof, as shal appeare more euidently by the consideration of these points followinge.

17. It is to be considered that there is no euil in the world, but good doth come of it one way or other, whether the euil be in thinges natural, or in thinges morall; For although in thinges natural there is nothinge absolutely euil (for whatsoeuer is natural is of God, & consequently good) yet that which is against the nature of any thing, and helpeth or tendeth to the corruption of it, may be accompted euil in respect therof: but for as much as according to the philosopher: *Corruptio vnius rei est generatio alterius*; The corruption of one thinge is the generation of an other, it followeth that whatsoeuer is hurtful to one thinge, that is to say, to that which it corrupteth, the same is conuenient and good for that which is to be engendred therof; And such is the prouidence of God in al his creatures, that there is nothing in the world so vile or base, so loathsome, so stinking, or so poysonful, but it is good for some thinge, or for some vse or other, as dayly experience teacheth in dust, ashes, durt, yea and the very ordure of men and beasts (which serueth to many good purposes) and the like may be said of poysons which sometymes are made medicinable, and may be put also otherwayes to necessary vses, as in some countreyes they haue ben vsed for the execution of iustice in the punishment of malefactours, in stead of halter, sword, water, fyre, or other instruments of iustice.

18. The like appeareth in morall euils, I meane such as proceed of the malice of men, as al sinne or sinful actions, which are comonly hurtful either to him that comitteth them, or to some other man; and yet both wayes doe euer turne to some good or other; First as concerning euil actions tending to the hurt of others, what benefits doe grow to men many tymes by the malice of their enemies? how could the loue and good wil of Iosephes bretheren haue profited him so much as did their hatred, and malice,

A discord in musick wel placed graceth the harmony.

No euil in the world but good doth come of it.

How good cometh of euil in natural thinges. Arist. li. de generatione. & corrupt. c. 3.

Diogenes laert. in vita. Socratis. Plato. in phaedone. Plutare.

Cicero. Tuscul. li. 1.

How good cometh of sinful actions.

Genes. 37. c. 42

malice, which was the meanes to aduance him to great honor and dignity; and doth it not fal out otherwhiles, that an enemy meaning to destroy an other man doth preferue his life? as it chanced to one *Prometheus*, of whome *Plutarke* writeth that his life was saued by his enemy; who meaning to kil him, strooke him with a sword, and lanced an inward impostume with in his body which otherwaies could haue had no cure; In like sort we see that the malice of the diuel and wicked men against good men, in procuring their persecution, torments & death, turneth to their exceeding great benefit, and to Gods great glory (as I wil declare more at large after a while) and when soeuer God permiteth any mischeefe or euil to fal vpon euil men by other mens malice, the same is either a warning for their amendment, and consequently an effect of Gods mercy; or else a due punishment for their sinne, & so an acte of his iustice wherby he is glorified.

19. And as concerning the sinnes of men which are hurtful only to them selues sometimes they turne also to their good, by making them see their owne weaknes. and to relye, more then before, vpon Gods grace & assistance: and sometimes they serue for example to other men, as the fal of the prophet *Dauid*, and of *S. Peter*, are warnings and motiues to vs to take heede how wee trust to our owne strength: sometimes againe mens sinns are a punishment of sinne, as in the philosophers of whom the Apostle saith that they *Were giuen ouer to all wickednes in punishment of their ingratitude to almighty God, and of their Idolatry.*

20. Lastly when or how soeuer sinne is committed it turneth to Gods glory, in respect that he either sheweth his mercy in pardoning it, or his iustice in punishing it, and so he is glorified therby, which is the greatest good in nature, and the end of all good, wherto he ordained all things what soeuer; for, *Vniuersa propter semetipsum* (saith the scripture) *operatus est Dominus, impium quoque ad diem malum; Our lord made all things for himselfe, and the wicked man also for the euil day*, that is to say, euen as almighty God made all other things for his owne seruice (in which respect he is called in the scripture *Alpha et Omega*, the begining and the end) so also he ordained the punishment of the wicked for his owne glory, reseraing them for the euil day, that is to say for the day of iudgment, to shew as wel his iustice in punishing them, as his

bounty

*Plut. lib. de vitili-
tate capiendō ab
inimicis.*

*The malice of
the diuel and
wicked men
turneth to the
benefit of the
good and the
glory of God.*

*2 Reg. ca. 11.
Math. 26.*

Rom. 1.

*Howe al sinne
turneth to good.*

Prov. c. 16.

Apo. 22.

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bounty and mercy in rewarding the good. Hereby it appeareth that the very finnes of men, doe alwaies turne to good some way or other, no lesse then al other euils, the which also wil be yet more euident, if we consider some other special benefits that redound to man of sinne, and of the euil that is in the world.

Benefits which redound to man of sinne and other euils in the world.

21. First, the infinit goodnes and mercy of God was moued therby to giue to man such excellent remedies against the same, that the benefits which he receiueth by them, doe far surpass the harmes which proceede of the euil; as the benefit of wisdom, wherof *Salomon* saith in his parables; *Melior est sapientia &c. Wisdom is better then al the most pretious thinges in the world, and no thinge that can be desired of men may be compared vnto it.* Thus saith he of wisdom: the office wherof is not only to distinguish betwixt good and bad, but also to teach vs our duty to almighty God, and consequently the way to eternal saluation, where vpon *Laſtanti* discourseth notably thus.

Proverb. c. 2. The benefit of wisdom.

22. If there were no euil nor danger, nor any thinge that could hurt a man in the world, al matter for wisdom to worke vpon were taken away, and so it should be needles; For if nothing were proposed to vs but only good, what neede should we haue of discourse, vnderstanding, knowledge or reason, when we should find euery thinge apt and commodius for vs, which way soeuer we should turne our selues; as if a man should bringe infants, that haue not the vse of reason, to a banquet of sweete and holosome meats, it were no danger for them to eate what soeuer their eye or appetite should moue them vnto, neither for that purpose should they neede discretion; but if there were some vnholosome or poisoned meates amongst the rest, they might receaue great dammage or death therby, not beinge able to discerne betwixt the one and the other. Therefore we see that we haue neede of reason and wisdom rather in respect of the euil then of the good; and that God doth not take away euil from vs, because he hath giuen vs so great a remedy as wisdom, wherein there is far greater good and pleasure, then trouble and greife in euil; For that by wisdom we come to know God, and by that knowledge we attaine to immortality, which is perfect felicity; Thus saith *Laſtanti*.

Actant. l. 2. Ita dei ca. 13. The office of reason & wisdom is to distinguish betwixt good and euil.

Man hath farre greater good by wisdom then harme by euil.

23. But what? Haue we only the benefit of wisdom in re-

H h

compence

Every harme
hath a help and
euery inconue-
nience a remedy.
Chrisost. in ca. 6.
Math. hom. 15.
Every vice hath
an opposit vertue,
and euery euil
a good wherby
it may be ouer-
come.
If there were no
euil many ex-
cellent vertues
would be ob-
scured or extin-
guished.

compenche of euil? Haue we not alio for euery euil a particuler good, for euery harme a helpe, for euery sore a salue for euery vice a vertue, for euery incōueniēce an assured remedy if we list to vse it? *Omnia mala* (saith S. Chrisostome) *habent contraria bona per quæ superentur*; *Al euils haue their contrary goods by the which they may be ouercome*. By the vertue of chastity, we subdue al the vices of the flesh, by humility we conquer pride, by iustice we suppress al iniquity and iniustice, by liberality we ouercome avarice, and lastly by fortitude and patience we triumphe ouer al the miseries of the world; and wheras these and such other vertues are the proper ornaments of man, wherby he excelleth brute beasts and is made like to God, it is to be considered that some of the chiefest of them would be vterly extinguished, and the rest wholly obscured, if there were no sinne nor euil in the world.

24. For if there were no passions, no intemperance, no iniuries, no afflictions, how could there be any vertue of cōtinency, patience, temperance, or fortitude, which consist either in restraint, and suppression of passions, or in the suffering of iniuries, or in the toleration of miseries & afflictions? Also if there were no sinnes of the flesh, what commendation could be giuen to chastity? If there were no pride, who should be praised for humility? If no man were either couetous or prodigal, who should be counted liberal? For as by darknes we knowe the benefit of light, by paine the contentment of ease and pleasure, by sicknes the treasure of health; so by the turpitude and loathsomnes of vice, we know the worthines and excellency of vertue.

By vice we
know the worth-
thines of vertue.

Last. de ira ca. 13.
Chrisost. hom.
de lapsu. Adami.
The force of ver-
tue consisteth in
suffering or ouer-
comming euil.

Chrisost. Ibid.

25. Therefore *Lactantius* saith very wel; *If al euil were taken away, there would not remaine so much as any signe of vertue, wherof al the force consisteth in sustaining or ouercomming euil*; and S. *Chrisostome*, *Tolle* (saith he) *congeriem malorum & non erit plenitudo virtutum*; Take away the heape of euil out of the world, and there shal be no plenitude or fulnes of vertue; *Tolle persecutores, & non erunt martires*; tolle adulterij amatores, & non erit perfectio castorum. Take away persecutours, and there wil be no martires, take away the louers of addultery, and chaste men wil haue no praise of perfection. And then he concludeth *Ergo ex comparatione malorum fit laus bonorum*. Therefore of the comparison with euil men, groweth the commendation of h. good. Thus reasoneth S. *Chrisostome*.

26. Hereto

26. Hereto I adde, that the excellency of vertue & the benefit which we haue therby, doth not appeare only by the comparison therof with vice, but much more by the consideration of the rewarde due thereto, which rewardes are farre greater now by the occasion of sinne, and of the euils that follow thereon, then they could haue bene, if man had neuer sinned, or fallen into misery. For; although he was ordained to eternal glory and should haue enioyed it, if he had neuer sinned; yet he could not haue had it in so high and ample a degree, as now; seeing he should not haue had those occasions and that matter of merit, which now he hath by his continual combat and conflict with sinne, mans life being no other as *Iob* saith, but *Militia super terram. A warfare vpon the earth*; wherein euery soldier deserueth different honour and crowne, according to his different labours and valour shewed against his enimies: in which respect the Apostle describeth, as it were, a combat & fight betwixt vs and our enemy the diuel, who he saith doth assault vs with; *igneae tela, fiery darts, & spiritualia nequitiae, spiritual armes of wickednes*. And therefore he aduiseeth vs to put on the armour of God, the corslet of iustice and charity, the sword of the spirit (which he expoundeth to be the word of God) the shield of faith, and the helmet of hope of salvation; And further, he saith of him selfe that he had fought a good fight, and therefore expected the Crowne of iustice which the iust Iudge reserued for him: and of al the faithful in general he teacheth, that no man shal be crowned that shal not fight lawfully.

27. But if there were no sinne nor temptation, there could be no fight, if no fight, no victory, if no victory, no crowne; whereby it appeareth what benefit redoundeth to man by sinne and other euils, seeing of the conquest therof proceedeth the great glory which God giueth to his seruants, not only in heauen eternally, but also euen in this world, by the glorious memory had of them continually in his church.

28. Furthermore who can sufficiently expresse the good which we reape by the passion of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, wherby he payd the penalty of sinne, with such a copious redemption, & inestimable benefit to man, that we may iustly sing with the church. *O felix culpa quae talem meruit Redemptorem. O happy fault that deserved such a Redeemer*; For he not only cancelled the obligation of our

The rewards of vertue far greater by the occasion of euil.

Iob. 7.

Mans life a continual warfare.

Ephes. ca. 6. Thefts. ca. 5.

2. Time. ca. 4.

Of the conquest of sinne and euil, proceedeth the merit of eternal glory.

The unspeakable benefit we haue by the passion of our Sauour through the occasion of sinne.

debt, and subdued the diuill and sinne; but also made vs able to conquer them both, leauing vs the endles treasure of his owne merits, with meanes to apply the same to our owne benefit; wherby al our defects may be abundantly supplied, our po- uerty enriched, our wracks repayed, our woundes and diseases cured, and our weaknes strengthened in such sort, that the most infirme and weake man liuing, may by the healp therof, triumphe not only ouer sinne, & al the mischeife, and malignity of the world, but also ouer the malice and power of the diuel, yea and turne al the same to his eternal good; In so much that the least crosse or trouble that a man may haue in this life, being patiently endured for the loue of God, may through the merits of our Sauours passion worke in him (as S. Paule saith) *Aeternum gloria pondus*; *An euerlasting waight of glory*; so that no man hath iust cause to cōplayne of the euil that is in the world, seeing the same may serue him for matter and meanes of exceeding merit and euerlasting blisse, if he wil but craue assistance of him, who denyeth it to no man, but inuitheth al men to come vnto him, say- ing: *Venite ad me omnes &c*; *Come to me al yee that labour & are loaden* and *I wil refresh you*. And againe; *Ecce sto ad ostium pulsans si quis aperiat mihi*; *Behould I stand at the dore knocking, if any vvill open vnto mee*.

Man triumpheth
ouer sinne and
al euil through
the merits of
Christs passion.

No man can in-
fistly complaine of
the euil that is
in the world.
1. Cor. ca. 4.

Matth. 11.
Apor. ca. 3.

29. Loe then how almighty God turned the sinne of Adam and al mans misery to mans great benefit and felicity, yea and to his owne exceeding glory, seeing therein he shewed his infinit mercy and bounty, his iustice, his wisdom, prouidence and om- nipotency, though he did it in such admirable manner, that to wordly men, his omnipotency seemed infirmity, and his wis- dome folly. And for as much as the explication of this point may serue, not only for the confirmation of that which I haue he- ther to laboured to proue (touching the benefit and great good that redoundeth to man of the fall of Adam) but also for an eu- ident demonstration of the prouidence of God, yea and of the di- uinity of our Sauour *Iesus Christ* against al *Atheists* or *Infidels*, that deny or dout of the one or the other; I wil briefly say some- what first of the infirmity which appeared in his humanity, and then of the omnipotent effects wrought therby.

Of the infinit
wisdom and
omnipotency of
God shewed in
the passion of
our Sauour for
the benefit of
man.

30. As for the first what greater weaknes could be in man, then

Of the weakness
and infirmity
that appeared in
our Saviours
humanity.

Act. ca. 17.
The preaching
of Christ cruci-
fied seemeth at
first ridiculous
to pagynims.

Litteræ annuæ de
Macao 25. Ianna-
ry. 1602.

The experience
of what the
pagynims thinke
at the first of
Christ crucified.

For at conceit
some pagynims in
China had of
crucifixes used
amongst Christi-
ans.

The subtilty of
the devil to hin-
der the shew-
ing of crucifixes
to the pagynims
in China.

then that which our Sauour shewed in him selfe, when hauing for 33. yeeres space endured the miseries of this life, in pouerty, thirst, hunger, and cold, he suffered him selfe to be betrayed by his owne discipule, apprehended by his owne people, mocked and skorned, reuyled, blasphemed, falsly accused, scourged, crowned with thorne, and in the end ignominiously crucified betwene two thecues? Could any man (I say) shew greater infirmity then this, or any thing seeme more foolish and absurd to wise men of the world, then that God should become man, and subiect him selfe to so great ignominy and misery, or that men should worship such a one for God? what maruaile is it then, that when the Apostle preached him amongst the Philosophers at Athens they laughed at him; or that the infidels to whome the faith of Christ is preached at this day, doe at the first, vntil they haue some light of Gods grace, hold it for most absurd?

31. Hereof the experience was seene of late in China, from whence it is writtten by letters dated at Macao the 25. of Ianuary 1602. That whereas Fa. Matteo Ricchi of the Society of Iesus had obtrayned leaue of the King of China to repayre to his court, to present vnto him certaine rare thinges, hoping therby to take occasion and opportunity to preach the Christian faith to the King and his nobility (as hee and other of his Society had done some time before in diuers townes of China vpon the sea coast, with no smal fruite and gayne of soules) it chanced that a gouernour of a city, by the which he passed, vsing more rigour towards him then others had done, and rifeling al his stuffe, found a crucifixe, which when he saw he demanded what it was, and being very particularly informed by the Father what it signified, and what the Christians beleued and taught concerning him whome it represented, he fel into a long discourse inueying bitterly against Christians and their religion, concluding that they must needes be very wicked men & inhumane, seeing they could find in their harts to behold such a pittifull spectacle: besides that diuers other principal men who greatly fauored Fa. the Ricchi and the Christians did perswade him very earnestly (of great good wil as it seemed) to leaue al his crucifixes behind him, or at least not to shew them to any, assuring him that the very sight therof would disgust al men, and make them abhorre him.

32. But the Father perceiuing the subtilty of the diuel (who sought by such meanes to make him ashamed of the signes and badges of Christian religion) would not consent therto, but carried them along with him to the court, where he and his fellows haue since had so good successe in preaching the Christian faith, that they haue conuerted and baptized many, and obtained both a howse and a church for the exercyse of Christian religion, as it is aduertised from the Ilands of *Philippina* by letters dated at *Manila* the eleuenth of Iune in the yeere 1603. and printed here very lately with priuiledge and publike authority. This I haue thought good to relate by the way, to declare how the experience of this tyme sheweth the truth of that which the Apostle said of *Christ crucified*, to wit, that he was: *scandalum Iudæis & stultitia Gentibus. A scandal to the Iewes and folly to the Gentiles.*

The progresse of
Christian religion
in China
at this present.
Littera annua
delle Isole Phi-
lip. del. anno.
1603.
Christ crucified
a scandal to the
Iewes and folly
to the gentils.
1. Cor. ca. 1.

Ibid.
The stupendious
effects of the in-
firmity that ap-
peared in our
Saviours passio

The weak in-
struments our Sa-
uiour vsed for
the conuersion
of the world.

Christian do-
ctrine seemeth
repugnant to
mans nature
reason & sense.

33. But if we consider the stupendious effects of this infirmity and supposed folly, we shal euidently see that our Sauour *Christ* for his owne greater glory; *Elegit infirma mundi ut confunderet fortia; Made choyse of the vweake of the vworld to confound the stronge;* and therefore after his poore life and ignominious death, he vsed no other instruments for the publishing and preaching of faith but only a few poore, simple, and ignorant fishers, and some such other men of mechanical occupation, who subdued infinit numbers of people to the obedience of his law, not by might but by miracles, not by force of armes (as *Mahometts law* was established, and is stil maintained) nor by the power of Princes, but by preaching and perswasions, consisting in the plaine and simple narration of a doctrine, which seemed no lesse repugnant to reason, then to mans nature and sense. For, besides that, they taught the incomprehensible misteries of the blessed Trinity, the diuinity of *Christ* borne of a *Virgin*, & the resurrection of the dead (which were thinges surpassing mans reason and capacity) the moral doctrine which they preached with al, was no other then the continual mortification of the flesh, abnegation of a mans will, voluntary pouerty, remission of iniuries, the loue of our enemies, hate of the world, of our parents, of our selues, and such like points of perfection in Christian religion, which mans corrupt nature hardly brooketh, or rather abhorreth; and al this

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without any promise of recompence in this life, but in hope only of reward in the next.

34. Yet neuertheles such was the omnipotency of our Saviour Christ, that by the meanes of such weake instruments, and of a doctrine so repugnant and vsuall to mans sense and reason as this. he hath confounded the wise men of the world, beaten downe the power of the proude and porent, ouerthrowne Idolatry, and the empire of the Deuil (which had bene established for some thousandes of yeers before amongst the gentils) and lastly he hath propagated his faith and extended his kingdome throughout so many nations, as haue bene & are daily brought to the obediēce of his church, not with standing the violent opposition & persecutions raised against it by the prince of darknes assisted with the power of pagan, heretical, and scismatical emperours, Kings & princes, & of al the wicked men of the world; as shal be further declared in the second part of this treatise,

The omnipotency of our Saviour Christ manifest in the weaknes of his instruments.

35. This then being euident in al mens experience, who can be so absurd to deny either the prouidence of God in the affaires of men, or yet the diuinity of our Saviour Christ? Can it be said, that there was no such man, and that the story of him and his disciples was fained? How then became the world to be Christian, the miraculous conuersion wherof giueth manifest testimony of the truth in this matter? For let al histories be read, al antiquities searched, and al monuments vewed and considered, they al concur to the confirmation of this most admirable conuersion, wrought by no other meanes then these which I haue declared; And this being so, no man can with any shew of reason or common sense, deny our Saviours wonderful prouidence, infinit wisdome, ineffable goodnes, and diuine power, not only in working such incredible, and yet most manifest effects, by such impotent and weake meanes, but also in drawing so much good, out of so great euil, as strength out of weaknes, wisdome out of folly, felicity out of misery, merit out of malice, life out of death, and out of sinne saluation; seeing he confounded the strong by the weake, he conuincd the wise and learned by the simple and ignorant, he made misery, as it were the ladder to mount to felicity, he turned the malice of the diuel and wicked men, to the merit and glory of the good, he destroyed death by

The prouidence of God and the diuinity of our Saviour Christ manifest in the miraculous conuersion of the world.

What good God drew out of euil by our Saviours sacrifice.

his

his death, and gaue life to the dead; and finally by the sinne of *Iudas* and of those that crucified him, he wrought the saluation of the world.

36. Thus then we see how the fal and sinne of *Adam*, though it brought al misery to the world, yet is not only recompenced, but also made most beneficial to man, through the infinit mercy of our Sauour, in whome, and by whose merits, mans nature is now more glorified, then it should haue bene if *Adam* had not sinned, nor our Sauour suffered: which the Apostle signifieth, making a notable *Antithesis* betwixt our Sauour *Christ* & *Adam*, and prouing that the benefit which we haue by our Sauour, farre exceedeth the losse and dammage which wee receiued by *Adam*, concluding that, *Vbi abundauit delictum superabundauit gratia*; *Where the sinne and offence abounded, there grace is farre more abundant.* Whereupon I conclude that it was more conforme, to the wisdom, prouidence, and bountifull goodnes of God, to permitte man by the freedome of his wil to fal into sinne, and misery, with intention to giue him such excellent remedies, then either not to giue him free wil, or hauing giuen it him, to hinder the operation therof, or not to suffer any euil at al to be; Thus much concerning Gods permission of sinne and euil.

Mans nature
more glorified
now by the oc-
casion of Adams
sinne then it
should haue bin
if Adam had
not sinned.

Rom. ca. 6.

OF THE AFFLICTIONS OF GOOD MEN
in this life, and that the same is a notable argument, as wel of
Gods prouidence, bounty and iustice, as of his loue to them;
with much comfortable doctrine for the afflicted seruants of
God.

CHAP. 25.



HAVING declared by some probable reasons, how it stood with the prouidence and infinit goodnes of almighty God, to permit man to fal into sinne and misery, I wil now satisfie the other difficulties, concerninge the affliction of good men, and the prosperity of wicked men, and shew, that the same are the proper effects sometimes of his iustice

justice, and sometimes of his mercy, and that with al they are manifest arguments, of his providence in humane affaires.

2. Therefore, whereas tribulation seemeth to be, as it were, the proper patrimony and portion of good men, for *Multa sunt tribulationes iustorum* (saith the roial prophet) *the afflictions of the iust are many* (as it may appeare by the liues of al the best beloued seruants, and saints of God, yea and of our Sauour him selfe) it is to be vnderstood, that God hath of his infinit wildome so ordained it, for many notable reasons, wherof I wil here lay downe diuers, aswel for the consolation of the afflicted, as for the prooffe of the matter in hand.

3. First whereas the frailty of mans nature is such that no man is so free from sinne, but that he offendeth almighty God sometimes more or lesse (foras S. Ihon saith *Si dixerimus &c. If we say we haue no sinne, we seduce and deceane our selues and there is no trueth in us*) God of his mercy purgeth the sinns of his seruants with temporal afflictions in this life, to the end he may reward their good workes with eternal glory in the next. For as S. *Christosome* saith, *Iusti afflicti hic purgantur, & in alia vita maiorem merentur gloriam; iust men being afflicted in this life are purged, and deserue greater glory in the other life.* For this cause, the holy King and prophet *Dauid* paid the penalty of his homycide and adultery by the death of 3. of his children, and the rebellion of one of them, to wit *Abaddon*; and by many other afflictions vntil Gods iustice was satisfied.

4. Secondly, good men are sometimes afflicted in this life, for some offences of their fathers, or of some of their progenitors, as the innocent infant of *K. Dauid* died in the cradle for his fathers sinne, and for this cause, the *Apostles* asked our Sauour whether the blind man whome he cured, was borne blind for his fathers sinnes or no. And how it standeth with the iustice of God to punish one for the sinnes of an other, as the father for the sonne, or the subiect for the prince, I haue partly declared before, and wil declare more amply after a while.

5. Thirdly, God suffereth good men sometimes to fall into diuers tentations and troubles to shew them the imbecility of humane nature, lest otherwaies they might forget their selues,

Psal. 33.
Tribulation the
patrimony of
good men.

1. Ioan. 1.
God purgeth the
sinnes of good
men with tem-
poral affliction
in this life.
Christ. concione
4. ca. 16. ex Luca.
Tom 2.

2. Reg. ca 11. 12.
13. 15. 16. 17. 18.

Good men are
sometymes affli-
cted for their fa-
thers offences.

1. Reg. ca. 12.
Ioan. 9.

Chap. 17. nu. 24.
25. &c.
Chap. nu. 13. 14.
&c.

Tribulation serueth to good men for an admonition of their natural infirmity.

2 Cor. 12.
Christ. hom. 26.
in 12. ca. 2. ep. ad
Cor.

The vertue of good men is made manifest to the world by their affliction.

Iob. ca. 1.

ibid.

Howe the miraculous workes of many good men redound wholly to Gods glory by their afflictions.

Good men are persecuted sometimes for the confusion or confusion of their persecutors.

Mat. ca. 13.

by reason of the spiritual gifes and graces, which he communiceth more largely to them, then to other men. For which cause the Apostle saith that *God gaue him the Angel of sathan to beat him*, which angel of sathan *S. Chrysostome* expoundeth to be the Iewes, and al the enemies of the gospel of *Christ*, who persecuted and afflicted *S. Paul*.

6. Fourthly if the seruants of God should alwaies liue in prosperity, many would thinke that they embraced vertue and serued God for temporal reward, whereas being in aduersity and misery, they make it manifest that they loue and serue him for him selfe, and for the discharge of their duties, as appeared by the example of *Iob* whome the diuel did calumniat saying to almighty God; *That Iob did not serue him for nothings, or in vaine, seeing he did blesse and protect him, his family and al his substance; but touch him* (saith he) *a little in his welth and possessions, and thou shalt see he wil curse thee*; neuertheles when God had giuen the diuel leaue to afflict him, not only in his substance and children, but also in his owne person, it then appeared that he had not serued God for temporal respects, but for the duty that a creature oweth to his Creator. For he blessed & thanked him, as wel for his losses and afflictions, as for his welth and prosperity saying: *Dominus dedit &c. Our Lord gaue it and our Lord hath taken it away, the name of our Lord be blessed.*

7. Fifthly whereas almighty God doth for his owne glory and the edification of others, worke many times great miracles by his seruants, he suffereth them to indure many temporal afflictions, to the end that the infirmity of humane nature appearing therby in them, the glory of their great graces, workes, and miracles, may redound wholly to him.

8. Sixtly God suffereth his seruants to be troubled and persecuted for the conuersion or confusion of their persecutors & enemies, to the end, that if they wil not be conuerted, the constancy and patience of his seruants may serue for a testimony against them, and therefore our Sauiour said to his disciples of their persecutors: *You shal be beaten in their sinagogs, and shal stand before Presidents and Kings for me; In testimonium illis, For a testimony against them.*

9. Seauently, God permitteth the tribulation of the best &

iustest

justest men, for the example and consolation of the weaker, who may be animated thereby to beare their tribulation with patience, yea and to hold it for a token of Gods loue towards them, seeing he exerciseth and chastiseth his best beloued seruants, and dearest freends.

10. For this cause God suffered the good Tobias to be strooken blind. *Vi posteris* (saith the scripture) *datus exemplum patientiae eius, sicut & sancti Iob*; That an example might be giuen to the posterity, as wel of his patience, as of the patience of the holy Iob. This also Seneca the painim philosopher seemed to consider, saying: *Why doe good men suffer much aduersity? Vt alios pati doceant nati sunt in exemplare*; That they may teach others to suffer, for they are borne and ordained to serue for patterns and examples to other men.

11. Eyghtly; when euil men see good men suffer many calamities and miseries, and thereby vnderstand that they are of no more diuine nature then them selues, but subiect as wel as they to all humayne infirmities, they may also perceau that it is not impossible for them to imitate their vertues, if they wil vse the same meanes that they doe to attaine thereto.

12. Ninthly; the patience, fortitude, charity, and other vertues of good men, are by their afflictions made knowne not only to the world (for Gods greater glory and their comendation) but also to them selues for their owne spiritual comfort, as *S. Augustin* noteth very wel; For vntil they were tried, neither the world nor yet themselves knew their valour. To which purpose Seneca saith that euen as the good pilott and mariner can not shew his art and skil when he hath a prosperous wind and calme sea, but in tempests and stormes; euen so the good man can not shew his vertue nor yet haue any prooue of him selfe in continual prosperity, but in the difficulties, trauerses, and crosses of aduersities.

13. For this cause tribulation is compared in the scripture to the fornace, wherein gold is tried, *Tanquam aurum* (saith the booke of wisdom) *In fornace probauit eos, God did trie his seruants like gold in the fornace*. And to the same purpose Seneca also saith: *Ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros*: Fier trieth gold, and misery men of valour. And speaking other where to the prosperous man that neuer passed this trial he saith. *Iudice ibe to be miserable because thou*

God permitteih
the tribulation
o the best men,
for the example
and consolation
of the weaker
that are affli-
cted

Tobias ca. 2.

Seneca li de pro-
uid. ca. 6.

How the affli-
ction of good
men, may moue
euil men to imi-
tate their ver-
tues.

Aug. li de ciuit
dei ca. 9.
Good men by tri-
bulation, haue
tryal and expe-
rience of their
owne valour and
virtue.

Seneca de con-
sola ad Marcianu.
li. 1. ca. 6. & de
providen. ca. 4.

Sap. Cap. 3.
Affliction is the
fornace wher in
good men are
tryed and pu-
rified.

Seneca li. de pro-
uiden. ca. 3. & 4.

Senell. de pro-
uiden. ca. 3. & 4.
He is miserable
which neuer
suffered misery.

didst neuer suffer misery; hast thou past thy life with out contradiction? neither thus thy selfe nor any man else knowes what thou art able to doe; for to the end that a man may know him selfe, it is necessary that experience teach him his owne ability. Thus saire Seneca.

The tribulation
of good men, is
an euident ar-
gument of the
immortality of the
soule.
Cicero de fini-
bus.

14. Thenthly we learne by the tribulation of good men, that there is an other life after this wherein vertue is rewarded and vice punished; for seeing that the best men, and greatest seruants of God haue commonly no rest nor repose, and consequently no reward of vertue in this life, it must needs follow that they shalbe rewarded in the next: For otherwise vertue, which is most natural & proper to man (being as Cicero defineth it, *Natura ad summum perducta*; nature brought to her height or perfection) should be giuen to man by nature, not for his good, but for his hurt, seeing it consisteth in the contempt and restraint of al the commodities and pleasures of this life, not for a day or two, or for a few yeeres, but euen vntil the hower of death; and therefore it followeth that the reward therof is reserved for the next life, which *Lactantius* inferreth notably vpon the nature and office of vertue; If vertue (saith hee) doth not eul, but wel, in that, it contemneth vice and filthy pleasures, and seareth not, to endure any paine, sorrow or death, it must needs follow, that it shal attaine to some greater good, then that vvhich it contemneth and reiecteth; but that good (saith hee) can not be in this life, for that vertue endeth not but vvith death, yea, and many times sheweth it selfe, in the contempt of death, and therefore the good vvhich it deserueth and expecteth, must needs be after this life. Thus reasoneth *Lactantius*, prouing thereby the immortality of the soule.

*Lact. li. 7. ca. 9.
& 10.
The true and
fulvervard of
vertue reserved
for the next life.*

15. Seeing then vertue of her owne nature depriueth men of the pleasures and commodities of this world, and that also vertuous men are many times by Gods special ordinance loaden with afflictions during their liues, euen natural reason teacheth that there is an other life after this, wherein they are to receiue the reward of their vertue; In which respect the Apostle saith very wel; that vve christians vvete the most miserable men in the vvorld, if it vvete not for the hope vve haue of euerslasting glory.

1. Cor. ca. 15.

16. Furthermore God permitteth his seruants to be afflicted. sometimes with many temporal losses, to the end to take from them

them the occasions and matter that engendreth or nourisheth vice and sinne, as riches, honour, and other worldly contentments, which make men forget both God and them selues; and therefore the Apostle saith, *Qui volunt fieri diuites, incidunt &c.* These which desire to become rich, doe fall into temptation, and into the snare of the diuel, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires which cast men headlong into perdition. Thus saith the Apostle.

The afflictions of good men empteth them from the occasions of sinne.
1. Timo. ca. 6.

17. This also the very painims saw and acknowledged; *Hast thou lost* (saith Seneca) *thy substance and welth? perhaps if thou hadst not lost it, it would haue destroyed thee, ykere as now thou shalt be in leese danger, and happy art thou if with thy welth, thou hast lost couetousnes, and yet thou hast doth remaine with thee, thou art in better case then before, for that thou hast lost the matter wyher with so great an euil was fed and nourished in thee.* Thus saith Seneca; Therefore when almighty God fore seeth that some seruant of his (for whome hee ordaineth eternal glory) wil abuse his riches, honour, health of body or any other worldly commodities, to the hurt of his owne soule, he mercyfully deprieth him therof, yea sometimes also of his life. *Ne malitia mutet intellectum* (saith the scripture) *Leſt malice may change his vnderſtandinge.*

In excerptis lib. Seneca.

Couetousnes fed and nourished with riches.

Sap. 4.

18. Moreouer although God giueth his seruants the light of grace wherby he doth illuminate their vnderſtanding, yet he doth not therby exclude them from the ordinary meanes to attaine to wiſdome, amongst the which none is either more ordinary or effectual then affliction, according to the saying of the prophet: *Pexatio dabit intellectum*; *Tribulation wyll geue vnderſtandinge.*

Tribulation the ordinary and high way to wiſdome.
1ſay ca. 48.

19. This I ſay for two cauſes; the one becauſe affliction tempereth and ſerleth the exorbitant humours of men, which ſo abound commonly in continual proſperity that their iudgments are greatly blinded, and hindred therby, in which reſpect the famous lady *Katherin Queene of England*, and daughter to *Ferdinand K. of ſpayne* was wont wiſely to ſay: That if ſhe muſt needes make choiſe either of continual proſperity, or continual aduerſity, ſhe would chooſe the latter; *For in affliction* (ſaith ſhe) *no good man can want conſolation, where as in proſperity moſt men vyant wyth.* To this purpoſe *s. Chriſtoſtome* ſaith very wel, that affliction doth teach men moral philoſophy; *For* (ſaith he) *it overcommeth, or*

Tribulation tempereth the exorbitant humours of men.

Surius in comment. anno. 1535. *Proſperous men commonly vyant wyth.*

How affliction teacheth men moral philoſophy.

Christ. hom. 16.
in 11. ca. 1. ep. ad
corinth.

qualifieth *is* the turbulent passions and affections of men, as, enuy, lust, covetousnes and selfe-loue, it beateth downe pride and arrogancy, it quickneth sloth, it induceth to patience, it discovereth the basenes of humaine things, and cureth all the diseases of the mind.

Affliction enri-
cheth mens ex-
perience.

Experience the
mistresse of
fooles.

Few men visi-
ble by other mens
experience.

Seneca de provi-
den. c. 4.

20. The other why affliction maketh men wise, is, for that it greatly enricheth their experience, which as the proverbe saith is *Stultorum magistra*, the mistresse of fooles, that is to say, it maketh fooles wise, and for as much as few men wil be the wiser, by other mens experience, vntil they be beaten with their owne rod, it is conuenient that men passe dangers & difficulties and suffer some affliction, therby the better to know the vanity of the world, which no man knoweth so wel as he that tryeth it. For as *Seneca* saith, he that alwayes hath bin fortunate and neuer tasted aduersity: *Ignorat rerum nature alteram partem*, is ignorant of the one halfe of the nature of things, and can neuer truely vnderstand how true it is, that *Accepimus peritura perituri*, yve that are to perish haue received things that also shal perish; by the due consideration wherof mans cogitation & desire may be eleuated from thinges terrestrial, mutable and fraile, to celestial and eternal, wherein consisteth true wisdom; In which respect the royal Prophet saith; *Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me ut discam iustificationes tuas*; It is good for me (o Lord) that thou hast humbled me by affliction, to the end I may learne they iustifications.

Ibid.

Wherin true
wisdome con-
sisteth.

Psal. 118.

How tribula-
tion encreaseth
and perfecteth
al vertue.

Psal. 93.

Christ. in 1. cor.
8. hom. 16.

21. Therefore wheras this is the ordinary way, wherby men attaine to true wisdom, God suffereth also his seruants to passe by the same, though he giue them with al a greater light and measure of grace, then to other men, wherby he also confirmeth, fortifieth, and encreaseth their vertues; For by tribulation, their charity & loue to God is kindled, their faith strengthened, their hope redoubled, their patience not only proued, but also augmented, their wills made more pliable and conforme to Gods wil, their prayer more frequent and seruorous, and finally their inward consolation so much the greater, by how much more greuous their afflictions seeme to be. Wherefore the *Psal.* mist saith; *secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo*; consolationes tuae latificauerunt animam meam; According to the multitude of the sorrowes of my hart, thy consolations (o Lord) haue giuen ioy to my soule. And *s. Chrysostome*: *Quemadmodum* (saith he) abundant passions

Or.

¶ c. Euen as our passions and sufferings doe abound, so aboundeth also our consolation.

22. Lastly whereas it pleased our Sauour Christ not otherwayse to enter into glory but by suffering a most bitter passion, (for as he said himselfe: *Oportuit Christum pati, & ita intrare in gloriam suam;* It was conuenient that Christ should suffer, and so enter into his glory; he hath also ordayned that his seruants shal not otherwise arriue therto, but by the same way; I meane, not otherwise participate of the ioyes of his kingdome, but by the participation of his crosse and passion, and no meruaile? For Christ being our head, and wee his members, how can it be conuenient, that an afflicted and tormented head, should haue a pampered body and delicate members? or that the Lord and maister should liue in labour and payne, and the slaue in ease and pleasure, and that we should get that for nothing, which our Sauour bought & purchased to deare, seeing we cannot obtayne any thing of great value in the world it selfe, but with much care, trauel & toyle? For *difficilia* (saith the prouerb) *qua pulchra;* Those things that are fayre are full of difficultyes.

Luc. 24.

Good men by affliction are made conforme to Christ their maister and head.

23. How then can we make account to attayne to the heauenly kingdome and the inestimable ioyes therof, by liuing in ease and delights? Marry (say some in these dayes) the account is easely made, and the reason ready at hand. Our Sauour payd the price, and made the purchase for vs that be faithful, whereby we became, *Haeredes dei, & coharedes Christi: heyres of God & cohayres with Christ*; And therefore (say they) being heyres, we shal inherit by the vertue of his suffering and purchase, though we suffer nothing our selues, for he both suffred and satisfied for vs; thus say they.

Whether the passion of Christ did free his seruants from suffering.

Rom. 8.

24. The full answer hereof would require a longer discourse then this place wil permitt; but to say somewhat breefly for the explication of the matter in hand, it is to be vnderstood; that where the Apostle calleth vs; *Heyres of God, and cohayres of Christ*; He addeth immediatly; *Si tamen compatimur, ut & conglorificemur*; signifying that we are cohayres with Christ vpon condition that we suffer with him, to the end we may be glorified with him; And therefore in our Sauours suffering, it is to be considered, that he not only redeemed vs from death thereby, and set vs in the

We cannot raigne with Christ except we suffer with him.

Ibid.

way.

1. Pet. ca. 2.

way of euerlasting life, but also went before vs, carrying his crosse to giue vs both example and courage to follow him; which saint Peter plainly teacheth saying; *Christus passus est pro nobis &c. Christ hath suffered for vs, leaving you an example that you may followe his footsteps*; Thus saith the Prince of the Apostles.

Math. c. 10.
Christ to be imi-
tated in the bea-
ring of his crosse.

25. Wherin hee giueth vs to vnderstand, that our Sauour by his passion did not free and exempt vs from suffering, but inuited or rather obliged vs there vnto; which also our Sauour himselfe teacheth more expressly; *si quis* (saith he) *vult venire post me &c. If any man wil come after me, let him deny him selfe, and take vp his crosse and follow me*; And hereto also tended al his doctrine consisting in the renunciation of the world, in the mortification of the flesh, in hatred of our selues, and in the patient sufferings of the maledictions and persecutions of wicked men; which he taught to be the strait and narrow way, which leadeth to the kingdome of heauen; Al which (to omitt other testimonies for breuities sake) the Apostle comprehended in these few wordes; *Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum Dei; Vt multi enter in to the kingdome of heauen by many tribulations*; Wherin neuertheles almighty God sheweth sufficiently his mercy and great compassion of our infirmity, seeing, as the same Apostle affirmeth; *He suffreth vs not to be afflicted or tempted more, then with the helpe of his grace we may be able to beare, yea and also; Dat cum tentatione prouentum; Giueth vs with tentation encrease of grace*; And as the Roial prophet saith, he is not only alwaies present with his seruants in tribulation, but also in the end; *Eripit eum, & glorificat eum, doth deliuer him, and glorify him.*

Act. c. 14.

1. Cor. ca. 10.
The mercy of
God towards
his afflicted and
tempted seruants.

Psal. 90.

A breif summe
of the benefites
of affliction in
good men.

26. Seeing then I haue here proued that affliction is to good men the fornace wherein they are purged, purified, and refined in this life, a necessary testimony to them selues and others, of the infirmity of humane nature, an assay (as it were) and trial of their owne strength, a manifestation of their faith charity, hope, patience, fortitude and other vertues, an example, encouragement, and edification to others, a comfort to them selues, a confusion to the enemies of God and theirs, an euident argument of the soule, and of Gods iustice in rewarding the iust in the next life, the hammer and hatchet of vice, the nourise of vertue, the mother of experience and wisdom, and (as I may

tearme

rearme it) a magazine of merit, and finally the pathe that our Saviour him self troad before vs, to lead vs thereby to euertlasting glory; who can deny that the tribulation of the good, is not only a manifest argument of Gods infinit wisdom, iustice, mercy, and prouidence, but also an assured token and pledge of his loue & fauor towards them? and therefore the angel said to the good Tobias, *Quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse fuit vt tentatio probaret te; Because thou wast acceptable to God, it was necessary that temptation should proue thee.* And the Apostle saith; *Our Lord chastiseth him whome he loueth, and scourgeth euery sonne whome he receaueth:* and a little after, *what sonne (saith he) is there; whome his father doth not correct? for if you be out of discipline, wherof al the children of God are made partakers, it is a token you are bastards and not lawfull children;* Thus saith the Apostle for the comfort of the afflicted seruants of God.

Affliction, an assured token & pledge of Gods loue.

Tob. 12.

Hebræica. 12. God chastiseth whome he loueth.

27. And this also the painims them selues notably considered, as amongst others the famous *Seneca*, who giueth notable instructions to the same purpose; when thou see'st (saith hee) good men tossed and turmoyled, and euil men liue in pleasure, and delight, remember that we are wont to restraine our children with security of discipline, and to giue more liberty to our slaves; and the like thou maist thinke of almighty God, who suffereth not good men to liue in ease and pleasures, but doth proue exercise and harden them, and thereby prepareth them for him selfe; And againe afterwards: God (saith he) doth lay vpon the best men, labours, sicknes, sorrowes, and other incomodities, much like to a captaine in the warre, who committeth the hardest and most dangerous exploits, to the best and most valiant soldiers; and euen as the souldier chosen and assigned, for the execution of some heroycal and worthy enterprise, doth not murmur and grudge against his captaine for the same, as though he had done him wronge, or bare him euil wil, but rather holdeth him selfe to be honored and beloued of him: euen so we are to thinke, that God doth honour and loue vs when he thinkes vs worthy to combat with aduersity.

Seneca. de prouiden. ca. 1. Notable considerations of Seneca concerning the afflictions of good men.

Idem. Ibid. ca. 4.

Affliction ought to be esteemed as honour and fauour at Gods hand.

28. Thus far *Seneca*, who also signifying in an other place, with how prompt and ready a wil we should receiue any crosses or afflictions at Gods handes, saith in the person of an afflicted

Seneca. Ibid. ca. 5.

Resignation of
mans wil to
Gods wil in af-
fliction taughte
and practised by
the paynims.

man; *Hoc vnum (dij immortales)* &c. O yee immortal Gods, for one thinge only I may complaine of you, to wit, that you did not sooner notify vnto me your wil in this behalfe, for if I had knowne it, I would haue offered my selfe to suffer al that which now I willingly accept at your handes; wil yee haue my children, or any part of my body, or my life? take al; for I am well content to returne vnto you al that which ye gaue me, and therefore yee shal not neede to take it from me by force, for no thinge can bee taken from him who giueth al he hath with a good wil.

A shame for
Christians to be
lesse resigned to
Gods wil then
paynims.

29. Thus saith this painim, which I haue alleadged the rather, that wee Christians who haue receiued the light of grace, and of the Christian faith, may be ashamed of our selues, when we murmure against God for euery litle crosse or tribulation, seeing the painims both taught and shewed such resignation of wil to the wil of God, to suffer what soeuer he should lay vpon them, though they had neither any light nor help of his grace, nor yet any promise, and much lesse assurance of eternal reward, or any other motiue, but only the consideration of the duty of a creature to his Creatour; whereas wee haue not only the same reason which they had, to moue vs therto; but also the rules and precepts of our religion, the promise and assurance of ineffable and incomprehensible rewards, the examples of the most painefull life and passion of our Sauour him selfe, and of innumerable persecutions, afflictions, and torments, ioyfully endured by his Apostles, and infinit other Martires, besides the continual crosse which al the Confessours and great Saints of Gods church haue either voluntary taken and borne of them selues, for the loue of God, or els willingly and thankfully receiued, from the handes of others.

The example of
Christ and al his
Saints inniteth
Christians to
suffer affliction
willingly.

W^e ought to
ioy and glory in
affliction; and
why.

Rom. ca. 5.
1. Cor. ca. 4.
The conclusion,
suffering that
the affliction of

30. Al which ought to moue vs to the patient, yea and ioyfull suffering of what tribulation soeuer it shal please God to inflict vpon vs, and to say with the Apostle; *Gloriamur in tribulationibus; W^e glory in afflictions.* Seeing, that as hee also saith in another place, *That tribulation of ours which for the present is short and light, doth worke in vs an eternal weight of glory aboue al measure;* wherupon I conclude, that the affliction of good men being duly considered with the circumstances and reasons therof, is so farre

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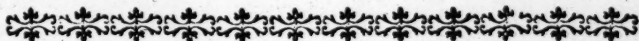
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so farre from being an argument against the providence, iustice and mercy of God, that it notably proueth and confirmeth the same; and thus much for this point.

good men is a notable argument of Gods providence.

31. Now then it resteth that I proceede to an other point, which I promised to treat of; to wit, why God suffereth euil men to prosper, and forbeareth many tymes to punish them in this life, at least so greuously and publikely as they seeme to deserue, wherof many notable reasons may be giuen, not only out of Christian authors, but also out of paynims, & namely *Plutark* who wrote a notable treatise of this matter against the *Epicurians*, wherein he proued the providence of almighty God in the affaires of men, by his patience towards euil men, and their prosperity, as I shal haue occasion further to declare now and then in the next chapter.

Plutark. de sera numinis vindicta



OF THE GREAT LONGANIMITY AND patience of almighty God, towards wicked men, and of the causes of their prosperity; By occasion whereof, their pittifull and miserable state is declared, with some good admonitions to them.

CHAP. 26.



MONEST al the wonderful effects of Gods secret iudgments concerning man, there is none more admirable then the impunity and prosperity of wicked men; For, what may seeme more wonderful and strange, then that almighty God, being of infinit maiesly, power and iustice, should suffer such excelle as we

Nothing more admirable then the impunity & prosperity of wicked men.

dayly see of sinnes and offences, committed against him selfe, and not only forbear often tymes to punish the offendours, but sometyes also to bestow al temporal prosperity & felicity vpon them; the consideration wherof so much perplexed & troubled the Royal prophet, that he saith it made him stagger. For when I considered (saith he) the peace and prosperity of sinners; *Penè moti, sunt pedes mei, penè effusi sunt gressus mei*; I almost lost my footing, and was almost

Psal. 72.

Psal. 91.

Aug. in Psal. 91.

most put out of my path; and S. Aug: expounding these wordes of the Psalme, *Thy cogitations* (o Lord) are most profound; saith; that there is no sea so deepe, as is the cogitation or iudgment of God, that wicked men flowrish, and good men are afflicted, in which depth or profundity, saith he, *Naufragat omnis infidelis, euery vnfaithful man makes shipwrack*; that is to say, is drowned in the depth of Atheisme, doubting or denying the prouidence of God in many assayres.

2. Neuertheles so merciful is almighty God in this behalfe, that he is content him selfe to serue for the pilot to deliuer vs from the danger of this golfe, hauing reuealed vnto vs many notable causes & reasons of his admirable iudgments in this point, though al men haue not grace to see and consider them; and therefore I wil endeauor to lay downe some of them in this place, speaking first of his *Longanimity & patience* towards wicked men, and after of their prosperity.

God spareth
wicked men to
giue them tyme
to repent.

Sap. 11.

Iob. c. 24.

3. First then it is to be considered, that such is the mercy of almighty God towards al sinners, and his desire of their repentance, that as the wiseman saith: *Disimulat peccata hominum propter penitentiam*; he dissembleth, and seemeth not to see the sinnes of men, to the end they may haue tyme to repent. For which cause, he sometymes spareth the most wicked, as Iob, signifyeth laying, *Dens dedit i locum penitentia, at ille eo abutitur in superbiam*. God gaues the wicked man tyme and place of repentance, but he abuseth it to pride.

Plut. de sera. vindicta.

What the paynims obserued in Gods patience towards sinners

4. This consideration was not vnknowne to the Paynims, and therefore Plutarke saith: that as almighty God doth commonly exterminat and cut of such wicked men as he knoweth to be incorrigible (for that they are hurtful as wel to others as to them selues) so also he spareth such as erre rather of ignorance or frailty, then of malice; giuing them tyme to repent; and to the same purpose he alleadgeth examples of diuers that had bene sometymes very wicked, and became afterwards men of notable vertue, wherof we see also dayly experience.

Idem. Ibid.
The example of Gods patience towards sinners to be imitated by men.

5. And here I can not omit an other notable consideration of his, concerning the great patience of God towards sinners, which he wisheth al men to propose as an example to them selues, therby to moderate their exorbitant passions of anger and desire of reuenge; For if (saith he) *wise men are wont ofentimes to cal to mind,*

mind, and imitate the patience and moderation of Archibias, Plato, and other philosophers (who would neuer correct or punish their slaues in their anger) much more reason is it, that we haue alwayes before our eyes and imitate the patience and longanimity of almighty God (the true patterne of vertue & goodnes) accustom our selues by his example to moderation, clemency, and benignity, as to most perfect and diuine vertues; Thus saith this paynim.

6. But if we extend the example of Gods patience a litle further to the pardon and remission of iniuries done vnto vs (as God pardoneth our iniuries & offences done vnto him) we shall make this consideration much more Christian and proffitable to vs, especially seeing our owne pardon dependeth vpon our imitation of almighty God in this point, as we may learne by our Sauours parable of the maister of the family, who hauing remitted al the debt of his seruant, grieuously punished him afterwards, because he did not pardon his fellow, as he was pardoned him selfe. Therefore I conclude with S. Cyprian, that seeing almighty God (who is both our Lord and Father) is the author and true mirror of patience, it is fit that we imitate him therin, For seruants (saith S. Cyprian) ought to conforme them selues to their Lord and maister, and children should not degenerate from the vertues of their father. Thus much for the first point.

Gods patience to
be imitated in
remission of in-
juries
Mat. ca. 18.

Cyp. li de bono
patient.

7. Secondly, God forbeareth sometymes to destroy wicked men for some good mens sake who liue & dwel amongst them, either for that his wrath is pacified by their prayers (as when Moyses obtrayned pardon for the children of Israel whome God threatned to destroy for their Idolatry) or els when the punishment which the wicked deserue would bring such a general desolation to a whole country, that the good must needs participate therof; In which case almighty God forbeareth sometymes to execute the rigour of his iustice.

God forbeareth
wicked men
sometymes for
good mens sake.
Exod ca. 32.

8. And this our Sauour may seeme to haue insinuated in the parable, wherein he signified that the cockle, and darnel should be suffered to grow with the good corne vntill haruest, least if it were weeded out, the corne might be pulled vp with al; and therefore when God determined to destroy Sodome and Gomorra, Abraham said confidently vnto him, Non est tuum &c. It is not thy property or custome (o Lord) to destroy the iust together with the vniust;

Math. ca. 13.

Genes. ca. 18.

Kk 3

Wherto

How much it
may auaille an
euil man to be
but in the com-
pany of a good
man.

Ad. ca. 17.

God disferreth
somtymes the pu-
nishment of the
wicked to pu-
nish them in
tyme and place
more conuenient
4. Reg. c. 19.

ibid.

Plot. de sera nu-
min. vir d. ca.

An example of
Gods punishmēt
disferred, re-
counted by Plu-
tark.

Wherto also almighty God answered, that if there were but ten iust men in al the city of *Sodome* he would spare it for their sakes; whereby we may see how much it may auaille an euil man to be but in the company of good men, or to haue one good man in his howse, seing God would haue spared so great and populous a cittie if there had bene but ten iust men therein: which may also further appeare by the example of those 276. men which sailed with *S. Paule* towards *Rome*, whome God deliuered from drowning for *S. Pauls* sake, as the Angel signified vnto him saying, *Donauit tibi Deus, omnes qui nauigant tecum; God hath giuen thee al those that sayle with thee; Of whome none perished, though the ship was cast a way.*

9. Thirdly it falleth out many times that almighty God suspendeth and differreth his iust punishment due to euil men, to inflict it vpon them in time and place more conuenient for his glory, their greater confusion, and example of others; as the scriptures testifie of the most wicked and blasphemous *Sennacherib* King of the *Assirians* when he beseiged *Hierusalem* and blasphemed almighty God most abominably; For although God destoried his whole Army miraculously in the night, yet he deferred his personal punishment for a time, and therefore he said of him by his prophet: *Reuertetur in terram suam &c. He shal retourne into his owne country, and there I wil destroy him with the sword; which was fulfilled shortly after in Nimine, where he was slaine in the temple of his false God Nisrac by two of his owne sonnes, whom God vsed as his instruments to punish him more notoriously, as wel for his Idolatry, as for his blasphemy.*

10. This point *Plutark* exemplifieth in diuers wicked men, as to omit others in one *Bessus*, who had secretly killed his owne father and was not discovered a longe time, vntil at length being inuited to diner with diuers others, and arriuing at the place where he should dine, he fel into a rage vpon a suddaine against certaine yonge swallows that cried in their nest, in so much that he pulled them downe and trode them al vnder his feete: and being reprehended by others which were present; *Whi* (saith he) *did you not heare how they said that I killed my father; which being marked, and notice giuen therof to the magistrates, he was examined, and confessing the murder was worthily execu-*

ted for

ed for the same; whereby it appeareth that God suspended the punishment of this parricide to inflict it vpon him in a more strange and notorious manner for his owne greater glory & the terrour of others.

11. To which purpose *Plutark* discourseth notably of Gods great wildome and iustice in punishing euery offendour, alledging also for the same, the Poët *Pindarus*, who said that it belongeth to almighty God only, as to the author of iustice to determine when, how, where, and how much euery sinner is to be punished, and therefore (saith *Plutark*) euen as those which haue no skil in phisick can not with reason controule a skilful phisition or surgeon for that hee deferreth the lancing of an impostume, or because he draweth blood, or purgeth his patient rather to day then to morrow, so we who knowe not the secret iudgments of God, neither ought, nor can controule his proceedings, when he punisheth sooner or later; neither yet can we affirme or conceiue any other thing therof, but only that he knoweth best how to apply the due remedy to the malice of men, by punishing euery offence in due manner, measure, tyme, and season.

12. And herein also this same author hath other notable considerations, as that almighty God may securely delay the punishment of wicked men, because they can not escape his hands by flight, or by any other meanes, whereas we (respecting as wel our owne impotency, as the breuirty of our liues) are forced many times to punish with speed, lest the offendour may otherwise scape vnpunished; But God (saith he) who is omnipotent, and to whom in respecte of his eternity, the whole life of a man is but like the dawning of the day; yea and lesse then an instant or moment, looseth no tyme by delay, hauing al wicked men as it were, in a continual prison and in fetters, from vybence they can not free or deliuer them selues, he is by neuer so potent or subtil; and therefore although we see them many times liue prosperously and pleasantly, we are to thinke (saith he) no othervvise of them, then of prisoners condemned to death, amongst whom there are many so careless, that they iest sport and play vntill the halter be about their necks. Thus saith this pagan philosopher of Gods sufferance and patience towards wicked men, and of their miserable estate, seeing that how wise or potent soeuer they seeme to be, they haue no way or meanes

Ibid.
Notable considerations of *Plutark* why God deferreth the punishment of euil men

God knoweth how & when to apply the due remedies to the malice of men.

Plutark.
Ibid.

God looseth no tyme in the punishment of wicked men by delay.
Wicked men vnpunished compared to prisoners condemned to death and not executed.

or meanes, to escape the rigour of Gods iustice, but by repentance and amendement of their liues. And thus much for the third consideration.

13. Fourthly when almighty God doth foresee that some wicked men wil doe in time some good worke, to his glory or to a publike good, or that he shal haue good and vertuous children (as *Plutark* noteth) God doth tolerate and suffer him vntill he haue yeelded his good fruit; much like (saith *Plutark*) as the lawes ordaine, that women condemned to death for some heinous offence, be neuertheles reprimed and spared if they be with child, vntill they be deliuered, which being done, the law is executed vpon them: and euen so (saith he) though almighty God determine to punish wicked men, yet he forbeareth to doe it otherwhiles, in respect of the good fruit which they wil produce in time.

Plut. de sera num. vindicta.
God spareth
wicked men
sometimes vntill
they haue yeilded
some good
fruit.

The people of the
Iewes spared
vntill Christ
was borne of
them.
Mich. ca. 5.

14. This the prophet *Micheas* signifieth of the people of the *Iewes*, who for their wickednes deserued to be destroyed longe before they were, but in respect that our Sauour *Christ* was to be borne of them, their destruction was deferred vntill after his birth and passion; and therefore the prophet saith. *Propter hoc &c. For this cause God wil suffer them for a time; In quo parturiens pariet; Vntill one, that is to say the Virgin Mary, shal haue brought forth her childe.*

Plut. Ibid de sera num. vind.
The difference
betwixt mans
ignorance and
Gods infinit
wisdom not
ably observed, by
Plutark.

15. Furthermore of this point *Plutark* discourseth notably, shewing also herein the difference betwixt the iudgement of men, and the iudgement of God, or rather betwixt mans ignorance, and Gods infinit wisdom; For euen as (saith hee) an ignorant man in husbandry, seeing a peece of ground ouerrunne with brambles, shrubs, and bushes, and ful of mire and durt, holdeth it for barren and nothing worth, whereas the skilful husbandman doth thereby know the fertility of it; euen so we (saith hee) seeing some bad fruit of good & generous natures, doe vtterly condemne them, and thinke them vnworthy to be permitted in humane society; whereas almighty God who searcheth the minds and hartes of al, and knoweth that the bad fruit, which those good natures yeld, proceedeth rather of the fertility and generosity therof, then of sterility or defect, suffereth the same, and expecteth vntill nature haue discharged her

selfe

helfe of her superfluities, that so it may bring forth in time the good fruit, which by his wisdom, and prescience he foreseeeth: and therefore as sometimes he cutteth of wicked men in respect of some great mischeifes they would doe, if they should liue (foreseeing that their future offences would be greater then their former, and their secret sinns worse then their publike) so also he spareth some for the good he knoweth wil in time proceed from them. &c. Thus discourseth hee, giuing also examples of many, who though they continued wicked al their liues, and were in the end punished exemplarly by almighty God, yet did some notable good acts before their death.

For by God cutteth of some wicked men & spareth some others.

16. And although the good which some tirants and wicked men doe, doth not perhaps counteruaile the hurt and damage which many particuler men, or the whole commonwelth recea- neth by their wickednes; yet it is to be considered, that for as much as they are in their very tyranny and iniquity the instru- ments and ministers of Gods iustice (as I wil further declare * hereafter) it is not vnfit for the great mercy and bounty of al- mighty God, to spare them and to vse the ministry of them, ra- ther then of other wicked men, so much the longer, by how much the more he may expect with al some better fruit of them, then of others such as they.

God forbeareth some euil men rather then o- thers because they will doe more good then others.

* Ru. 23.

17. For such is his bountifull goodnes, that as he suffereth no euil in the world, but to the end that good may come therof; so he wil suffer no good to be lost that any creature of his may conueniently yeald; This our Sauour him selfe giueth vs to vn- derstand by the parable of the figge tree, which hauing bene in the vineyard three yeares, and yelded no fruit, the maister of the vineyard was content to let stand one yeare longer, ordaining with al that it should be pruned, dressed, digged about and dun- ged, to the end it might fructify if it were possible, and that if it gaue no fruit the fourth yeere, it should be then cut vp.

God suffereth no good to be lost that his crea- tures may conueni- ently yeild.

Luc. 13.

18. Thus signified our Sauour the longanimity and patience which God vseth towards sinners, and his exceeding great care and desire to draw some good fruit from them, how barren or bad soeuer they be; and thus much for this point.

19. Fifthly almighty God not only spareth, and forbeareth wicked men, but also doth giue them temporal happines here in

God spareth and prospereth some wicked men for

some good deedes
they haue done.

Math. ca. 5.
No good deede
shal be unre-
warded.
Ca. 17. nu. 15.

Ezech. ca. 29.

Many wicked
men haue their
heauen in this
world.

Iob. 21.

God forbeareth
or prospereth
euil men someti-
mes for the good
deeds of their
progenitours.
4. Reg. ca. 9.
13. & 14.

Chap. 17. nu. 16.

this life, for some good deedes they haue done; To which purpose it is to be considered, that as no man is so free from sinne, but that he committeth sometimes some frailties, which God of his iustice punisheth either in this life or the next, so also no man, or at the least very few, are altogether so void of grace and goodnes, but that they doe, or haue done sometimes in their life some good worke, which almighty God of his iustice, or liberality wil reward; For as our Sauour him selfe witnesseth. *He which giueth but so much as a cup of cold water in his name. Non perdet mercedem suam; Shal not loose his reward.* Yea and which is more, such is his mercy and liberality, that he recompenseth sometimes such as doe him seruice vnwittingly, as I haue declared els where by the example of *Nabodonosor* King of *Babilon*, to whome God gaue the kingdome of *Egypt*, for the seruice he had done him vnwittingly, in the destruction of the people of *Tyrus*.

20. But now for asmuch as the whole course of wicked mens liues, is such, that they iustly deserue eternal damnation, it is to be vnderstood that almighty God, as wel for the manifestation of his mercy, as for the satisfaction of his iustice, rewardeth their few good workes temporally in this life, to the end he may giue them in the other the ful measure of punishment, which their wickednes deserueth; and for this cause no doubt, very many which shal be damned eternally for their wicked liues, haue their heauen in this world, who as *Iob* saith. *Ducunt in bonis dies suos & in pun. to ad inferum descendunt; Lead their liues in pleasure, and in a moment descend to hel.*

21. Sixtly God forbeareth sometimes, and spareth wicked men, yea and giueth them temporal blessings (as riches honour and prosperity) for some good deedes of their parents or progenitours; So wee see in the scriptures, that God not only gaue the kingdome of *Israel* to *Iehu*, but also continued his children & posterity in the possession thereof to the fourth generatiō (though they were al wicked schismatikes and Idolaters) in reward of the good seruice which *Iehu* had done him in destroying the howse of *Ahab*, as I haue noted before, speaking of the causes, why God giueth kingdomes to euil men; Also God forbore to destroy King *Ioa*s and the people of *Israel*, yea and gaue them

them great victories against the Kings of Siria; *Propter pactum quod habebat cum Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob*; For the couenant hee had made with Abraham, Isaac & Iacob: Of whome they were descended.

22. Seuenthly God giueth many times, releefe in affliction and prosperity to wicked men, to draw them to the loue of him by temporal benefits; For this cause he deliuered the Idolatrous Kinge *Achab* and the *Israelites* his subiects from a cruel famin, wherwith they were afflicted, and after gaue them two notable victories against the *Syrians*; and for the same cause God hath promised, and gaue many miraculous victories, and much temporal felicity to the people of the *Iewes*, cherishing and tending them, as *Moses* said, *Quasi pupillam oculi*, Like the apple of his eye. Though they were alwaies: *Populus dura cruribus*, A stiffnecked people, *Generatio praua & exasperans*; A wicked and an exasperating generation. And therefore in the end he did exterminat them vtterly for their ingratitude.

23. Eyghtly the prosperity of the wicked is sometimes necessary for the iust punishment of others as wicked, or more wicked then they, in which case God maketh euil men the instruments of his iustice, and prospereth their designments and attempts to faire forth as is conuenient for the chastisement of others; So God prospered the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, in the conquest of *Samaria* and *Juda*, the *Goths*, *Vanda's*, *Alans*, *Huns* and other barbarous people, in the subuersion and direption of many Christian countries; the *Turks* and *Moors*, in the subduing of *Greece* and *Spaine*, and lastly the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* in the 3. feuerall conquests of our country, as I haue * declared already when I treated of Gods iustice in punishing the *Spainards*, *Brittans* and *English*; I haue also spoken perticularly of this point in the causes why God giueueth kingdomes to euil men, where the reader shal see some other thinges concerning this matter worthy obseruation.

24. Wherto I adde, that commonly when almighty God for the execution of his iustice vpon others, hath vsed the ministry of euil men, he also extendeth the seuerity of his iustice vpon them, casting the rods of his wrath into the fier, when he hath worne them vnto the stumps, which was signified by the prophet

4. Reg. ca. 13.

3. Reg. ca. 18. & 20.

God giueth temporal benefits to wicked men, to drawe them thereby to loue him.

Deuter. ca. 37. Ezr. ch. ca. 3.

God prospereth wicked men. sometimes for the punishment of others.

4. Reg. c. 17 & 14.

* ca. 20. & 21. ca. 17. nu. 14.

God casteth the rodde of his wrath into the fier, when he hath worne them.

Iſay. ca. 10.

Ibid.

Plut. de ſera
num. vindic.God exalteth
wicked men
ſometimes, for
their puniſhment.
Claudian. li. 1. in
Ruſſinum.

Pſal. 101.

Pſal. 36.

Ibid.

Iob. 14.

Caſar. Coment.
li. 6.

phet ſay of the King of the *Aſſirians*, whoſe miniſtery God meant to uſe in the puniſhment of the *Iewes*, and therfore he called him the *Rod of his wrath*, and his *ſtaffe*, adding that when he had fulfilled al that which he was to doe in *Sion* and *Hieruſalem*, *Viſitabo* (ſaith he) *ſuper fructum magnifici cordis regis Aſſur*. &c. I wil *Viſit* (that is to ſay) I wil puniſh the magnificent King of the *Aſſirians* for his proude hart; and the ſame we ſee verified commonly in al tirants, who being no other but the instruments of Gods iuſtice, and as *Plutarke* calleth them, his *hangmen*, doe feele in the end his heauy hand vpon them ſelues; As I wil make moſt euident hereafter. And thus much for this point.

25. Ninthly God not only ſpareth, but alſo many tymes rayſeth and exalteth wicked men for their puniſhment, that is to ſay, to confound them the more by their fal.

-----*tolluntur in altum* (ſaith the poët)

Ut lapſu grauior eruant:

They are liſted vp on high, that they may haue the greater and fouler fal: which the prophet *Dauid* ſignifyeth to be a great and terrible effect of Gods wrath. For, ſpeaking in the perſon of a repentant ſinner fallen from proſperity to miſery, *Potum meum* (ſaith he) *cum ſletu miſcebam*. &c. I did mixe my drinke with teares before the face of thy vvrath, and indignation, becauſe thou diſt eleuate & liſt me vp, to caſt me dovyne to the ground. And the ſame he inſinuateth in many places, where ſpeaking of the deſtruction and ouerthrow of wicked men, he firſt maketh mention of their exaltation: *The enemyes of God* (ſaith he) *vven they are honoured and exalted, ſhal Vanish vvvay like ſmoake*; and againe, *I ſavv the wicked man eleuated and liſted vp farre higher then the Cedar trees of Libanus, and I paſſed by & he was not, and I ſought him and his place vvas not found*. And *Iob* to the ſame purpoſe, ſaith of euil men: *Elevati ſunt ad modicum*. &c. They are liſted vp for a vybile, and ſhal not ſubſiſt, but ſhall bumbled.

26. This alſo was obſerved by the Paynims, and therfore *Caſar* in his commentaries ſaith, that ſometimes when almighty God determineth to puniſh men greuouſly for their wickednes, *Concedit illis res ſecundiores & diuturniorem impunitatem, quo grauius rerum commutatione doleant*; He graunteth them the greater proſperity, and longer impunity, to the end that they may the more feele their affliction by chang

by change of their fortune. Thus saith he, acknowledging with the Christians the severity of Gods iustice, and his secret iudgments vpon wicked men, in that he exalteth them, to the end to humble them and lifeth them vp, to throwe them downe, and seemeth to fauour and cherish them, when he meaneth to destroy them, giuing them many tymes their owne harts desires, for a pleasant preparatiue to their bitter potion, which he ordaineth for them, euen in this life; as the Royal prophet sheweth expressly in the children of Israel, when they offended almighty God most grieuouſly, murmuring against him in the wilderness for lack of meate, and distrusting his prouidence and power to feede them, to whome neuertheles he gaue such abundance that the scripture saith; *It rayned flesh vpon them like dust, and feathered fowle like the sand of the sea, and they did eat thereof their bellies full, Et non fraudati sunt a desiderio suo; and were not deceaued or skanted of their desire.* But what followeth? *Adhuc esca eorum erant in ore ipsorum* &c. Behold, their meate was not yet out of their mouths, when the wrath of God fell vpon them, and killed the fastest amongst them &c. Thus saith the psalmist of the children of Israel, and so it falleth out many tymes with other wicked men, who wallow in welth and pleasure for a tyme, and are but as it were fatted like beasts for the slaughter, whereto they are by Gods iust iudgment reserved.

Prosperity to many wicked men, is but a preamble to their destruction

Psal. 77.

27. And this they may feare so much the more, by how much more prosperous and happy they seeme to them selues or others; wherof we haue a notable example in *Policrates* the tyrant, who hauing had a most prosperous tyranny, and not so much as any check of fortune, or euil hap in al his life, so much suspected the issue therof in him selfe, that he sought purposely some occasion of greefe, and to that end did voluntarily cast into the sea a dyamond which he was wont to weare of inestimable value; but so it chanced, that the dyamond was swallowed by a fish, and the fish shortly after taken by some fishermen his subiects, who finding so rich a iewel in the belly of the fish, and thinking it to be a fit present for their prince, brought him his dyamond againe; Nor long after it was his fortune to be taken in the wars, and hanged vp aliue vntil he died, partly with famin, and partly with the parching heate of the sunne.

The more prosperous wicked men are, the more cause they haue to feare.
Cicero de finib. li. 5.

in the life of s.
Ambrose.

28. To the same purpose it is written, that s. *Ambrose* bishop of *Milan*, hearing a wicked man, in whose howse he was lodged, vant that he had neuer in his life had any misfortune, sickness, crosse, or cause of greefe, made great hast to get out of his howse, least the wrath of God might fall vpon it whilst he was there, and that presently after his departure the ground opened and swallowed vp the howse with the maister therof, and all his family.

Vicked men
purchase eter-
nal misery
with a few
yeres prosperity

29. Neuertheles such men as these might perhaps seeme either happy, or at least not vnfortunate, if they might purchase many yeres of prosperity and pleasure so good cheap, as with only a few dayes misery in the end, but so hard and miserable is their condition, that they are further to pay an eternal penalty of their sinful prosperity, as shalbe shewed in the next consideration, and how miserable also their life is (though it seeme neuer so happy) I wil declare at large hereafter.

Continual im-
punity & pros-
perity of vicked
men an assuran-
ce of their repro-
bation.
Ca. 15. nu. 16.

30. Therefore the tenth and last consideration shalbe, that many tymes God giueth to wicked men, not only impunity in this life, but also al temporal felicity for an assured token of their reprobation, & as it were an earnest-peny of their eternal damnation: for as there is no greater signe of Gods loue to his children, and of their election, then that he keepeth them in discipline (as I haue amply declared in the last chapter) so there is no greater token of his wrath towards sinners, and of their reprobation, then if he neuer correct or chastice them; and therefore the psalmist saith. *Exacerbauit dominum peccator secundum multitudinem ire sue non quare*t, the sence is (as s. *Augustin* expoundeth it) that a sinner doth somtymes *exasperat* so farre our Lord, that he wil not punish him in this life, for *Multum irascitur* (saith he) *dum non exquiris* &c. Our Lord is vehemently angry vwhen he doth not punish mens sinnes, but seemeth to forget and ouersee them. For then he referueth them for the horrible and euerlasting torments of hel fire.

Psal. 9.
Aug. in *Psal. 9.*
God is vehemently
angry vwith sin-
ners vwhen he
doth not punish
them.

2. Macha. ca.

31. And therefore the scripture teacheth, that when God doth not suffer sinners to goe long unpunished; *Magni beneficij est indicium*; It is to be taken for a great benefite. And that the longer he forbeareth them, the more like it is that he wil punish them with al feuerity and rigour *In the day of iudgment*; In which respect *Iob* hauing recounted many particularities of the prosperity of wicked

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wicked men in this life (as their security, impunity, health, pleasures, and happines in their children and goods) concludeth thus; *In diem perditionis seruatur malus, & ad diem furoris ducetur;* The wicked man is reserved for the day of destruction, and shal be led to the day of fury. Thus saith *Iob*, meaning by the day of fury, the day of iudgment, either particuler (which euery man passeth at his death) or vniuersal at the end of the world; in both which the wicked shal receiue the most dreadful sentence of euerlasting damnation.

Iob. 31.
The wicked reserved for the day of fury.

32. And this day of iudgment, is whorthely called in the scripture the day of fury and wrath: For that almighty God will then power forth an vnpeakable and euerlasting vengeance vpon the wicked as it were in wrath and fury, leauing no further place nor time for mercy, which vengeance also shal be so much the greater, and the torments of the wicked so much the more greuous, by how much more prosperous, pleasant, and delicious their life hath bene in this world: as *S. Iohn* signifieth of them in the *Apocalypse* vnder the name of *Babylon*. *Quantum glorificauit se, & in delictis suis* (saith the angel) *tantum date tormentum;* Give torment to *Babylon*, that is to say to the wicked, according to the measure of the glory and delights vberin they haue liued; The consideration wherof fully satisfied the scruple & doubt which the Royal prophet saith made him stagger, when he saw the the peace & prosperity of wicked men, wherin as he signifieth, he could not be satisfied: *Donec intrem* (saith he) *in sanctuarium Dei, & intelligam in nouissimis eorum;* Until I entred into the consideration of Gods secret iudgments, and of their last end, that is to say of their eternal damnation.

Why the day of iudgment is called the day of fury.

Apoc. 18.

33. Loe then how smal cause wicked men haue to flatter them selues, or to glory ouer much in their prosperity, when with al they are loaden with sinne; for then they may wel feare, that their sinful prosperity is nothing els but a punishment of sinne: whereupon *S. Augustin* saith; *Nihil est infelicius &c.* Nothing, is more vnfortunat then the felicity of sinners, whereby their penal impunity is nourished, and their malice strenghtned and encreased; And alitle after; *When God suffereth sinners to prosper, then his indignation is the greater towards them and when he leaueth them unpunished, then he punisheth them most of al.* Thus saith he: and the reason is, for that then God giueth

Psal. 72.
The end of wretched men principally to be considered.

The felicity of euil men most vnfortunat; &c. *Why.*
Aug. ep. ad Maxim. cclxv.

giueth them ouer to their owne desires, and to the passions of their harts, wherby they daily encrease their owne damnation; which s. *Gregory* notably representeth to the consideration of al men, in his exposition of these wordes of *Ezechiel*; *If the iust man fal from righteousness to iniquity, I wil lay a stumbling block before him.* The discourse of s. *Gregory* is some what prolix, and yet because it containeth notable doctrine, I thinke good to lay it downe here with some litle abridgment.

Gregor. in c. 3. Ezech.

The fearful state of vicked men notably represented by s. Gregory.

Genes. ca. 15.

1. Theffal. 2.

Vicked men

saued from tyme vntil their iniquities are completed.

Apoc. c. vltimo.

Ezech. 3.

34. *Hoc nobis* (saith he) *cum tremore considerandum est.* &c.

This is to be considered of vs with trembling, that when the iust and omnipotent God is angry with our sinns and wickednes, he iustly permitteth vs to be so blinded, that we fal into greater and more greuious sinns, in which respect *Moyes* said of the *Amorrhæans*, that their wickednes was not yet complete, and the Apostle *S. Paul* speaking of the *Iewes* saith, *that they persecuted Gods seruants, and hindred the preaching of the gospel, to fil vp the heap and number of their sinns*; and *S. Ihon* saith in the *Apoc*: *He which hurteth let him hurt stil, and bee vybich is filby with sinne, let him become more filby: and in this place of Ezechiel almighty God saith that he wil lay a stumbling block before him, vho shal fal from iustice to iniquity, as vho vould saye, that because the sinner wil not by repentance, see vwhere he novv stumbleth, therefore God wil iustly forsake him that he may stumble worse other vwhere.*

35. And herin it is to be noted (saith s. *Gregory*) that wheras
 „ it is said that God doth lay a stumbling block in the way of a
 „ sinner It is not meant that he vrgeth, or presseth him to sinne,
 „ but that he wil not deliuer him from sinne, as also it is written
 of *Pharao* that God would harden his hart, because he would
 not mollify it by his grace; It is therefore to be vnderstood, that
 when our merciful God doth giue vs tyme of repentance, and
 „ we turne it to the encrease of our fault, he also of his iust iudg-
 ment turneth the same to our greater damnation; and therfore
 the Apostle saith, dost thou not know, that the benignity, and
 mercy of almighty God, doth moue and lead thee to repentance
 and thou by thy hard and impenitent hart, doest as it were hoard
 and lay vp in store for thy selfe his wrath in the day of wrath,
 and of his iust iudgment. Thus saith the Apostle, wherby we see,
 „ (saith s. *Gregory*) that a sinner doth heape vpon him selfe the
 wrath

Hotv it is to be vnderstood that God hardened the hart of pharao.

Rom. ca. 2.

The vicked man abynseth Gods patience and mercy to his owne greater damnation.

wrath of God, when he emploieih the time in sinne which God giueth him to repent, for then seeing him abuse his mercy, and patience, he iustly permitteth that for as much as he would not forsake sinne to liue euerlastingly, he may encrease his sinne to dye eternally.

36. Thus saith s. *Gregory* in substance, which I would to God almen would wel consider, and learne therby not so farre to presume of Gods mercy as to contemne his iustice, nor to say with the sinner in *Ecclesiasticus*, *Peccavi & quid accidit mihi triste? I haue sinned, and what haue I fared the worse?* But to remember that which followeth there, to wit; *Alisimus est patiens redditor*, almighty God is a patient paymaister, that is to say he paieth or punisheth slowly, but surely; and as a certaine Paynim said; *Tarditatem supplicij, grauitate compensat*, he recompenseth the delay of punishment with the greuousnes therof. And therefore although God is so merciful that many times he expecteth the repentance of sinners, vntil their sinns be growne vnto a certaine degree and measure (as before is noted of the *Amorribeans* whome he said he would spare vntil their iniquities were complete, and as also he said by his prophet to the people of *Iuda* and *Israel*, that he would beare with them for 3. sinns but not for the 4.) yet for as much, as the degree and measure of sinns, and the time which he is content to expect before he punish, is knowne only to his diuine maiestie, no sinner can promise to him selfe either security, or yet delay of his punishment one minute of an howre, but rather may feare that the oftener God hath called him, and the more he hath forborne him, the more likely it is, that he wil neuer cal him againe, nor forbear him any longer, especially seeing he vseth not one kind of proceeding with al men, nor extendeth his mercy to al men alike.

37. For as it falleth out with theeues and robbers in regard of the punishment of the lawes (which some of them escape many yeeres, others fewer, and some are taken and hanged for the very first robbery they commit) so also it fareth with other sinners and wicked men in regard of Gods iudgments towards them; For although he expect some of them to repentance many yeeres, yea and vseth many meanes to inuite and draw them therto (to shew therein his infinit bounty and goodnes) yet to

M m

others

Gods iustice alwayes to be feared.

Ecclesi. ca. 5.

God is slow but a sure paymaister.
Valer. Maximus lib. 1. ca. 1.

Gen. c. 35.

Amos. 3.

No man knoweth how long or little God wil expect his repentance
The danger of delay of repentance.

God giueth not tyme of repentance to al sinners alike; and why.

Philip. 2.

Math. 24.

Luc. 12.

Death like to a
sheefe that stea-
leth vpon a man
at vnwares.

Eccl. 5.

others he giueth lesse time and meanes, and to some very litle, cutting them of in the first greuous sinne, that they are knowne to commit; for the example no dout and terrour of others, to the end that none shal haue cause to presume ouermuch of his mercy, but that euery one may as the *Apostle* aduise; *Worke his saluation with feare and trembling*: in which respect our Sauour him selfe also admonisheth vs: *To watch continually*, and to stand as it were vpon our guard, because we knowe not, at what houre the sheefe (that is to say our death) wil steale vpon vs; and therefore also the holy Ghost saith in *Ecclesiasticus*; *Ne differas de die in diem &c. Differere not thy repentance from day to day, least the Wrath of God suddenly fall vpon thee, and destroy thee in the day of reuenge*. Thus much concerning the prosperity of wicked men.

OF THE VARIABLE AND VNCERTAIN Euent, which are common to good and euil men, in this life; as why the good and bad doe many times prosper, or are afflicted alike, Also why some are punished in this life, and others not; and why one man is punished for the faulter of an other; and finally why almighty God doth manifest his iudgments to man in some thinges, and concealeth them from him in some other; and that in al this, the prouidence of God cleary appeareth.

CHAP. 27.



Other arguments
of the Atheists.

AVING yielded some probable reasons in the former chapters of Gods permission of euil and of the affliction of good men, and prosperity of the wicked; I wil now labour to satisfie some other difficulties and doubts, that moue some curious and vnsetled spirits to call in question the prouidence of God; who reason thus. If only euil men (say they) who shal haue eternal payne in the other life, were prosperous in this; and good men only afflicted here, for whome

for whome eternal felicitie is ordayned other where, there might seeme to be some more reason of a diuine prouidence therein; but seeing al temporal good and euil is indifferent, and common to good and bad men, and that the good are many tymes punished together with the bad, and that some offences are punished here and others not; of what other cause (say they) may al this seeme to proceede then of meere chance? which as they suppose guideth the affayres of men.

2. To answere to al this, and first concerning the variable euent which chance indifferently to good and euil men, I say that the same hath bin sufficiently considered hertofore, of such as haue neuertheles acknowledged and taught the particuler prouidence of God ouer men, as namely the Preacher who saith in Ecclesiasticus: that amongst many vanities of vncertaine euent which he obserued in the world; the worst is, *that many tymes there hapneth to the iust, that which the wicked deserue, and that the desert of the wicked falleth vpon the iust.* And againe afterwards; *All things* (saith he) *chance a like to the iust, & to the wicked, to the good & bad, to the cleane and vncleane, vnder vpon the hartes of the children of men, are replenished with malice and contempt.*

3. Thus saith he, wherin he denieth not Gods iust iudgment and prouidence ouer men (which he plainly teacheth in the same place saying, *that the vvorkes of iust and vwise men are in the hands of God*) but signifieth that the wicked take occasion by the variable and vncertaine euent of things, to thinke (as *S Hierome* saith vpon this place) that the prouidence of God doth not gouerne this world, seing there seemeth to be so much confusion therin: which opinion or conceit of the wicked, the Preacher notably impugneth and confuteth in the same place, teaching two things; the one, the inscrutability of Gods iudgments in the disposition of humane affayres, wherupon he saith that hauing applyed his mind to vnderstand the reasons of the variety which is to be seene in the course of wordly matters; *Intellexi* (saith he) *quod omnium operum Dei &c.* I vnderstood that no man can find the reason of the vvorkes of God which are done vnder the sunne, and that how much more any man shal labour to know it, so much lesse he shal vnderstand it. Thus farre the Preacher, wherin we may see that although he affirme it to be impossible to vnderstand the

Touching the variable euent of this life common to good and euil men.

Eccle. c. 8.

Eccle. c. 9.

The Preacher impugneth the opinion of Atheists grounded vpon the indifferency of good and euil accidents to good and euil men.

Ibid.

Hier. in ca. 8.

Eccles.

The inscrutability of Gods iudgments noted by the Preacher.

Eccles. c. 8.

The variable euent of this life proceed from the prouidence of God.

true reason and causes of the variable euent in the world; yet he teacheth that they proceede from Gods prouidence and iudgements, in that he calleth them his workes.

S. Hieroms exposition of the place of the Preacher.
Hier. Comment. in Eccl. c. 3.

The cause of many things are kept secret and vncertaine until the day of iudgment.

The Preacher obserueth the vanity and misery of this world by occasion of the variable & vncertaine euent thereof.
Eccles. c. 1.

Ibid. ca. 12.
The strict iudgment of God obserued by the Preacher.

4. Therefore *S. Hierome* expounding those wordes of the Preacher saith, that he which seeketh the causes and reasons why this, or that is done, and the world gouerned with diuers euent, as why one man is blind, another lame, one sound, another sick, one poore another rich, one noble another ignoble, he shal but breake his braine, and vex his mind to no purpose, and vnderstand nothing in the end, and yet (saith *S. Hierome*) the Preacher giueth vs to vnderstand with al that there are causes, and the same most iust, why euery thing falleth out as we see, though (as he also saith in the same place) *Seruantur incerta in futurum; They are kept secret and vncertaine for the tyme to come*, that is to say for the next life, *Quia tunc erit iudicium nunc certamen; For then shal be the time of iudgment, whereas now is the time only of our conflict*: and therefore who soeuer is heere afflicted, he knoweth not whether his affliction proceede of Gods loue toward him, as it did to Iob, or of his hatred, as it doth to euil men whome he punisheth for their wickednes; Thus saith *S. Hierome* of the inscrutability of Gods iudgment, according to the doctrine of the Preacher whome he interpreteth.

5. The other thing which the Preacher laboured to teach and proue by the variable and vncertaine euent of this world, is the vanity and misery therof; and how necessary it is for man to contemne the same, and to seeke to attaine to true stability and felicity in the next life; which (he saith) *Is to be obtained only by the feare of God, and the keeping of his commandements*; Therefore he not only beginneth his notable treatise with this sentence; *Vanitas, vanitatum omnia vanitas; Vanity of vanities al thinges are vanity*; but also doth euery where inculcate the same, and concludeth therewith adding these memorable wordes; *Finem loquendi &c. Let vs al heare the end of al speech, feare God and keepe his commandments, for this is euery man* (that is to say, for this end was euery man ordained and created) *and God shal bring al thinges that are done in this world into iudgment, yea and euery hidden and secret thing what soeuer be it good or bad.*

6. Thus saith the Preacher, wherby we may see that although

though he wel waighed and considered that good and bad men are subiect a like to the variable and vncertaine euents of this world; yet he was so farre from denying the prouidence of God therfore, that he representeth the same vnto vs by the occasion therof, admiring the inscrutability of his iudgments, and signifying the vanity and misery of the world, with the way and meanes to attaine to true felicity, to wit; by the feare of Gods iustice, and the obseruation of his commandements.

7. The same doctrine also *s. Augustine* draweth out of the same difficulty, explicating it notably with some other points appertaining to this matter, saying, that although we vnderstand not the iudgments of God in his variable disposition and distribution of good and euil things, to good and bad men; yet we learne therby to contemne those goods and euils, which are common to both, and to thirst after those goods only which are only proper to good men. and to eschew the euils which are only proper to euil men; & this *s. Augustine* explaineth further in another place in these wordes: *Placuit diuinae prouidentiae.* &c. It hath pleased, the diuine prouidence to ordaine and prepare eternal goods for the iust, which the vniust shal not enioy, and euerlasting euils for the vniust, from which the iust shal be free; and therfore he would haue these transitory goods and euils to be common to both in this life; to the end that we may neither to much seeke or desire those goods which euil men may haue, as wel as wee; nor yet basely or shamefully flee those euils, which may fall to good men, as wel as to euil men without preiudice of their vertue and goodnes. Thus farre *s. Augustine*, who also prosecuting this matter further, giueth further reason therof, and sheweth notably Gods infinite wisdom & prouidence, in that he diuersly disposeth of mens affaires, giuing prosperity to some, and not to others, and manifestly punishing or rewarding some here, and some hence.

8. God sheweth (saith he) his owne operation in the variable distribution of good and euil things. For if he should not liberally graunt temporal goods to some which seeke and aske them of him, men would say, that the same are not at his disposition: and if he should graunt them to al that doe or would aske them, men would suppose that he were to be serued for no

s. Augustine doctrine concerning the variable and vncertaine euents of this life.

Aug. li. 20. de ciuit. dei. ca. 2.

Aug. de ciuit. dei li. 1. ca. 8.

The reason why the goods and euils of this world are common to good and euil men.

August. lib.

*Why God gi-
ueth temporal
goods to some
that craue them
and not to others
Why some sin-
ners are puni-
shed in this life and
not others.*

other rewardes, and would rather become couetous and avari-
cious in his seruice then godly and vertuous; In like manner if
he should manifestly punish euery sinne in this life, men would
thinke there were no other life nor iudgment or punishment
hereafter: and if hee should punish no sinne manifestly here in
this world, men would imagine that he had no care or prou-
idence of their affaires. Thus saith *S. Augustine* of the cause why
God bestoweth the temporal goods of this world vpon some,
and not vpon al; and why he punisheth some here, and some
hence.

*Why the good
and bad are pu-
nished many
tymes together.*

9. But now (say you) why doth he punish the good toge-
ther with the bad, as we see many tymes he doth with some ge-
neral plague or sicknes, famine or warre, wherof as wel the
good, as the bad, beare the burden and feele the scourge: wher-
vnto I answer, that as God of his mercy doth sometyms for-
beare the bad in respect of the good (as I haue signified before)
so also sometyms he iustly punisheth the good with the bad,
yet in such sort, that therein he alwayes extendeth his mercy a-
boundantly towards them: to which purpose *S. Augustine* saith
that good men deserue sometyms to be punished with euil men
because they doe otherwhiles participate of their faults, by rea-
son of some conuience with them (I meane some negligence in
not correcting, reprehending or couंसeling them when they might
doe it) for which cause the psalmist prayeth to almighty God:

* ca. 26. nu. 2.

*Aug. de ciuit dei
ca. 9.
How good men
participat of the
faulces of euil
men.*

Psal 18.

*Ab oculis meis munda me, & ab alienis parce seruo tuo; Make me cleane
Lord from my hidden faulces & doe not punish me for the faulces of other men.
Besids that as S. Augustine also saith, they are iustly punished with
euil men; Non quia simul agunt vitam malam; Sed quia simul amant vi-
tam temporalem; Not because they doe liue an euil life with them, but be-
cause they loue this temporal life ouer much with them. And finally (saith
he) because they doe sometyms commit some sinnes (vel rara vel
tanto crebriora quanto minora; Either seldome, or so much the oftner by how
much lesse they are) of which sinnes they iustly bare the penalty.*

*How good and
euil men are dis-
tinguished in
the sight of God
though they be
punished toge-
ther.*

10. Herein neuertheles the mercy of God towards them is
euidēt, in that the same punishment serueth for their purgation
in this life to purify & prepare them for euerlasting glory, wher-
as to the wicked which are punished with them, it serueth for
no other, then as I may terme it, an antepaſt to their euerlasting
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damnation, & this *s. Augustine* notably teacheth in these wordes; When we see (saith he) good men afflicted together with evil men, we are not to thinke that they are not therefore distinguished from them in the sight of God, for it is to be considered that the punishment & affliction may be al one, and yet the punished or afflicted be of different nature and consideration: for as gold is purified and straw consumed by one and the selfe same fyre, so one and the selfe same affliction purgeth and purifieth good men, whereas to evil men it is but a beginning of their hel and eternal torments, and therefore we see also evidently different effects in them both; For wicked men in their affliction detest & blaspheme almighty God, whereas good men in their sufferings doe pray and prayse him; so much it importeth to consider, not what the affliction is that is suffered, but what and who they are which suffer the same; Thus saith the famous and holy Father, declaring notably how it standeth with Gods iust and merciful providence to punish sometymes the good with the bad.

The Affliction may be al one, and the afflicted of different nature and desert.

The doctrine of s. Chrysost. concerning the punishment of sinne. Chrysost. in Luc. ca. 16. concione 3. Tom. 2.

Ibid. Why some are cut of by iustice of God and others not.

11. Al which I wil conclude with *s. Chrysostome*, who yeeldeth also the like notable reasons, why God punisheth some, and spareth others in this world, clearing with al some other difficulties. If al men (saith he) should be punished here according to their deserts, wee should al perish, for wee al deserue it; Againe, if no man should be punished heere, many would become carelesse, yea and say, that there is no providence of God in the affaires of men; For seeing that now when the hand of God is manifestly scene vpon many men, there want not some which powre forth such blasphemies, what would they doe if there were here no punishment at al? But perhaps some wil (saith *s. Chrysostome*) that those which are cut of by the iustice of God for their sinns, doe many times breake forth into blasphemies and dye in despaire by occasion of their punishment, and so encrease their owne sinne and damnation; whereas otherwise they might perhappys in tyme amend; wherto he answereth, that if God did not foresee that they would not amend, he would not cut them of in sinne, but would giue them time to repent, and that therefore foreseeing their impenitence, he executeth his iustice vpon them, aswel to giue them their due de-

sert,

sert, as also to terrifie others by their example. Thus saith S. Chrysostome in substance.

Why al are not
punished alike
in this life, vho
sinne alike.
Ibid.

Ibid.
Some punished
for the example
of others.

Luc. 13.

How it standeth
with Gods
iustice to punish
one for an others
fautes.

2. Reg. 12.

Michiel. 18.

12. But why then (say you) are not al punished a like vho sinne a like (for many times we see that of those which are partakers of one fault, some are seuerely punished in this life, and others not at al? wherto S. Chrysostome answereth, that he which paieth the whole penalty of his sinne here, paieth none in the other life, and he which paieth part here paieth lesse there, & he which is not punished here with his fellowes, cyther amendeth by their example, or if he do not he draweth vpon him selfe a great reuenge which wil surely falle vpon him in the end. And this saint Chrysostome confirmeth with the answer of our Sauour to the Iewes who complained to him of the cruelty of Pilat when he mixed the sacrifices of the Galileans with their blood. Doe you thinke (saith our Sauour) that those Galileans were greater sinners then the rest, because they were so afflicted? nay I say vnto you that except you doe penance, you shal al perish; and it nke you that those 18. men vpon whom he to wer sel in Siloe, and killed them, deserued it more then al the inhabitants of Hierusalem? nay I say vnto you, that except you repent you shal al perish alike. Thus said our Sauour, to signify as wel that God wil infallibly punish al wicked men sooner or later, as also that he punisheth some for the example of others; according as wee see many times (saith S. Chrysostome) that a maister of a family beareth some of his slaues, to the end their correction may serue for a warning to the rest of their fellowes.

13. But yet there resteth no smale difficulty to be cleared, to wit how it standeth with the iustice of God, to punish one for the offences of an other, especially infants for the sinnes of their parents? as the innocent child of David who died in the cradel for his fathers sinne; and in like manner we see in general afflictions of commonwelths, that not only good, and holly men, but also innocent children (who doe no waye participat of the offences of the princes or the people) are afflicted, or doe corporally perith with the rest; and herein the doubt may seeme to be the greater for that the Prophet Ezechiel saith, that the sonne shal not beare the iniquity of the father, nor the father the iniquity of the sonne, but that the righteousness of the iust man shal be vpon him, and the iniquity of the wicked man shal fal vpon him selfe. To which purpose it may

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It may also be obserued, that whereas almighty God threatned in *Exodus* to punish the sinnes of Parents in the children to the 3. and 4. generation; the ancient Fathers vnderstand the same of wicked children, who imitat their parents in their wickednes, for so *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Augustin*, and *S. Gregory* doe interpret it; of whome *S. Gregory* (to omit the other for breuities sake) saith vpon the same place. *Quisquis patris iniquitatem non imitatur, nequaquam illius delictis grauatur. VVho soeuer doth not imitat his fathers iniquity, is not punished for his sinne.* And further adding the reason why God threatneth to punish to the 4. generation, he saith, that because wicked children may see the euil life of their wicked parents to the third & fourth generation, & be induced by their example to offend God, therefore *Vsq̃ue ad eos extenditur Vltio, qui viderunt quod male sequerentur.* The punishment is extended to those who haue seene the euil example which they haue followed. Thus saith *S. Gregory*, wherby it maye appeare, that only wicked men, and not innocent children, or good men are to suffer for the offences, either of their parents, or of any other.

14. For the clearing of this difficulty it is to be considered, that whereas the prophet saith, that the *sonne* shal not be punished for the father, nor the father for the sonne; It is to be vnderstood of spiritual punishment, and eternal damnation of the soule, and not of temporal punishment in body, goods, or other temporal things, so that the sence is; that no man shal be punished in his soule, or damned eternally for the only fault of his parents, when he hath not deserued it him selfe; for so the anciēt Fathers vnderstand the woords of the prophet, not denying but that good men or innocent children may iustly be punished in their persons or goods, for their fathers sinnes; for such reasons as I wil declare after a while.

15. Neither doth the ancient Fathers exposition of the place of *Exodus* before mencioned contradict the same, for although they seeme to vnderstand it only of wicked children (who imitating the wickednes of their parents shal be punished to the 4. generation) yet *S. Gregory* in the same place exemplifieth his owne interpretation not only in euil men, but also in innocent children, who he saith are sometimes possessed and vexed by deuils for the only sinnes of their parents; wherby it appeareth

N n

that he

Exod. 10.
How Gods threats of punishment vntill the 4. generation are to be vnderstood.
Chrysost. ho. in p̃cl. 24. To. 1.
Hieron. in Isay li. 18. ca. 65. Aug. li. contra Adimant. c. 7.
Greg. in 11. ca. 10b. ca. 31.

Greg. ibid.

Ezech. 18.
The difficulties cleared and the place of *Ezechiel* interpreted.

Hieron. li. 6 in Ezech. c. 18.
Chrysost. s. in spal. 8. Aug. li. 6. trac. Iulian 15. & in Encherid. c. 4. 6.

Exod. 10.
The objection out of *Exodus* answered.
Greg. in 11. ca. 10b. ca. 31.

that he vnderstandeth the punishment threatned in *Exodus* partly of corporal or temporal punishment, in goods, honour, and such like (in which sence the good and innocent are included as wel as the wicked) and partly of spiritual or eternal punishment, as wel as corporal, which is to be vnderstood only of wicked men; who imitating the bad exāple of their wicked parents make their offences their owne, and therefore may iustly be punished for the same al manner waies, to wit, corporally and spiritually, temporally and eternally.

Infants punished corporally for their parents sinnes, & why.

¶ D. Tho. l. 2. q. 87. art. 8. c.

Children are part of their parents goods. The good deeds of parents rewarded in their children, and why.

Tertul aduers. Marcion. li. 2. Plutark. de seta num. vindic. The difference betwixt that which is made by art, and that which is engendered.

Idem. Ibid. The natural properties and corporal markes of parents descend to their children.

16. But now to speake more particularly of the temporal punishment of infants or good men for the sinnes of their parents I say, that although almighty God doth neuer punish them eternally, or spiritually, for the faults of their progenitours, yet it is most agreeable to his iustice, that they pay sometimes a corporal and temporal penalty for the same, as wel in respect of their participation, of one, and the selfe same nature, as also because they are *part of their parents goods; in which respect, God doth as iustly punish a father in his children, as in his house, lands, cattle or the rest of his substance. And seeing also the merits or good deedes of parents are temporally rewarded in their children (who enherit their honours, dignities, and other commodities, no lesse then their lands, by reason of their natural descent, and dependance of them) it is also most iust by the same reason, as *Tertulian* affirmeth, that they temporally participate of their disgraces, harmes, and incommodities; whereof *Plutarch* yeeldeth the reason, obseruinge notably the difference betwixt that which is naturally engendered, and that which is made by art: For, saith he, artificial things are made by workmen, but not of them; that is to saye they are not made of their substance or nature, and therefore being seperat from their authors, they haue no furdre communication with them, but children are engendered of the very substance and nature of their parents, which remaineth in them, and descendeth also by generation, from them to their posterity.

17. And for the confirmation hereof, he obserueth also that the resemblance, and natural properties, or corporal markes of some parents, are continued in their families for many descents, yea and sometimes not appearing in the second or third generation,

generation, doe neuerthelesse shew them selues in the 4. or 5. or others ensuing some ages after; whereof he bringeth an example of one in his time called *Pirbon*, who being descended of the founders of *Thebes*, and the last of that race, was borne with the figure of a lance vpon his body, which had bene in former ages a natural marke of those of that family, and discontinued in them for many yeres; wherby, saith he, it may appeare that one, and the selfe same nature of parents doth propagat, and extend it selfe to their children, and posterity, and that therefore it may iustly be punished or reward in them.

18. This also the same author confirmeth by the custome and practise of humane lawes, which doe iustly reward or punish whole citties, colledges, or corporations, though euery particular man, or woman, therein haue not deserued it, by meanes whereof such as come afterwards to be members of the same communities, doe also participat of the same rewards or penalties, only by reason of their communion in that polittical body; which neuertheles, saith *Plutarck*, seemth not to haue so greate reason of iustice, as the punishment or reward of a whole race, or progeny for the offence or good desert of their progenitour, whose nature stil liueth in them. Thus reasoneth this painime most excellently defending the iustice, and providence of God against the Atheists of his time, whereby we may also gather how conuenient and iust it is, that some good and holly men, yea and innocent children, who are no waie partakers of the common offences of the people, doe neuerthelesse temporally suffer with the rest in some general punishment of a whole commonwelth, by reason of the natural sympathy, and vnion of the members of political bodies, no lesse then of bodies natural; as I haue also noted before, in the 17. chapter, where I treated of Gods iustice in punishing the subiects for the sinnes of the Princes.

19. And this wil be yet more cleare if we consider the course of Gods providence in this point, and how he tempereth his iustice with mercy in the afflictions, and punishments of men. To which purpose it is to be vnderstood, that euery one who is afflicted, is not punished, and this I saye for diuers causes, first, for that sometimes afflictions falle vpon men, not for any

Idem. Ibid.
Humane iustice
punisheth
whole commu-
nities: though
euery one therein
hath not offend-
ed; and vrbly.

Ibid.

Why innocent
children perish
with wicked
men in the gene-
ral punishments
of common-
welths.
nu. 14. 15. 16. 17.

How God tem-
pereth his iustice
with mercy in
the affliction of
men.

The difference
betwixt affli-
ction and pu-
nishment.

All afflictions
are punishments
of sinne in infi-
dels, but not in
the baptised, and
why.

Aug. li. 13. de
Trinit. ca. 16. &
li. 1 de pec. mer.
ca. 31.

The reasons
why the bap-
tised are not ex-
empt from mise-
ries, after the
remission of ori-
ginal sinne.

The miseries of
this life are not
punishments in
Christians, but
only when they
are some offence.

Certain cases
wherein afflictions
are not pu-
nishments.

Iob. 1.
Tobiz. 11.
1 Ioan. 9.

2. Cor. 12.

Sap. 4.
du. 5. & 17.

Infants perish
corporally some.

offence, but either naturally, or casually, only through the course of humane infirmity, in which case, how soeuer al kind of afflictions may be truly called punishments in infidels, who are not regenerat by baptisme and cleansed from original sinne (whereof humane miseries are some part of the penalty) yet to Christians (to whome both original sinne and the paine due thereto is remitted) they are as S. *Augustin* teacheth, left after baptisme, by the special prouidence of God, not as punishment, but for their exercise and to serue them for matter of greater merit, to make them like to Christ their head, whose members they are, to the end that suffering with him, they may raigne with him; and lastly, to draw them from the loue of wordly vanities, and of this transitory life, to the due consideration and desire of heavenly ioyes, and life euerlasting. Therefore I saye, that whereas al kind of miseries are now since the falle of *Adam*, and his losse of original iustice, incident to the life and state as wel of man, as of other liuing creatures, the same are not punishments in the regenerat, but only when they are inflicted vpon them, either by diuine or humane iustice for some offence; for otherwise when they falle vpon them, either by course of nature, or by meere accident, though they are afflictions, yet they neither are, nor can properly be termed punishments.

20. Further more I haue declared amply in the 25. Chapter that men are sometyes afflicted, not for sinnes but for their probation and greater merit, as *Iob* and *Tobias* were, and sometyes only for the manifestation of Gods glory, as the man was of whome the Gospel speaketh, who was borne blind, to the end that our Sauour might be glorified by his cure. Otherwhiles also God suffreth his seruants to be afflicted for their preservation from sinne: as *S. Paul* was molested by the Angel of Sathan, lest otherwise he might be proud of the grace and gifts which God had geuen him; for which cause also God depriveth good men otherwhiles not only of their temporal and corporal commodities (lest they may be seduced and corrupted thereby) but also of their liues, *ne malitia muset intellectum, lest malicia may change their understanding*, as I haue signified more amply in 25. chapter. And in like manner it may be said of infants, and innocent children, that they may through Gods merciful prouidence

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dence perish corporally, in some general affliction to the saluation of their soules, which if they liued might be damned eternally. In al which cases and diuers other (whereof I haue also spoken before) it is to be vnderstood, that innocent men may be afflicted, & yet not punished, though neuertheles others may be iustly punished in them. And the reason is for that the calamity of one person may haue many different considerations, according to the difference of Gods iudgements vpon him that is afflicted, and vpon others whome his affliction may some way concerne. As for example; the suddain death of some one (whether it hap by Gods special ordinance for the saluation of his soule, or only by natural or casual meanes) may by the secret disposition, and prouidence of God, serue for a due punishment to his parents, for temporal reward (due also by Gods iustice) to his enemies, for an example, and admonition to some, for an edification to others, and finnally for the glory of God; and this *s. Augustine* insinuateth notably, saying. *For as much as the visible afflictions or deaths of men may be either profitable, or hurtful to those vpon whome they are inflicted, our Lord knoweth in his secret prouidence how to dispose the same iustly to euery one; Etiam cum aliorum peccata in alyis vlciscitur; euen then vwhen he seemeth to punish the sinnes of some in others.* Thus saith *s. Augustine*.

21. Now then of these premisses I gather three conclusions. The first is, that one man may iustly beare the temporal penalty of an other mans faults, either in respect of some interest or propriety which one may haue in an other, or of some coniunction, or communion in nature (for both which respects children are punished for the sinnes of their parents) or els by reason of a natural sympathy in a politicke body (as when whole commonwelths are afflicted for the offences of some members thereof) in which cases there is a iust participation of merit and demerit, and consequently of reward and punishment.

22. The second conclusion, is that in the afflictions as wel of whole communities, as of particuler men, for the sinnes of others, God disposeth, and distributeth the same to euery one in such weight, measure, and manner, as to his infinit widdome seemeth conuenient for the punishment of some, & benefit of others, & his owne glory, reseruing the reasons, & causes thereof,

tyms to the saluation of their soules.
Chap. 27.

How the affliction of one man which is no punishment to him may be a punishment to others. The different considerations which may be had in the affliction of some one man.
Aug. li. 6. quæst. sup. Iosue. c. 2.

The first conclusion gathered of the premisses.

The second conclusion.

De. 12. & 14.

The third conclusion.

The reasons of Gods iudgements in particular are secret and vnknown.

Many euident reasons may be giuen of Gods iudgements in general.

Why God manifesteth his iudgements in some things, and concealeth them in other.

Not fit for the slave to know the counsell of his Lord and maister.

Lam. ca. 15.

as it were, locked vp in the secret cabinet of his inscrutable iudgements for such respect as shalbe declared after a while:

23. The third conclusion resulting of the satisfaction of this last difficulty, and of al the former, is that although the reasons of Gods iudgements in particular (I meane concerning particular men) are secret and for the most part vnkowne either to them selues, or to any other in this life, yet many euident, and manifest reasons may be giuen of his iudgements in general, as why one man is punished for an other, why the wicked are prosperous, and the iust afflicted, why some sinners are chastised in this world, and others not, why good and wicked men are sometymes punished together, & finally why al temporal good and euil is common to them both.

24. And herein also it is to be considered, that God sheweth his mercy and prouidence towards man, as wel in concealing the one from him, as in reuealing vnto him the other; for as by the light and knowledge which we haue of his iudgements in general, we are moued the more to admire his infinit wisdom, to acknowledge his prouidence, and to honour and loue him; so by not knowing his iudgements concerning our selues in particular, we are admonished of our owne infirmity & ignorance, and of our absolut dependance vpon his wil, as his creatures, seruants, and slaues, to whom it doth not appertayne to knowe the counsell of their Lord and maister, further then it pleaseth him to manifest the same vnto them; For as our Sauour him selfe saith. *Seruus nescit quod faciat dominus eius; the slave knoweth not what his Lord or maister doeth*: By the consideration wherof we are moued also to serue him with so much more feare; by how much we lesse knowe his wil and pleasure concerning vs and our affayres.

25. This s. Gregory doth notably signifye, who expounding the history of Job saith, that almighty God speaking vnto him, did admonish him to suffer his affliction with so much more patience, by how much lesse he vnderstood for what cause he suffered the same; and to the same purpose s. Gregory discoursed amply in the same place of the variable and diuers euent, which fall out dayly in the different estats and condicions of men, and concludeth that it is most necessary, that we should not know

and vn-

and vnderstand the secret iudgments of God therein; To the end
(saith he) we may the better know our selues, and knowing our selues
may feare and be humbled, and being humbled, may not presume any thinge
of our owne strengths, but craue and seeke the helpe of our Creatour, by the
which we may attaine to everlasting life, vvhether by trust and confidence in
our selues we may perish for euer; Thus saith s. Gregory, wherby we
may see how true it is which s. Chrysostome saith; *Iudicia Dei abs-*
condita sunt a nobis, pro nobis; The iudgements of God are hidden from vs,
for vs, that is to say, for our owne good. So that the great wil-
dome, prouidence, and mercy of God towards vs, appeareth
no lesse in that he concealeth his iudgments from vs in many
thinges, then that in many other he manifesteth the same
vnto vs.

26. And hereby, as also by all the precedent discourse, it is
evident that the reasons which *Atheists* vse against the proui-
dence of God, are notable arguments to proue the same, and
doe conuince them as wel of extreame ingratitude towards
their most merciful, prouident, and louing father; as also of in-
tolerable presumption and inexcusable ignorance and blind-
nes; I say presumption and blindnes, in that they thinke them
selues able to measure the infinit wisdom of their Creator by
the inche (as I may tearme it) of their thorr and silly capacity,
whiles in the meane tyme they are so blind that they see nor the
deare light of his prouidence, which shineth and manifesteth
it selfe in the admirable disposition and gouernment of all
his creatures. *Attingens* (saith the booke of wisdom).

a fine vsque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia sud-
uiter; That is to say, *Reaching and extending*
it selfe powerfully from one end to the other,
and disposing all thinges sweetly;

And this shal suffice
at this time for
this matter.

Necessary for
man not to
know the se-
cret iudgments
of God.

Greg. li. 29. ca. 18.
in; 8. ca. 10b.

Chrys. in Psal. 142.
The iudgements
of God are hid-
den from vs for
our good.

The conclusion
of this chapter,
inferring the
evidence of Gods
providence and
the blindness of
Atheists.

Say. ca. 24

IT IS INFERRED VPON THE PREMISSES
 that no sinful policy can be truly accompted wise or political;
 And by occasion thereof it is declared, whence true wisdom
 is, what it is, and wherein it consisteth. Also the difference
 betwixt wisdom, prudence, and policy; and lastly the
 necessity of grace to the perfection of policy is signified: with
 a consideration of the difficulties and dangers incident to
 matters of state.

CHAP. 28.



N the former discourse (good reader) I haue
 proued especially two thinges, the one is the
 weaknes of mans wit, policy, and power; and
 by consequence his insufficiency for the go-
 uernment of commonwelth with out some su-
 pernatural assistance; The other is, the depen-
 dence of all states, empires, and kingdomes, vpon the prouidence,
 absolute wil, and disposition of almighty God; wherupon,
 though many notable conclusions may be inferred, yet I wil
 for this time, only inferre one, to wit, that no policy which is
 sinneful, and offensive to God, can be truly wise and political;
 For if all kingdomes & states, depend wholly vpon Gods wil and
 disposition, it is manifest that nothing which offendeth God can
 be good for state, nor by consequence political. And although I
 meane to treat this point specially in the second part of this
 Treatise, where I wil proue that there is no true vility in sinne
 and wickednes; yet I haue thought good to lay downe some
 groundes thereof in this chapter.

No sinful policy
 can be truly
 wise or political
 and why;

Policy a branch
 of wisdom.

2. And to the end, the discourse hereof may be the more
 cleare, I wil first declare what is wisdom, and wherein it con-
 sisteth: For seeing policy is but as it were a branch thereof, it
 shal be conuenient first to consider the nature of the roote or
 tree, that we may thereby know the property and nature of the
 branch.

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branch; And to this end it is to be considered, first whence wisdom is, and afterwards what it is, whereby it shall appeare that true wisdom, and consequently true policy, can no way stand with wickednes.

3. For the first; it is evident, by the doctrine as well of the best philosophers, as of our holy scriptures, that wisdom is the special gift of God, which Plato taught not only concerning absolute wisdom (consisting in the speculation and knowledge of diuine things) but also of ciuill or political wisdom and prudence, which he saith is neither giuen to man by nature, nor taught by philosophy, nor got by industry or experience; and therefore in his booke of political lawes, he craueth it of almighty God as his especial gift, acknowledging that no humane wit, can with out his particuler inspiration, and assistance, ordaine sufficient lawes, for the gouernment of commonwelth, as I haue already signified here.

Wisdom the special gift of God according to Plato.

Plato 4. de legib. & in Minoe. *Wisdom not giuen by nature, nor taught by philosophy, nor got by industry.* ca. 7. nu. 3.

4. This also our scriptures teach abundantly, deriuing all wisdom from almighty God, as from the true fountaine thereof saying, *Omnis sapientia a domino Deo est; All wisdom is from our Lord God; Et a deo profecta est sapientia &c. Wisdom came from God, and it shall abound in the mouth of the faithfull man, and the gouernour or Lord of all will giue it him; And againe, Fons sapientia Verbum Dei in excelsis; The fountaine of wisdom is the word of God on high, That is to say the sonne of God, who is therefore called; sapientia patris. The wisdom of God the father.*

Ecclesi. ca. 1. *God the only autor and giner of wisdom according to the scriptures.* Ibid. ca. 15. Ecclesi. ca. 1.

5. For this cause *S. James* aduifeth vs, *Si quis vestrum* (saith he) *indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo & dabitur ei; If any of you neede wisdom let him aske it of God, and it shall be giuen him; and Salomon* craued it of almighty God, and obtained it, and *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* saith of him selfe. *Cum adhuc inuiri sum &c. When I was yet but young I craued wisdom expressly in my prayers, and before it was yet time to see it I required it, and profited much in it, and therefore I will giue glory to him who gaue it me.* Thus saith the Preacher, wherto I might adde infinit places of scriptures to the same purpose, if it were needefull.

Ep. Iac. ca. 1.

3 Reg. ca. 3. *Salomon and Iesus the sonne of Sirach obtained wisdom of God by prayer.* Ecclesi. ca. 11.

6. Seeing then true wisdom is, according to the opinion both of philosophers and diuines, an especial gift of almighty God, it must needs follow that it can haue no communication

Plato in Theage.
& in ep. ad Sy-
racusan.

*What wis-
dome is accord-
ing to Plato.*

Sap. 1.

*A soule defiled
with sinne, not
capable of wis-
dome.*

Eccli. 43.

*What wis-
dome is, wherein
it consisteth ac-
cording to our
holy scriptures.*

Iob. ca. 28.

Eccli. ca. 19.

*True wisdom
consisteth in the
feare of God and
the execution of
his law.*

*The principal
part of wis-
dome, to respect
in all things the
glory of God,
and our eternal
good.*

Matth. 16.
Eccli. c. 37.

with sinne and wickednes, or with any thinge offensiuē to Gods
and therefore *Plato* with al his followers doth teach, that for as
much as true wisdom is nothing els, but as it were the light of
the cheefe and true good (that is to say of almighty God) re-
flected vpon the soules of men, no soule defiled with sinne, is
any whit more capable of this light of true wisdom, then the
ayre being ouercast with cloudes is capable of the sunne. And
this doctrine of *Plato* agreeth notably with our holy scriptures
which teach, that *In maluelam animam &c.* *Wisdom wil not enter*
into a soule possest with malice, nor dwell in a body subiect to sinne. And
therefore the Preacher saith, that God giueth wisdom; *Homini*
bono; To the good man. & pie agentibus, and to those which doe wel and
godly.

7. This wil be more eident by the consideration of what
wisdom is, and wherein it principally consisteth. Therefore first
to speake of the doctrine of our holy scriptures, and after of
the opinion of Philosophers; *Iob* hauing asked this question;
What is wisdom to be found, and what is the place of vnderstanding?
answereth him selfe saying; *Ecce timor domini ipsa est sapientia &*
recedere a malo intelligentia; Behould the feare of God is wisdom it selfe,
and to forsake euil is vnderstanding. Thus saith *Iob*: which the Prea-
cher confirmeth sayinge. *Omnis sapientia timor Dei, & in omni sa-*
pientia dispositio legis; Al wisdom is the feare of God, and in al wisdom
is the disposition of the law. That is to say (as we read in the greeke
text) *Factio & operatio legis, The doing and working of the law,* sig-
nifying that al wisdom consisteth in the feare of God, and in
the execution of his law, which is as much to say, as in keeping
his commandements; wherof three reasons may be giuen.

8. The first, because he which feareth God and fulfilleth his
commandements, hath the ground and principal part of wis-
dome, for in al his actions he principally respecteth two thin-
ges, the one, the glory of God (for the which man and al other
creatures were cheefly ordained) and the other, the eternal
good of his soule which most importeth him; For as our Sau-
our saith. *What doth a man gaine though he get the whole world, if he*
loose his soule? And therefore the Preacher saith very wel; *Sapiens*
est anime sue sapiens: He which is wise, is wise for his soule.

9. The second reason is, for that he which feareth God and
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keepeth his commandements, doth therein worke wisely, not only for his eternal good (as I said before) but also for his temporal and worldly good: seeing thereby he conserueth him selfe in the protection and fauor of him who is the author and giuer as wel of the one, as of the other, and hath a special and particular care of such as feare and serue him, for as the Psalmist saith. *Oculi domini super metuentes eum*. The eyes of our Lord are vpon them that feare him. *Et aures eius in preces eorum*; and his eares are attentive to their praier: and such is his loue towards them & the regard he hath of them, that as our Sauour saith; *He numbresth the very haire of their heads*: *Et custodit* (saith the psalmist) *omnia ossa eorum*, and preserueth al their bones, to the end that there shal not any one of them perisk.

He which truly feareth God is wise for his temporal good and vrry.

Psal. 32.

Psal. 31.

Math. ca. 10.

Psal. 33.

10. Therefore as no man either is or can be counted wise or happy, who by contempt of almighty God, and breach of his commandements, exposeth him selfe to his indignation (whereby both he, and his may vtterly perisk) so also he which by the feare of God and the obseruation of his law procureth his continual fauor and protection, is not only truly wise, but also truly happy: which Aristotle him selfe acknowledged, who teaching that true wisdom and felicity doe cheefly consist in the contemplation of God & heavenly things, affirmeth the wisest man to be the happiest of al others: because hee is most grateful to God, and best beloued of him, and protected and benefytted by him.

No man is wise in exposing him selfe to Gods indignation.

Arist. li. 10. ethic.

ca. 7.

He which procureth the fauor

of God, is both

wise and happy

according to

Aristotle

Idem. Ibid. ca. 8.

The law of God

is the rule of al

prudent actions.

The difference

betwixt wis-

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dence.

The object of

wis'dome.

The definition of

wis'dome.

Cicero offic. li. 2.

Aug. li. 14. de

trinit. ca. 1.

The office of pru-

dence.

11. The third reason why the feare of God and the keeping of his commandments is true wisdom, is, because the law of God is the true rule, and squire, by the which al prudent actions are to be measured, for it comprehendeth in it selfe & teacheth al true vertue and goodness, without the which there can be no true prudence: as shal appeare by the circumstances due, and requisit thereto, according to the doctrine of Philosophers; wherein in by the way it is to be noted, that although wisdom, and prudence in common speech are commonly confounded, yet there is betwixt them this difference; that wisdom hath for her object, not only humane, but also diuine things, and therefore is defined both by Philosophers and diuins to be *scientia diuinarum humanarumq; rerum & eorumque illarum rerum sunt causa*, The knowledge of things diuine, and humane, and of

Basil in princip.
prouerb.
Arist. Moral. Ni-
com. li. 7. ca. 5.
& ethi. li. 6.
D. Tho. 2. 2. q. 17. 2.
Cicero de nat.
deor. li. 3. Aug. li.
31. quast. 31.
Basil in princip.
prouerb.
The definition of
prudence.

their causes, whereas the office of prudence is duly to consider, and wel to direct humane affaires, and is called by *S. Thomas. Sapientia in humanis rebus, wisdom in humane things*, consisting, as both *Cicero* and *S. Augustin* teach, in the knowledge, of things good, bad, and indifferent; and is defined, *rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia*, the knowledge of things to be desired, or fled, or as *S. Basil* saith *eorum qua agenda & non agenda sunt cognitio*. The knowledge of those things which are to be donne or not to be donne, Whereto 3. circumstances are principally required.

Arist. li. 6. ethic.
ca. 4.
Idem. ca. 12.
The end of euery
action truely
prudent must
needs be good.
The meanes and
circumstances of
euery prudent
action are good
and iust.

12. The 1. is, that the end of euery action be truely good, which *Aristotle* teacheth to be the first and principal circumstance requisite to prudence, and therefore he affirmeth that who soeuer applieth his wit and iudgments to worke for an euil end, although he haue neuer so good successe therin, yet he can not be called truely wise or prudent, but crafty or subtil.

Idem li. 6.
Ethic. c. 12.
Macrob. in som-
no scrip. li. 1.
Verue and pru-
dence so ioyned
that they can-
not be seperated.
Basil in princip.
prouerb.

13. The 2. circumstance is, not only that the end of euery action be good (as I haue said) but also that the meanes to attaine to that end be correspondent thereto, that is to say, that they be also good and iust, yea and wel and iustly done; To which purpose *Aristotle* prescribeth circumstances of due time, place, and manner, to be considered in euery vertuous and prudent action, teaching with al that who soeuer sayleth in any of the said circumstances, is not vertuous, nor by consequent prudent, for that prudence and vertue are so ioyned, that the one can not possible be with out the other; and therefore *Macrobius* assigning out of *Plato* six partes of prudence, accompteth circumspection for one, which he saith consisteth in the consideration of the circumstances of euery action, that the same be lawfull, good, and iust; whereupon *S. Basil* saith. *Quisquis prudentiam recte sectatus fuerit & c. vho soeuer followeth the rule of prudentia truly, he shal neuer swiue from verue, nor fall into vice.*

Cicero de finit us
li. 1. 2. 3. 4. & 5.
& offic. li. 3.

14. The 3. circumstance to be considered in euery prudent action is, that whereas there are certaine degrees of goodnes in thinges, some being good, other better, and one the best of al, (wherto al other thinges are to be referred, which is therefore called by the philosophers: *sumum bonum*, The chiefe good. and also, *Finis bonorum*, The end of al good thinges) it is (I say) specially required to prudence, to make a true estimate of the value and

worth

wroth of euery thinge, and not only to reiect things absolutely euil, or of euills to choofe the least (as the *Lacedemonian* said merrily he had done, when he had married a very litle wife) but also of good thinges to choofe the best, preferring those thinges which are absolutely good, before al other goods what soeuer, and making the cheefe good, the scope and end of al his actions.

15. Now then seeing these three circumstances are requisite to true prudence, to wit to choofe a good end, to vse and practice good and vertuous meanes; and to esteeme euery good thing in the degree that it deserueth; it is euident that he who feareth God and keepeth his commandements, most exactly performeth al those three thinges not only in euery particular action but also throughout the whole course of his life, tending in al thinges to goodnes and vertue, vsing al iust and vertuous meanes, and esteeming euery thing according to the true worth and valew therof; For he preferreth the soule before the body, eternal thinges before temporal, the goods of the body before the goods of fortune, the goods of the mind before them both: and finally he referreth and directeth al his actions and the whole course of his life to the seruice and glory of God, whome both diuines and Philosophers teach, *to be the beginning and end of al creatures*, as I haue partly shewed already, and will doe more amply in the second part of this treatise when I shal speake of religion.

16. But here perhaps some wil say, that there are necessarily required to prudence certaine partes which I haue not yet mentioned, as sagacity of wit, a good memory, & a sound iudgment, wherby wise men doe prudently consider, iudge, counsel, ordaine, and execute; and that these partes (as *Aristotle* teacheth) proceede partly of a natural hability, and partly of longe experience. In which respect he most approueth the iudgment and counsel of old men; wherupon it followeth that it sufficeth not to prudence to feare God and keepe his commandements, except a man haue with al the other partes aboue mencioned, which many good and holy men want, either in respect of some natural defect of wit, memory, and iudgment, or for lack of experience;

Prudence preferreth the greater good before the lesse, and the cheefe good before al other.
Plutarc. de amore frater.
Arist. 6. Ethic.
D. Tho. 2. 2. q. 27. ar. 2.

How he that feareth God practiseth the cheefe pointes of prudence.

Apos. 1.
Arist. Metaph. li. 1. Trimegift. in perman. c. 3.
* In the preface.

A difficulty proposed concerninge other parts of prudence.
Arist. ethic. li. 6. c. 9. & 10.

The satisfaction
of the difficulty
propofed.

No man is fo
vvife that he
alvvayes knowv
eth vvhat is cō-
uenient for him
felfe.

Chap. 2. & 3. &c.
The light of
Gods grace ne-
ceffary for the
perfektion of
prudence.

Eccli. ca. 11.
The vvifef
vvorldly men,
are as it vvere
blindfold.
Prou. ca. 4.

Ibid.

Pfal. 18.
The good habi-
lities of nature
are encreafed &
perfected by
grace.

The defects of
nature may be,
and often are
fupplied by the
light of grace.

17. For the better fatisfaction hereof, one thing is to be con- sidered, which I haue before amply treated and proued, to wit the natural imbecility of mans wit, which I haue shewed to be fuch in the wifef worldly man that liueth, that he knoweth not what is conuenient for him felfe, and much leffe for others; wherby he defireth and seeketh many tymes that which turneth to his vtter ruine: wherof I alleadged many reafons and examples; by the which it is manifef, that the moft neceffary part for the confutation and perfection of humane prudence, is fome fupernatural and diuine light, to illuminar the vnderftanding of men, & to mooue and encline their wils to make choice of that which may be moft conuenient for them and others, without which light the wifef worldly men (I meane fuch as haue moft excellent talents, & parts of nature and are wicked withal) are but like to blind men, and goe as it were groping in the darke; Wherfore the Preacher faith. *Error & tenebra peccatoribus concretae funt; Error & darknes are created together vvith finners*, that is to fay ignorance and blindnes are connatural to wicked men. And againe Salomon faith: *Via peccatorum tenebrofa &c. The vvay of the vvicked is darke and obfcure, and they know not vvhere they fhall fal*; Wheras on the contrary fide he faith of the iuft: *luforum femita quafi lux splendens*; *The path or vvay of the iuft* (that is to fay of thofe that feare God and keepe his commandements) *is as it were a refplendant light vvhich ftill encreafeth vntil it be cleare day*. And for this caufe alfo the pfalmift faith of the law of God, that it is, *cleare and bright, and that it giueth light vnto the eyes*: that is to fay, the light of grace, wherby the good habilities natural of Gods feruants are encreafed and perfected, & their actions prospered fo farre forth as almighty God thinketh it neceffary for their good, his glory, and the execution of his wil.

18. Wherto I adde that alfo the defects of nature may be and many tymes are, fupplied by the light & helpe of grace, in fuch fort that the feruants of God may, and many tymes doe exactly performe al the parts of prudence, though they haue no natural hability for the fame: fuch being the force and effects of grace, that it perfecteth humane nature, which though it afpire and tend to perfection, yet can not poffibly attayne therto in many thinges, without fome fupernatural helpe; as I wil evidently

proue

proue in the second parte of this Treatise, when I shal treat of Religion: & now in the meane tyme for the better prooffe of the matter in hand, I wil only lay downe some examples of the seruants of God, who not withstanding either their natural defects and imperfections, or their want of experience, haue by the conduct of grace most prudently and wisely behaued them selues in most important matters.

Examples of diuers in whome grace supplied natural defects.

19. For who seemed more vnfit to vndertake the iudgment of great causes then *Daniel* whiles he was a child of 12. yeres old, (as *Theodoretus* testifieth) or as other graue and ancient Fathers affirme, nor much elder (and therefore no lesse vnripe in experience then in yeares) and yet neuertheles being assisted by the spirit of God he confounded the addukterous iudges in the cause of *susanna*, which he most prudently determined; besides that the scripture witnesseeth that God gaue such profound knowledge and wisdom not only to him, but also to *Ananias*, *Misael* and *Azarias*, whiles they were al children, that they farre surpassed al the wise and learned *Chaldeans*.

Daniel being but a child of 12 years old iudged the cause of *susanna*.

Dan. ca. 13.
Theodor. in 1. ca. Ezech.
Ignatius Martir. ep. ad Magnes.
Sulpicius Seuer. li. 2. Sacrae hist. Aug. serm. 242.
Dan. c. 1.

Ananias, Misael and Azarias. Iudith. ca. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. Iudith heroically and wisely performed a glorious enterprise.

20. And was there euer any glorious enterprise, more wisely contriued, more couragiously attempted, or more heroically performed, then the ouerthrow of *Holofernes*, slaine by a holy woman, no lesse timorous of nature, then weake of iudgment and void of experience through the infirmity of her sex?

21. Again, what sufficiency was there in *Moyse* for the performance of so great a chardge as almighty God layed vpon him; first in his embassage to *Pharao*, and afterward in the gouernment and conduct of his people through so many dangers and difficulties? This was acknowledged by *Moyse* him selfe, who confessed his owne insufficiency & weaknes, saying to almighty God; *Quis sum ego &c: VVho am I o Lord?* that is to say what is there mee that I shal goe to *Pharao*; and conduct the children of *Israel* out of *Egipt*? And againe afterwards being vtterly discouraged with the consideration of his want of eloquence and vtterance, and of his other infirmities, he desired to be excused saying. *Obsecro domine mitte quem misurus es, I beseeche thee o Lords send whome els is please thee*; Wherupon God did not only promise him his owne continual assistance, but also appointed *Aaron* to helpe him, and to speake for him to the people in all occasions, promising with

Exod. c. 3.

Moyse acknowledged his insufficiency for the conduct of Gods people. Exod. Ibid.

Ibid. ca. 4.
Glossa interlin.
Horr God supplied the defects of *Moyse*.

al to be

al to be in the mōuthes of them both.

Procl. 18.

God concurrereth
with his ser-
uants somtymes
immediatly, and
sometymes by
meanes of others

22. Besides that, *let's* coſen to *Moyſes* did alſo afterwards by Gods great prouidence, teach him a notable pointe of policy for the gouernment of the people; wherein it may be noted by the way, how ſweetly almighty God directeth and guideth his ſeruantes concurring with them, and mouing them ſometimes immediatly by ſecret inſpiration, and ſometimes by the help and meanes of others, wherby *Moyſes* being as it ſeemeth altogether vnſkilful, and vnexpert in matters of ſtate, did neuertheles many yerres moſt prudently and happily gouerne the people of God, as wel in warlike, as in other ciuill affaires.

1 Reg. ca. 16.

2. Reg. c. 2. & 5.

Dauid directed
and guided in al
his gouernment
by almighty God
2. Reg. c. 7.

23. In like manner if we conſider either the yerres or education of *Dauid* (when being very younge he was called from the ſhepe cote to the Courte, and ſhortly after anioynted Kinge) and if we weigh with al his wiſe, victorious, and glorious gouernment for 40. yerres togeather, we muſt needs confeſſe that the ſame proceeded of Gods aſſiſtance, and not of his owne ſufficiency, whereof almighty God admoniſhed him by *Nathan* the prophet ſaying; *Ego tulu te &c. I tooke thee from the paſtures wh n thou followedſt thy ſtocks, and made thee Kinge of my people of Iſrael, and I was with thee, and aſſiſted thee in al thinges wher ſouer thou didſt goe. I kild al thy enemies before thy face, and haue magnified thy name amongſt the great ones of the earth;* Thus ſaid the prophet *Dauid* in the perſon of almighty God, and this alſo *Dauid* him ſelfe (who beſt knew him ſelfe, and the fauours which God had done him) gratefully acknowledged, calling almighty God his Protector, his ſtay, his refuge, his buck'ler or ſhield, his ſtrength, his hope, his glory, and humbly beſeeching him in al his occaſions, to illumine him, to protect and defend him, to direct his courſe, and to guide his ſteps.

Dauid gratefully
acknowledged
Gods aſſiſtance.
Pſal. 17 & 143.
Pſal. 17. 16. 15. 24.
133.

Chap. 24. nu. 23.
& 24.

S. Antony the
hermit moſt pru-
dent & leaſned
without hu-
mane learning
or experience.
S. Athan. in
vita S. Antonij.

24. Furthermore to omit the moſt admirable conuerſion of of the Chriſtian world to the faith of *Chriſt* by poore and ignorant fiſhermen (wherof I haue ſpoken before) and to ſay ſome what of later examples; Who can ſufficiently admire the wiſdome and prudence of S. *Antony* the hermite, who withdrawing him ſelfe from the world to the wildernes, in his young and tender yerres, became neuertheles ſo iudicious, wiſe, and learned, that the famous S. *Athanaſius* (who wrote his life) ſaith of him thus; *He was very wiſe, and this was wonderful in him, that*

leaving

having had no taste at all of humane learning, yet he was; Ingeniosissimus, & prudentissimus; Most ingenious and prudent; For example wherof *S. Athanasius* recounteth certaine disputations which passed betwixt him, and some famous pagan Philosophers, whome he conuincied with arguments no lesse subtil then sound and learned.

25. The like also is testified by graue authors of *S. Katherine* of *Alexandria* in *Greece*, who being but 18. yeres of age, defended the Christian faith against the learnedst Philosophers of her time, whome shee confuted and conuerted.

26. And to her I may adde an other *S. Katherine* of *Siena*, who being brought vp from hir infancy in religion, with out any experience or practice of worldly affaires, was neuertheles so prudent and of such notable iudgement, that the *Florentines* hauing warre with *Pope Gregory* the 11. intreated her to goe to *Auignon* in *France* where he resided, to craue and treat peace for them, which shee did with such wonderful wisdome, and efficacy, that the *Pope* was content to remit the conditions to her, though afterwards it tooke no effect, by reason of new troubles raised in *Florence* by some seditious persons, who were opposit to the peace; Besides that, whilst shee remained in *Auignon*, shee filled the whole Court with the admiration, aswel of her learning, as of her prudence, resolving and satisfiing great doubts and difficulties propounded vnto her, by three of the most learnedst Prelats of that age, who of curiosity meant to try her habilitie in matters of learning.

27. Also how admirable was the learning, wisdome, and prudence of *S. Bernard*, who retiring him selfe from the world to a monastery at two and twenty yeres of age, became not only so learned, as appeareth by his notable workes; but also so wise and prudent, that he was diuers times called from his cloister into *Italy* and other parts, to compound great quarells, and controuerfies, which he did with great satisfaction, and admiration of all men.

28. Finally who euer knew or vnderstood lesse of worldly matters then *Robert le Roy*, otherwise called now *Franciscus de Paula*, founder of the religious order of the *Minimes*; who forooke

The admirable learning of *S. Katherine* of *Alexandria*. Metaphastes. Baron. Anno. 307. & alij.

F. Raimundus Capuen in vita *S. Kater. Senen.* The learning & wisdome of *S. Katherine* of *Siena*. Anno. 1378.

The infused learning and wisdome of *S. Bernard*.

Guild Abbas Clarual. in vita *Bernar.* li. 2. ca. 2. & li. 4. c. 3. Carol. Sigon. de reg. Hal. an. 11. 30. & 1134.

S. Franciscus de *Paula*, void of humane experience, yet admirably wise.

Philip Com. ca.
130.

the world and went to the desert being but a boy, and euer after liued a monastical life, and neuertheles was of such wisdome and prudence, that *Philip de Comines* a most graue and wise counsellour of *Lewis the 17. King of France*, saith that he heard him diuers times discourse in the presence as wel of King *Lewis*, as of King *Charles* his sonne, so prudently of great and difficult matters, that it seemed he was inspired by almighty God, and that the holy Ghost speake by his mouth, for otherwise (saith this author) he could not haue spoken of such matters as he did.

Psal. 13.
How the law
of God giueth
wisdome.

29. I omit diuers other examples for breuityes sake, seeing by these it sufficiently appeareth how true it is which the *Psalmist* saith. *Lex domini sapientiam præstat paruulis*; The lawe of God giueth wisdome to children; That is to say, to simple and ignorant men; and the reason is, for that the law of God containeth the precepts, and rules of al true wisdome and prudence, teaching vs what is our duty to God, to our neighbour, to our superiours, inferiours, and equalls; how, and what to loue; how, and what to hate; how to command, how to obey, to what end to direct our intentions and actions; how to liue, how to dye, and lastly how to arriue after the stormes and tempests of this life, at the secure port of eternal felicity, wherto true wisdome directeth and addresseth her whole course.

The written
law of God full
of al wisdome.

The infused law
of God.
Hieremias ca. 23.

Aug. li. de s. p. r.
A. in trica. 21.

30. And this is not only to be vnderstood of the written law of God, that is to say the holy scriptures of the old and new testament (in the which as *S. Chrysostome* saith; *Non est sillaba vel apiculus. &c.* There is not a sillable, nor so much as a tittle, wherein there is not hidden some great treasure) but much more it is to be vnderstood of the law of God vnwritten, infused in to the hartes of Gods seruants; wherof almighty God said by the prophet; *Dabo legem meam &c. I will giue them my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their hearts*. Which vnwritten or infused law is, as *S. Augustin* saith nothing els but: *Ipsa presentia spiritus sancti &c.* The very presence of the holy Ghost, &c. by whom charity is spread and printed in our hearts, vvhich charity is the consummation of the law, and end of the commandment.

The infused
law both tea-

31. Thus saith *S. Augustin* of the infused law of God, which doth not only teach men true wisdome (as doth the written law) but doth also giue it them, making them the temples of God,

God, and habitacles of the holy Ghost; by whose grace the good natural talents of many seruants of God are encreased and perfected, their defects supplied, their infirmities cured, the eyes of their vnderstandings illuminated, and their iudgments guided and directed; by meanes whereof they are replenished with heavenly wisdom, and enabled to performe al the partes of true prudence, to wit, to deliberate maturely, to iudge soundly, to counsell securely, to ordaine and command exactly, and to execute effectually; and so they worke in al things, no lesse prudently then happily, being moued and led by the only author of wisdom and happines, in whose hand are the harts of al men, and vpon whose wil dependeth the successe of al actions whatsoeuer.

32. Therefore I wil infer hereupon certaine conclusions; The first, that, as the Preacher saith, the feare of God is not only; *Initium & radix, The begininge and roote*, but also; *plinitudo sapientia*: *The consummation or perfection of wisdom*; For those which sincerely feare God, haue consequently the light & helpe of his grace, whereby they may, and many times doe arriue to the perfection of wisdom and prudence, whereas otherwise there is no possibility to attaine therto; al humane wisdom, being of it selfe (as I may tearme it) lame, and vnperfect, vncertaine and subiect to infinit errors (as hath bene amply proued through out this whole discourse) so that wicked men although they haue neuer so good partes of wit and iudgement naturally, and may by the force and meanes thereof doe many things prudently and wisely, yet for as much as they alwaies play the fooles notably in that which importeth them most (to wit, in things pertaining to their eternal good or euil (and doe also erre very blindly and absurdly many times in temporal affaires, they neither haue any perfection of wisdom, nor can be truly counted wise.

33. Whereas on the other side the seruants of God who haue good parts natural, and the light and helpe of grace with al, doe not only worke most prudently alwaies in matters that concerne their eternal good or euil, but also deale in al things whatsoeuer with farre more light, certaintye, and security, then wicked men of like good partes and talents natural. And al-

eth and; it
ueth true wis-
dome.

The first con-
clusion.

Eccle. ca. 1.

The feare of God
is the beginning
and perfection
of wisdom;
and why.

Al humane
wisdom is of it
selfe lame and
vnperfect.

The wisest wor-
ldly man is a
foole in that
which most im-
porteth him.

How the ser-
uants of God are
wise.

Why the simplest
servant of
God is wiser
then the wisest
wicked man.

The perfection
of humane wisdom
consisteth
in Gods grace.

though the servants of God haue sometimes some natural defect of wit and iudgement, yet for as much as such also doe alwaies discharge the partes of true prudence in matters which import them most, and may haue also, and many times haue, with the helpe of grace, such a supplemt of their natural imperfections, that al of them may, and many of them doe, performe the office of prudent and wise men in al affaires (which wicked men neither doe nor possibly can doe) I conclude, that the perfection of humane wisdom consisteth in Gods grace, and that the simplest servant of God may more truly be accompanied wise, then the wisest, I meane the subtillest and craftiest wicked man whosoever.

Psal. 11. 8.

34. This the roial prophet acknowledged in him selfe, comparing the prudence and wisdom which God had giuen him by the obseruation of his commandements, with the wisdom and prudence of his enemies & of the wisest worldlings, saying; *Super inimicos meos &c. Thou hast made me (o Lord) wiser then my enemies, with thy commandements or law, and I haue vnderstood more then al thy which taught mee, and I haue bene wiser then old men, because I haue sought to keepe thy commandements.*

The 2. conclusio.

Eccle. ca. 19.
Nothing that is
offensive to God,
can stand with
true wisdom
or prudence.
Supra nu. 7. &
sequent.

35. The second conclusion is, that (as the booke of Ecclesiasticus signifieth) *Non est sapientia nequitie disciplina, & non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia.* The discipline of wickednes is not wisdom, nor the cogitations or plots of sinners are not prudence. For seeing true wisdom consisteth in the feare of God and in the obseruation of his commandements (as I haue sufficiently proued) nothing that is offensive to God, or contrary to his law, can stand with true wisdom. And againe seeing prudence and moral vertue are so connected, that they can not be seperated, yea and that not only the end of euery prudent action, but also the meanes must necessarily be good and vertuous (as I haue amply declared) it must needs follow that whatsoeuer is vicious, impious, or wicked, is excluded from true prudence. In which respect prudence is called in the scriptures; *Scientia Sanctorum*. And therefore salomon saith; *Principium sapientie timor Domini, & scientia sanctorum prudentia*; The feare of God is the begining of wisdom, and the knowledge of holy men is prudence.

Prou. ca. 9.
Prudence called
in the scripture
the knowledge
of holy men.
The 3. conclusio.

36. Hereupon also follow two other conclusions, concerning

ning policy; The one that no true policy can admit any impiety, wickednes or offence of God. The other that al humane policy with out the light and help of Gods grace is vncertaine and defectuous; And for the better vnderstanding hereof, it is to be considered, that as prudence is a part of wisdom, so policy is a part of prudence, and that prudence is also deuided into three partes. The first personal; the second Oeconomical; and the thirde political. Personal prudence consisteth in the speculation and practise of such thinges, as belong only to particuler men: Oeconomical prudence respecteth al thinges belonging to household; and political prudence is that which considereth matters pertaining to common welth; and this kind of prudence is properly called policy.

37. Therefore as prudence being a branch of wisdom, cannot disagree from the nature thereof (no more then the branch from the nature of the tree) so also policy being a part of prudence, must needs be conforme and agreeable therto (in which respect euery political act must needs be prudent, and euery prudent act concerning common welth, must needs be political) wherupon it followeth that seeing true prudence excludeth al wickednes and impiety, true policy doth also exclude the same.

38. And againe seeing true wisdom & prudence are the special gifts of God (as I haue shewed) and that without the light and helpe of Gods grace, al humane wisdom is ful of imperfection and obscurity; vncertainty and error; it followeth also by the like consequence, that the like iudgment is to be giuen of al humane policy, to wit, that it is of it selfe imperfect, vncertaine, obscure, and erronious, and to be perfected, assured, rectified and guided by the light of grace; which is the point that I haue specially laboured to proue throughout this whole Treatise.

39. Therefore to conclude this chapter and to draw also to the conclusion of this first parte of the whole treatise, I can not but lament and wonder at the imprudence of two sorts of men. The one is of those who make no doubt to deale in matters of policy and state, without any care or regard of Gods helpe and assistance, yea and with offence of God; wherby they expose not

No true policy admitteth any impiety.

Policy a part of prudence.

Prudence diuided into 3 parts.

What is political prudence or policy.

Policy can not disagree from prudence.

The 4. conclusion.

Al humane policy is imperfect and defectuous without the light of graces.

The imprudence of those who presume to deale in matters of state, without any regard of Gods assistance.

only the matters which they mannage to dangerous errors, and to al euil successe: but also the princes whom they counsel, and the common welths where they gouerne, to Gods indignation, and consequently to vtter ruine, as I haue partly proued already in diuers parts of this Treatise, and wil proue more amply in the second part therof.

*The imprudence
of those that
presume to me-
dle in the great-
est matters of
state without
experience.*

40. The other sort of imprudent men, in my fancy are those, who are so farre transported either with a conceit of their owne witts and sufficiency, or with a desire to deale in great matters, that they aspire to nothing more, then to meddle in matters of state, yea and boldly embarke them selues in the greatest that doe occurre, before they haue any experience or practice therof in the world, or haue so much as reflected vpon the natural imbecility of mans wit, and the weaknes of humane policy; or of the insuperable difficulties and dangers incident to matters of state, which are such as doe many tymes ouerthrow and disgrace the most wise and expert negociators.

*What hapneth
to those which
vnadvisedly
seeke great em-
ployments.*

41. And therefore it hapneth very often to those who so greedily and aduisedly seeke such employments, as it doth to a man, which in faire weather putteth him selfe to sea in a litle boat or fregot for his recreation, when vpon the suddaine there riseth a storme that carrieth him into the maine sea, and so tosseth him to and fro, that he not only looseth al the pleasure which he expected, but also scapeth hardly with his life, and therefore with many a sigh and heauy groane he looketh back to the land from whence he came, but neuertheles is forced to goe whether the windes and tempests carry him, and perhaps perisheth in the end by the violence of the storme: and euen so (I say) it fareth many tymes with those which embarke them selues vnadvisedly in matters of state; for with in a while they finde them selues so perplexed, that they desire to returne to their former repose and quietnes, but yet they are forced to goe whether the course and current of their affayres doth carry them, yea and sometymes perish amidst the manyfold dangers which commonly do accompany state-matters, wherof the practise may wel be compared to the practise of phisicke.

*The practise of
matters of state*

42. For although some phisicians exercise their science with more iudgment and better successe then others, yet none is so skilful

skillful and fortunate that he can alwayes warrant the cure of his patient; and young beginners many rymes kil three, before they saue one; And euen so Statists, how expert soeuer they be, can neuer warrant the good successe of their plots and designments, and for the most part at the first doe marre many matters, before they make one; in so much that I accompt him no lesse happy then wise, who can be the wiser not only by other mens errors, but also by his owne: and as I hold him for the wisest man which erreth the least; so I take him for the happiest and best at ease, who meddlerh the least; or not at al in matters of state, seeing there was neuer any that dealt in many, but he erred in some: and sometymes we see that the least error worketh both his ouerthrow who committed it, and also the ruine of whole kingdomes and commonwelths. Wherefore I conclude with the spanish prouerb; *Aquel es Rey, que nunca dio Rey*; He is a King that neuer saw Kinge. That is to say, he is a happy man who neuer had to deale with the affaires of princes, or state-matters.

43. I say not this to dehorte, or disswade al men from dealing with matters of state (which is a thing so necessary for the seruice of God, and princes, and for the good of commonwelth, that it is both honorable, yea and meritorious when it is done with circumstances conuenient and requisite thereunto) but my meaning is to signify with what great consideration and circumspection al men ought to vndertake such negociations, especially young men, who haue not had any experience or practice thereof, and therefore can not haue the mature and ripe iudgment which is necessary therto; For which cause the Athenians did ordaine that no man vnder 50. yeeres of age should be called to giue aduise in the affaires of their commonwelth. And although a man may be (as very many are no doubt) sooner ripe and able to mannage any matter whatsoeuer; yet reason and experience teache, that the younger a man is, and the lesse practice he hath, the more he is like to erre. Wherefore I craue thy patience (good Reader) while I set downe here a few general rules for young beginners, aswel for their instruction, as also for the discouery of the difficulties which occurre in the gouernment of commonwelth.

like the practise
of Physic.

Young Statists
marre many
matters before
they make one.

He the wisest
that erreth the
least, but the
happiest he that
medleth the least
in matters of
state.

Dangerous for
very young men
to deale in mat-
ters of state.

Plutark in his
treatise whe-
ther an old man
should deale in
matters of state.

CERTAINE

CERTAINE GENERAL RYLES OR ADVISES nolesse pious then political, for the instruction of such as desire to mannage matters of state, and haue no experienſe thereof; to the end they may deale therein with lesse danger and difficulty.

CHAP. 29.

A pure and good intention, most necessary in a Statist.



What the intention of a Statist ought to be.

Psal. 126.

The commodities of a good intention in vnderstanding matters of state.

FIRST, he that meaneth to apply him selfe to matters of state, must see that his intention be cleare and pure, that is to say, that he be not moued thereto by vaine glory, ambition, countinnes, or any vicious or vnlawful desire; for that the same are too weake foundations to uphold waighthy affaires, being accompanied not only with the offence of God, but also with passion, wherby mans iudgment is blinded, and many times drawne to errour; And therefore the cheefe and principal intention of a Statist ought to be, the seruice of God and his Prince, and the publike good of his country, whereto euery man ought principally to direct and leuel al his actions, which otherwise can not be truly vertuous and wise, nor conforme to the duty of a good Christian man nor yet haue the assistance and blessing of almighty God, which for the good successe of al mens affaires is most requisite. For as the roial prophet saith. *Nisi Dominus edificauerit domum, in vanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam.* Except our Lord doe build the house, they labour in vaine which build the same.

2. This foundation being laid, any negociation be it neuer soe waighthy and important may be built therupon, for foure reasons. First, for that a mans reason and iudgment being free from passion and selfe loue, he shal more clearly and foundly both deliberate and worke in al occasions. Secondly for that it is most likely that almighty God seeing his good and holy intention, wil concur & cooperate with him in al his negociations. Thirdly though it would not please almighty God (for his secret iudgments)

iudgm
giue h
in cas
ciden
fort a
the P
sured
obru
or ou
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judgments) to blesse and prosper his actions; yet he wil assuredly giue him the reward of his good intention; And lastly, for that in case he fal into the great difficulties and dangers, that are incident to dealing in matters of state, yet he shal haue the comfort and consolation of a good and cleere conscience, which as the Poët saith is: *Murus athenens* a brazen wal; and the most assured anchor in al the stormes & tempests of this life; *Qua etiam obruta delectat* (saith Seneca) which euen when it is oppressed, or ouerwhelmed doth delight. Thus much for the first rule.

Horat. li. 1. ep. ad
Mecænat.
A cleare con-
science a brazen
vvalle.
li. 4. de benefici.
ca. 21.

3. Secondly; it shal be conuenient for a young Statist, wel to waigh and foresee the difficulties and dangers which he may by al likelihood incurre by dealing in matters of state, either through the nature and condicion of the matters which he is to handle; or through the treachery and perfidiousnes of those with whome he is to deale; or through the malice and emulations either publike or secret, which in courts neuer want; or els through the ielousie of Princes who (as *Comineus* wel noteth) doe easely suspect and distrust their best seruants in matters concerning their state; or lastly, through the vncertainty of the successe of busines, which is in no mans hand to warrant, as hath bene sufficiently proued. By al which meanes we see many times most important matters miscarry, to the great greefe, disgrace, yea and vtter ouerthrow of the negociators, especially when they haue not foreseene the same; whereas by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps haue preuented inconuenience, or at least haue bene better armed to beare their misfortune which patience.

The difficulties
and dangers, to
be considered in
matters of state.

Phil. Com. cron.
Lodouic. 11. ca.
26.

Chap. 13.

4. Therefore *Plutarke* worthily compareth improvident and vnadvised negociators, to one that should fal before he were aware into a coale-pit or mine, where though perhaps he escape with life yet he commonly receiueth some hurt; or at least is wonderfully astonished and amazed, not only with the fal, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place, which to those that goe in of purpose, and with resolution to indure it, is nothing so noysome or loathsome.

The benefit of
foresight and
providence in
statists.

Plutarke in his
treatise of in-
structions for
statists.

5. Thirdly he ought to obserue alwaies three things, which I haue largely proued throughout this whole discourse; the first is the imbecility and weaknes of mans wit; the second the vn-

3. thinges to be
considered of
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certainly of the successe of al mens actions: & the third the prouidence of God in the disposition of al humane affaires. These three things, I say, euery Statist should haue continually before his eyes, to the end, that seeing his owne infirmity, and the vncertainty of the successe of al his designmēt, he may consider his danger, as wel of errour in his determinations, as of euil hap in his actions, and consequently haue recourse to the remedies ordained for the same by the prouidence and mercy of God; according to the aduise which old Tobias gaue to his sonne for the direction of the whole course of his life, to whom amongst many other notable precepts he gaue this. *Aske counsel alwaies of a wiseman* (saith hee) *and continually blesse and prayse God, and beseech him to direct al thy course, and let al thy purposes and pretences be fixed and settled in him.* Thus said Tobias, or rather the holy Ghost by his mouth aduising notably two things, necessary to be practised of al men, for the remedy of their natural imbecility; to wit, to take counsel of wise men, and to craue the assistance of God, for that we are neither so absolute of our selues, but that we neede in al things Gods helpe and assistance (as I haue sufficiently proued) neither yet so gouerned and guided by almighty God, that we ought to contemne the helpe of man; such being the course of his diuine prouidence in humane affaires, that he doth his wil not only in men, but also by them, and with their cooperation; in which respect *s. Paule* did not stick to cal him selfe and the other Apostles *Adiutores Dei. The helpers of God* in the conuersion of the gentils.

6. Therefore as it were great folly, pride, and presumption in man, so to trust in him selfe, or in humane wisdom & power as to neglect the prouidence and assistance of God, so were it one the other side extreme negligence, yea and a tempting of God, so to relye vpon him, as to contemne al humane helpe and counsel: which we may learne by the example of *Moyse*, who though he was instructed, inspired, and conducted by almighty God him selfe, yet refused not the good counsel of *Jethro* for the manner of his gouernment, which almighty God also allowed in him: as also one the other side *King David*, though he tooke the counsel of his frendes, counsellours, and seruants; (as of *Ionathas, Achitophel, Iobab* and others) and vsed also his owne prouidence,

The counsel of
Tobias to his
Sonne.
Tobiz. ca. 4.

Two things to
be practised of
al Statists.

Chap. 2.

1. Cor. 3.

Extreamely folly
in men to trust
wholly in hu-
mane wisdom
and power.
Exod. ca. 18.
A tempting of
God to contemne
humane helpe
and counsel;

1. Reg. 20.
2. Reg. 19. & 16.
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dence, as wel in the deliberation, as in the execution of his affaires, yet he neuer omitted to consult with almighty God, by his prophets and preists when hee conueniently might do it; yea and (as I haue signified other where) continually craued the assistance, illumination, and direction of almighty God in al his actions.

7. And this concurrēce of diuine helpe with humane diligence, is notably expressed in the scripture, where it is signified that Gedeon gaue order to his souldiars to cry in their conflict with the Madianits, *Domino, & Gedeoni*; To our Lord God, and to Gedeon, & *gladius Domini, & Gedeonis*, the sword of God, and Gedeon; And againe in the relation of the greate victory which *Asa* King of Iuda had against the *Ethiopians* the scripture saith that *Cadente Domino contriti sunt, & exercitus illius praeliante*. They were viterly overthrowne, our Lord killing them, and the army of *Asa* fighting, which is as much to say, as man doing his endeouour, and God geuing the good successe. This also the very paynims knew, and obserued so wel that *Plutark* noteth it seriously in the battaile betwixt *Persus* King of Macedony, and *Paulus Aemilius* the Roman. For where as *Persus* when he should haue fought, with drew him selfe from the feild vnder colour to Sacrifice to *Hercules*, he saith, that God doth not vse to fauor such idle fellowes, as presume of his helpe, and wil doe nothing them selues; For God (saith he) hath so ordayned, that he which wil hit the marke, must shoote, and he which wil winne the goale must runne, & he which wil haue the victory, must fight; and therfore God fauored and helped *Paulus Aemilius* who craued force and victory with his armes in his hands; *A dios rogando* (as the spanish prouerb saith) *y con la maça dando*: praying to God and laying on load vvith his club:

8. But to say some what here particularly of a special meanes to procure the help and assistance of God; nothing behoueth a Statist more then daily to recommend his actions to his diuine maiesty by feruent and deuout prayer, the force and benefit whereof is vnspeakable, no lesse in al kind of temporal matters then in spiritual, for the which we haue not only our Sauours doctrin and warrant, but also infinit examples of holy and wise men in diuine and humane histories. Whyles *Iosue* fought with the *Amalecitis* *Moyse* prayed vpon the mountayne and obtayned

Chap. 18. nu. 23.

Iudic. 7.
Concurrence of
humane dili-
gence vvith di-
uine helpe ne-
cessary.

Paralip. ca. 14.

Plut. in P. AEmil.

The benefit and
necessity of
prayer for the
good successe of
matters of State.

Matth. 6. & 7.
Marc. 11. Luc. 11.
Exod. c. 17.

Examples of the
greate force of
devout prayer.

a 1. Reg. c. 1.
b S. Ioan Damascen orat de natiuit. B. Virgi.
c 3. Reg. c. 3. 4. d R.
e. 19 e Dan. 3.
f Aug. de ciuit dei
li. 5. c. 26 g Procop. de bello gothico.

h Enagrus li. 4.
ca. 23.

Paul. Diacon. li.
13. Cedren. Theophan. Naucier.
Baron. an. 621.
622 623.
Guliel. Malmesb.
de gest. reg. Angl.
li. 2. ca. 3.
Roger de Houed. Annal. par. 1.
an. 871.
Baron. an. co-
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Guliel. Malmes
ubi supra.

Vass. chron.
an. 941.

the victory. The two *Anna* being barren, were by prayer made mothers, the ^a one of the prophet *Samuel*, and the ^b other of the virgin *Mary*, ^c *Salomon* by prayer obtayned wisdom: King ^d *Ezechias* recouered health, and had victory against the *Assirians*; The three ^e children were deliuered from fyre, And to speake of later times, ^f *Theodosius* the emperour surnamed the greate, as ^g *S. Augustin* witnesseth, preuayled against *Eugenius* the Tyrant more by prayer then by force; and the like is also testified by graue writers, of ^h *Narses* the Eunuch, Lieutenant to *Iustinus* the emperour, whose greate victories were attributed to his prayers and greate deuotion towards the blessed Virgin *Mary*, who as ⁱ *Enagrus* affirmeth appeared to him many tymes before his battailes, and gaue him directions for the same.

9. Inlike manner the famous ouerthrowes which *Heraclius* the emperour gaue to *Cosroes* King of *Persia* (of whom he recouered *Hierusalem*, and al the east parts) are ascribed by the best historiographers that write thereof, to the greate deuotion and prayers which he partly vsed, and partly procured for the good successe of that warre, where in diuers miraculous accidents hapned, which I omit for breuities sake. We read also in our English histories that King *Ethelred* (elder brother to the famous *Alfred*, or *Alured*, founder of the vniuersity of *Oxford*) being incamped against the *Daynes*, and aduertised by his captaynes at such tyme as he was going to masse, that the enemy assayled his camp, bad them attend to the defence therof, for that he wold heare masse before he wold goe out of his tent, as he was daily accustomed to doe; In the meane tyme his brother *Alfred* with the rest of his captaines, who had ioyned bataille with the enemy, were in greate danger to bee ouerthrowne, where King *Ethelred* hauing heard masse, came himselfe in person, and synding his souldiars alreddy flying away, he recalled them to the bataille, thrusting him selfe into the midst thereof, *Cuius* Virtute faith the history, *& Dei miraculo*; by vyhose Vallor, and the miraculous helpe of God, the *Daynes* were put to flight, and their King slaine, with diuers of their nobility, and many thousands of the souldiars.

10. Also in the *Spanish* histories, we haue a notable example of the wonderful force and effect of prayer in a noble man of *Castile* called *Hernandes Ansolino*, in the time of *Garfias Hernandes*

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Count of *Castile*, who had greates warres with the *Moores*. This *Antolino* being no lesse deuout then valiant, was wont to spend many houres euery day in prayer, and going one day to pray before a battaile which the Count of *Castile* was to geue to the *Moores*, he was so absorpt, and raished with deuotion, that he forgott him selfe and continued therein during al the tyme of the battaile, wherein neuertheles it pleased God to shew visibly, that his prayers profitted, and preuailed more, then his presence could haue donne; For one in his shape and armour and vpon his horse, made such slaughtre amongst the enemyes that they were forced to flee; In so much that the count and al the army being fully perswaded, that they had wonne the battail by the meanes of *Antolino* sought for him to geue him the thanks and praise, which they thought his greates valour deserued, and although they found him not in the field, but in his tent, much ashamed of his absence, yet assuring them selues that they saw both his horse, and armour in the battaile they caused them to be produced, and then it appeared as wel by the wounds and wearines of his horse, as by the signes of the bloues vpon his armour, that some angel had vsed them in his steede, and that God had geuen them victory through the merit of his prayers.

11. To this purpose also may serue those examples of the famous victories of *Edvard* the 3. King of *England* against the French at *Crey* in *Picardy*; and of the Christians against the *Turke* at *Lepanto* in our dayes; as also of many other miraculous victories, whereof I haue made ample relation * heretofore out of approved authors, and therefore I remit the reader therto, and end concerning prayer with this sentence of *s. Chrysostom*; *Vis orationis*, (saith he) *Uim ignis extinxit &c.* The force of prayer hath extinguished the force of fyre, shutt vp the mouth of lions, geuen victories in vvarre appeared stormes, and tempests, expelled diuels, opened the gates of heauen, broken the bands of death, cured diseases, reconciled enemyes, deliuered citties from earthquakes, and defended them as wel from the punishment of God, as from the treasons, and attempts of men; Finally it hath overcome al sorts of euil. Thus saith *s. Chrysostome* of the wonderful efficacy of prayer when it is accompanied with such circumstances as are requisite to make the same acceptable to almighty God, whereof I omit to

* Chap. 15. Chrysost. de nat. dei, hom. 5.

The testimony of s. Chrysostom concerning the force of prayer.

I speake here, because it properly belongeth to those that write expressly of spiritual matters. Thus much concerning prayer and diuine helpe.

The necessity of humane counsell.
Eccli. ca. 32.

Pro. 15.

Plutark in his treatise intituled whether an old man should deale vvith matters of state.

Pro. 15.
Many counsellors necessary for princes.

The conclusion concerning the concurrence of deuout prayer and humane counsell.

Matth. 10.

Tyme not to be lost.

12. And now to say yet a word or two more, concerning humane counsell, the holly Ghost giueth a notable aduise, saying, *Fili sine consilio nihil facias, & post factum non penitebis.* My sonne doe nothing vvithout counsell and thou shalt not afterwards repent thee. And againe; *Qui agunt omnia cum consilio reguntur sapientia.* Those vvhich doe al thinges vvith counsell are gouerned vvith vvisdome. And this point I hold to be absolutely necessary, not only for younge men, or others of final experience, but also for the eldest and most expert; For *Nemo omnibus horis sapit*; No man is vvise at al hōvvres. And as the prouerb saith; *Tvvo eyes see more then one*; And therefore the famous *Scipio Africanus* did euer consult al his affayres vvith *Caius Lelins*; and *Cicero* confesseth that in his consulship, he did nothing vvithout the aduise of the philosopher *Publius Nigidius*; and for this cause princes haue diuers counsellours, to the end that matters being pondered by diuers, al circumstances may be duely examined and considered: for as *salomon* saith: *Vbi sunt plures consilarij confirmatur cogitationes*; plots and designments are confirmed or established, where there are many counsellours; for some find out one inconuenience, some an other, some one remedy, and some an other, whereof I shal haue occasion to say more hereafter.

13. Therefore I conclude for the present that a young Statist following the rule and counsell of *Tobias*, that is to say fixing his hart and his hopes vpon almighty God, adding the continual vse of deuout and feruent praier, to humane counsell and diligence, and ioyning therby the *Vvisdome of the serpent vvith the simplicity of the dove*, piety vvith policy, gifts of grace vvith habillity of nature, and finally the vvisdome of God vvith the prudence of man, shal deliberate and worke in al occasions, no lesse happily then vvise; and this shal suffice for the third rule.

14. Fourthly it importeth greatly that after mature consultation of any matter of state, and serious recommendation thereof to almighty God, no time of action be not fore-slowed vvith needles delays after the matter be determined; for tyme may so alter the state of any affaire, be it neuer so vvell and vvise resolved, that the opportunity of execution may bee vterly lost and the

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the busines with al; and therfore the common prouerb aduifeth.
To strike while the iron is hot; for as the poet saith: *Nocuit differre paratis*. Delay is alwaies hurtful to those who are ready to execute; and especially in matters wherein there is any competence of enemies, who euer watch diligently to take al oportunities and doe often preuaile them selues greatly, of the negligences and delaies of their aduersaries.

Lucan li. 1.
 The danger of
 needles delay.

15. And although this aduise is necessary in al matters of state, yet it is most behoueful, and requisit in warlike affaires; wherein we see many times, that speede and diligence is more important then great force; for speed being commonly accompanied with sudden terrour and feare, doth open the way to final force, and enable the same to worke great effects; And therfore *Agathocles* one of the tirants of *Sicily*, hauing but a few soldiers, and exhorting them to the speedy and sudden inuasion of *Chartage* said; *In repentino meum non modicum victoria momentum*; Sudden feare wil be of no small moment and importance for the obtaining of the victory; Which was proued to be true by the euent, and is daily seene by the experience of surprises, camifadas, and al other suddaine enterprises of warre.

Speedy executio
 most necessary
 in matters of
 warre.

The force of
 suddaine feare.

Iustin. li. 42.

16. To conclude this aduise, one general rule is to be held, that to temporize or delay time is neuer good but in three cases. The first when matters are not maturely consulted and wel digested (wherein neuertheles al due diligence is to be vsed, lest time and oportunity of action, be spent and lost in consultation) The second case is, when there is some iust and important impediment of the execution. The thrid is in cases of extremity which passe a mans power and wisdom to helpe, for then the only remedy is to temporize and winne time, which produceth many accidents that could neuer be fore-seene & imagined, and discouereth soueraigne remedies for the most desperat cases; and therfore *Pericles* was wont to say, *That time is the wisest counsellor that is*: Thus much for the fourth aduise.

In what cases
 delay is neces-
 sary.

Plutark in Pe-
 ricle.

Tymethe vii-
 fest counsellor
 that is.

A mans owne
 habilitie wel to
 be weighed.

17. Fifthly let euery younge Statist consider and measure his owne hability, to the end he doe not vndertake any matter aboue his reach or capacity; for no man how excellen soeuer he be, is so perfect that he excelleth in al thinges, and therfore the Poets fained that the Gods them selues had not al gifts alike, but that

1. Cor. ca. 12.

but that some excelled in one, and some in an other; and the Apostle saith that God distributeth his gifts vnto men diuersly; *Diuidens singulis prout vult; Deuiding them vnto euery one as it pleaseth him*; to the end we may haue neede one of an other. And this also common experience teacheth; for some excel in depth of iudgment, others in sharpnes of wit, others in eloquence, others in memory, others in science and learninge, and of them some in one kinde and some in an other.

A Statist ought
so measure the
matters he vn-
dertaketh with
his habilitie.

18. Now then, it is conuenient for euery one wel to waigh his owne talents, and how they sort with the busines in which he is to be employed; as if he be to perswade, whether he haue the gift of vtterance and eloquence; if he be to passe couenants and conuentions of leagues or marriages, whether he be a lawier; and if he be to treat of matters of warre whether he be a soldier, and so in like cases; for otherwise he shal proue, *Stinus ad liram, An asse at a harpe*, as the prouerb saith, and not only disgrace him selfe and them that sent him, but also loose his labour and his busines.

Who they are
commonly that
vndertake grea-
ter matters then
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forme.

19. They that erre in this point are those commonly which either haue such an inordinate desire to be meddling in great matters, that they care not what they vndertake so they be doing; or els haue an extraordinary conceit of their owne wits and sufficiency: and therefore as it shal be good for euery one to moderate in him selfe the first, to wit, the desire of dealing; so for the remedy of the later, it shal be secure for any man (in my fancy) not to rely wholly vpon his owne opinion concerning his sufficiency, but partly vpon the iudgment of others, receiuing rather employment from his prince or other superiours, then offering or intruding him selfe therto, vntil he haue made some good trial of him selfe; for by that meanes if the busines speed wel he shal haue the thanks and honour of it, and if it succede otherwise, he shal auoid great part of the blame.

A young Statist
should not make
him selfe iudge
of his owne
sufficiency.

20. But if he find that his superiours knowe him not, so wel as he knoweth him selfe, & that they would employ him in matters wherein he hath neither experience nor habilitie; it shal be lesse shame for him to confesse his defect, and either to refuse the commission, or to craue an associate furnished with the parts that he wanteth, then to accept the charge, and to faile in the

Better for a Sta-
tist to acknow-
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in the performance; *Moyſes* being commanded, by almighty God to goe in embassage to *Pharao* King of *Egipt*, for the deliuey of the children of *Iſrael*, humbly excuſed him ſelfe as vnfit for ſuch a waighty charge, by reaſon of the impediment in his ſpeech; for the remedy wherof God gaue him an aſſiſtant, to wit, his brother *Aaron*, who being very eloquent might ſpeake for them both. wherby not only ſubiects, which are to be employe, may learne to conſider and acknowledge their owne defectts; but alſo princes may learne ſo to employ their ſubiects, that one may haue the parts that an other wanteth, and ſupply each one the defectts of an other.

21. Sixtly, it ſhal not be amiſſe in my opinion for a younge beginner, to enter into his firſt practice with matters of ſmal importance, and to proceed to greater by degrees, as his experience and hability, ſhal growe and increaſe; like vnto the wiſe phiſition, who when he begineth to practice taketh in hand eaſy cures, and medleth not with inueterat and dangerous diſeaſes, vntil he hath got both experience and credit; And ſo I would with a younge beginner in matters of ſtate, to fly buſineſs of great waight and difficulty and rather to procure at the firſt, ſome honorable commiſſion or embassage of congratulation, or condoling, including ſome ouerture of an important treaty, rather then to deale in the treaty it ſelfe, which requireth great practice, experience, and wiſdome.

22. And if he be employe in any ſuch treaty, I would wiſh him to be contented rather to be a ſecond, or an aſſiſtant then cheife in commiſſion, and ſo to groue for a while like the vine oriuy, by the ſupport of an other tree. Or if his dignity be ſuch as can not admit a ſecond place, to procure, as much as may be, to haue ſuch aſſiſtants, as are not only men of ſound iudgment and wiſdome, but alſo his ſincere frends, ſuch being commonly the emulation and ambition in courts, that he may otherwiſe make accompt that his owne aſſociats wil curioſly obſerue e- uery litle errour of his, and take aduantage therof for their owne better credits.

23. To which purpoſe it is to be conſidered that the *Lacedemonians* vſed to chooſe ſuch to ſend on their embassages as were either publike, or at leaſt ſecret enemies; to the end that one of

A younge ſtatiff ought to beginne his practice with ſmal matters.

A younge ſtatiff like to a phiſition.

A younge ſtatiff compared to the iuy tree.

The aſſiſtance of wiſe and ſincere friends moſt neceſſary in great employments.

The practice of the Lacedemonians in employ-

ing embassa-

dours. Ariſtot. politic. li. 2. c. 7.

Philip. Com.
Cron du Roy
Louis. c. 16.

The practise of
K. Lewis the
II. of France
when hee em-
ployed a great
embassadour.

The danger of
associats in com-
mission when
they are not
sincere freinds.

The treachery of
servants to be
feared in em-
ployments.

Many matters
not to be under-
taken at once of
a young Statist.

them might serue for a spye ouer the others actions; and the like may stil be vsed, and is no dout many times. And *Philip de Comins* noteth of *Lewis* the II. King of France, that he was wont sometimes when he sent a great embassadour, to giue secret commissions a part to some meaner man in his company, vsing the other for a shew and for matters of complement, or perhaps to the end he might beare the greatest parte of the charges of the embassage (as commonly great men doe) rather then for the dispatch of important affaires; and the like of both these examples may well be practised by princes when they send great embassadours, and especially when he that is cheife in commission is rawe and vnxpert; and therfore it shal be conuenient for such a one to consider the same, to the end he may the better looke to his owne carriage, and procure (as I said before) to haue about him wise and assured frends to aduise him, lest otherwise his owne assistants may let him commit some grosse errors, and so handle the matter, that al the negociation shal turne to their honour by the discovery of his imbecility.

24. And this he may feare not only in his associats and fellows in commission, but also in his followers and seruants; amongst whome some one of more spirit and talent then the rest, may seeke to make his aduantage of his maisters weaknes; as it chanced to an embassadour whome I knew, whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of aduises, when occasion required, preuented commonly his maisters letters with his owne; Besides that, being employed by his maister to procure aduises & intelligences, he concealed the most important matters from him, and wrote them him selfe to some principal counsellours, whose good grace he gained so farre therby, that they procured his aduancement at his returne, wheras the embassadour was held vnworthy of further preferment and liued euer after in disgrace.

25. Seuently I would aduise a young beginner not to charge him selfe with many matters at once, as some doe who. can not endure to see any man employd but them selues, wherof it followeth that some one or two busineses succeeding il (as commonly amongst many some doe) they receiue more disgrace therby, then reputation or thanks for al the rest; though they succeed

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succeed neuer so wel: Therefore it is wisdom for any man (especially for such as be nouices in affaires of state) to take in hand but few matters and to dispatch them wel; like to a man that hath but a weake stomache, who is to take heede, that he neither ouerlay it with the quantity, nor yet pester it with diuersity of meates, for that one wil hinder the digestion of another.

*A young stratist
like to a man of
a vvreake sto-
mache.*

26. And this I wish to be considered especially of such, as are the fauorits of princes, who many times desiring to haue all in their owne handes, doe not stick to charge them selues with much more then they can attend to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great detriment, as wel of particular men, as of the state in general: wherby they expose not only them selues but also their princes to such hatred of the nobility and people, that there follow therof many times commotions and rebellions, in so much that their princes are either forced to abandon them to their enemies, or els to perish with them; as to omit forraine examples, wee haue seene by experience in *England* in the time of King *Edward* the second and King *Richard* the second, against whom the nobillity and commons did take armes for the hatred they bore to their fauorits, *Piers Gaueson*, the two *Spensers*, *Robert dela vere* Earle of *Oxford*, & others their adherents, vpon whose persons they discharged their fury, exercising vpon them all kind of cruelty, except vpon the earle of *Oxford*, who saued his life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his daies in banishment; and herto may also partly be ascribed the vnfortunate ends of both those Kinges, who were afterwards depofed and cruelly murdered.

*An aduertis-
ment to the fa-
uorits of princes.*

*The dangers
that the fauorits
of princes in-
curre by hatred
of the people.*

*Polidorus virgil.
in Hist. Angl.*

27. Eyghtly; nothing is more necessary in handling matters offstate then secrecy, I meane matters intended or consulted before they come to execution, for they are like to a myne, which hauing any vent, is wholly frustrat, and of no effect; therefore *Peter* King of *Aragon* being demanded from *Pope Martin* the fourth, what he meant to doe with the great fleet, wherewith he afterwards recovered *Sicily* from the french men, answered that if he thought his shirt did know it he would burne it.

*Secrecy in mat-
ters of state most
necessary.*

28. But because I am to speake of this point of secrecy here-
after,

ca. 30. nu. 17.

*A general rule
to be held con-
cerning secrecy.*

*Princes esteeme
nothing more in
their seruants
then secrecy.*

*Dangerous to be
partaker of
princes secrets.
Plutark in his
treatise of tal-
king to much.*

*Vnlawful em-
ployment to be
avoided.*

*Plutark in his
apotheg. of King
and Captaines.
Princes loue the
treason, and
hate the tray-
tour.*

*He that is false
to God, will not
be true to man.*

after, I wil giue here only one general rule, to be held and practized of younge Statists, which is not to communicate any important matter of state to any man whatsoever, except he be to be employed, or his counsell to be vsed therein; and whosoever sayleth in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shal euer haue credit with princes, who esteeme nothing more in their seruants then secrecy; In so much that a prince in these our dayes (whome for some respects I forbear to name) caused a faithful seruant of his (whome he also loued dearly) to be killed, for feare hee should reueale a secret which by chance he came to knowe; wherby we may see how dangerous a thinge it is, to be partakers of the secrets of princes; and therefore *Philippides* the commendian being willed by Kinge *Lisimachus* to aske some fauor of him, beseeched him to doe him what fauor it might please him, so that he imparted vnto him none of his secrets; And thus much for this point.

29. Ninthly, a young Statist is to haue special care to auoid al kind of vnlawful employments; as to be instrument of any wickednes for his princes seruice; for besides the offence to God, (who wil assuredly punnish the same sooner or later) he may wel thinke that his prince also wil neuer trust him after, how soeuer he be satisfied with the seruice for the present; for princes many tymes are contented to take the benefit of a seruice done by euil meanes, and yet euer after hold suspected, and hate the malicious nature and disposition of him that did it, whome they vse no otherwise then poyson only to serue their turne though they detest the malignity of it: and therefore *Augustus Caesar* was wont to say, *I loue the treason, but I hate the traytour*; and al wise princes hold it for a rule, that where there is no bridle of conscience and feare of God, there is no fidelity towards man to be expected.

30. We reade that *Constantius Caesar*, father to the emperour *Constantine* the great, hauing commanded that al such Christians as would not adore his Gods, should depart from his seruice, banished neuertheles al those who denied their faith, and retayned the others in his seruice and fauor, wherof he gaue this reason, that those which had so litle conscience to be false to their God could not be true to him. And *Henry* the 5. King of England, presently

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Polid. virgil. in
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sently after his fathers death, banished from the court, al such as had bin councellous, instruments, or companions of his riots before, perswading him selfe that they were not to be trusted about his person; and so it commonly falleth out when princes are wise, and enter into the due consideration of them selues, and their consciences.

31. But such other princes as giue them selues ouer to vice & sinne, and make no conscience of any thinge, doe not only commonly disauow their owne commissions (after that some wicked act is committed by their order) but also vse to pick quarrells or to take very smal occasions to make away the instruments of their owne wickednes, either to rid them selues of the suspicion, and infamy therof, or for the iealousy they haue of the maligne natures of their instruments, or for feare they may discouer their practises if they liue, or some tymes for other respects; God so disposing (by his iust iudgments) to make them the executors of his iustice, vpon those who preferred their seruice before his.

32. So did *Alexander* the great at his fathers obsequies command publike iustice to be done vpon those whome he had him selfe secretly employed to kil him. So did *Tiberius* emperour disauow his commission giuen to a soldier to kil *Agrippa*, telling him that he should answere the matter before the senate; as he did also put to death *Seianus* his great fauorite, and instrument of much mischeefe. And in like sort dealt *Cesar Borgia* with a fauorite of his; And *Henry* the 8. King of *England* with some counsellours and seruants of his; and so also haue some others in these our dayes bin by sundry deuises made away in diuers courts and countreyes, when they had serued the appetits of some great personages, whome for iust respects I forbear to name: which may serue for an aduertisment and warning to al men, to take heede how they suffer them selues to be employed by any man in matters vnlawfull and offensive to God; *Et salix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*; Happy is he wyho can take heede by other mens harmes.

33. The tenth aduise which I giue to a younge Statist, is, that if his prince doe him the honour to make him of his counsell, he consider wel what is the duty of a counsellour; to which purpose

Princes samty-
mes disauow
their commissions
after the fact.

Gods iustice v-
pon euil instru-
ments.

Iustin. li. ii.

Tacit. li. i. Annal.

Sander. li. 3. de
schism. Angl.
Ioan. Stou in
Henr. 8. et alij.

Happy is he
that taketh
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mens harmes.

pose I wil set downe some rules, wherein neuertheles I meane not to frame an exact counsellour as *Cicero* did an oratour, and *Xenophon* a prince, and *Castiglione* a courtier, neither yet doe I take vpon mee to aduise old counsellours, whose experience must needes surpasse mine, but only to giue some aduertisments, to such as haue not any great experience or practise in matters of state; and for as much as it requireth some larger discourse, then were conuenient to prosecute in this chapter, it shal serue for the subiect of the next.

OTHER GENERAL RVLES FOR A YOUNG
Statist, aduanced by his princes fauor to be of his Council;
as what he is to consider in him selfe; in his prince; and in
the matters that are to be consulted. And first concerning the
Counsellour him selfe.

CHAP. 30.

The points that
are to be conside-
red of a young
counsellour re-
duced to 3. heads.



3. points to be
considered in the
counsellour him
selfe.

A counsellour
ought to be truly
vertuous and
religious.
God doth assist
and illuminat
good men in
matters of coun-
cel.

Mat. 3. 4. 7. 2. & c.

HE points that are in my fancy to be principally considered of a young counsellour, though they may be deuided into many members, yet may be reduced to three heads; The first concerning him selfe; the second concerning his prince; and the third touching the matters that are to be consulted; Of al which I wil say some what, with the perspicuity, and breuity that I conueniently may.

2. As for that which toucheth him selfe; he is to regard cheefly eight points. The first is, that he procure by al meanes, not only to haue the reputation of vertue and religion, but also to be indeed truly vertuous and religious, for two causes: The first to obaine therby the assistance of Gods grace, which how necessary it is for the illumination of mans vnderstandinge in al matters of counsel, appeareth throughout this whole discourse, and especially in the 28. chapter, where I haue proued that true wisdom, prudence and pollicy, are the special gifts of almighty God, and not otherwaies to be obtained but by the obseruation of his

of his commandements.

3. The other cause why it becometh a counsellour to be truly religious and vertuous, is, for that such is the force of vertue, that it giueth credit to the possessors thereof, and maketh them more easily beleued and their counsell better accepted; and therefore we see that al men of discretion and iudgment doe demand counsell rather of those who are reputed wise and vertuous, then of wicked men who haue only reputation of wisdom; for as *s. Ambrose* saith. *VVhere wisdom and vertue are conioyned. Magna erit consiliorum salubritas; There is al good and holosome counsell to be had, and al men (saith he) are willing to heare the wise and vertuous man, as wel for the admiration of his wisdom, as for the loue of his vertue; In which respect he also saith, that men addresse them selues commonly for counsell to those who are more vertuous then them selues; For no man (saith hee) hath reason to thinke him, who is inferior to him selfe in manners. to be his superiour in wisdom and counsell.*

Vertue giveth reputation to the possessors of it.

Ambro. de offic. li. 2. c. 10.

VVhere vertue and wisdom concurre al good counsell is to be expected.

Ambro. Ibid.

4. Furthermore such is the dignity and authority of vertue, that euil men beare a reuerend respect therto, and stand, as it were, in awe of good men; wherof we haue an example in *Herod*, who although he held *s. Iohn Baptist* in prison, and would not follow his counsell in the matter of his diuorce, yet for the reuerence he bore to his vertue, he consulted many other things with him, and followed his aduise therein; and as the scripture also saith *metuebat eum, he feared him*; and no doubt but wise and vertuous princes, much more esteeme and respect the counsell of wise men that are vertuous, then of others of equal wit and iudgement, that are vicious and wicked, knowing that as *Salomon* saith. *Consilia impiorum fraudulentia; The counsell of the wicked are fraudulent*, & that he who hath no care of his conscience & duty towards God, wil haue lesse care of his duty towards men.

The dignity of vertue is such that euil men beare respect therto.

Marc. c. 6.

Pro. c. 12.

The counsell of euil men commonly fraudulent.

5. The second point is that he also giue satisfaction to the world of his wisdom, by the good and wise gouernment of his family; For no wise prince can thinke him a fit man to counsell him, or to gouerne vnder him, that can not gouerne him selfe and his owne family, and therefore *Basilus* the emperour aduised his sonne to choose those for his counsellours, who had giuen prooffe and experience of their wisdom in the good conduct

A counsellour ought to haue great regard to the gouernment of his family & primas assyres.

and di-

Ambro. li. 2. de
offic. c. 112.
No man sit to
counsel an o-
ther that cannot
counsel him selfe.

Timo. 3.

A counsellour
ought to avoid
al flattery.
Terentius in
Andr.

Princes that
haue al; vwant
one to tel them
truth.
Seneca de bene-
ficijs li. 6. ca. 30.

Flattery the
ruine of princes
State.
Quint. Curtius
li. 8.

How a coun-
sellour ought to
admonish his
prince of his er-
rour.
Plurark in his
treatise of fla-
tery.

and direction of their owne priuat affaires; Wherupon also Ambrose saith. *An idoneum putabo, qui mihi det consilium, qui non desibi?* Can I thinke him fit to counsel me, who can not counsel him selfe? For he that is a foole in his owne busines can neuer be wise in the busines of other men. And therfore s. Paule declaring the duty of a bishop, requireth that he be such a one, as gouerneth wel his owne family; For *si quis*, saith he, *domui suae praese necit, quomodo ecclesia Dei diligentiam habebit?* If a man can not gouerne his owne house, how shal he gouerne the church of God?

6. The third point is, that in al his speeches and conference with his prince, he vse al sincerity, truth & plainnesse, with out flattery; For although the common prouerb say; *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*; Flattery gaineth freends, and truth hatred; Yet as there is nothing more pernicious to princes then flattery, so by consequent there is nothing more vnfit to be vsed of counsellours, whose office is, and special care should be, to vndeceiue their prince in al things, wherein they are any way deceiued, and to labour therein so much the more, by how much lesse other men doe it, seeing one of the greatest infelicities of princes is, that al or most men flatter and soothe them in al things, and few or none deale sincerely or plainly with them. In which respect seneca saith; *Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat; VVhat vnants be vwho hath al? Mary one to tel him truth*; Which therfore the faithful counsellour should doe, for otherwise the prince should liue in continual error & ignorance of his owne estate, and especially of his imperfections, yea and in great perill of ruine; for as Curtius saith; *Regum opes &c. The stats of princes are often ouerthrowne by flattery then by force*.

7. Neuertheles if the counsellour haue occasion to admonish his prince, of any error or fault of his, he ought to doe it with great discretion, and moderation, vsing (as *Parifatis* mother to *Cirus* was wont to saye) wordes of silke, and launcing the soe like a good surgeon with such dexterity that he may cure it, and not exasperat his prince and make him lesse capable of his good counsel; Those that offend in this kinde are commonly such as presume ouer much eicher of their owne wits, and power, or of their princes weaknes, or of his ouer great fauor

favor and familiarity, or of the neede that he hath of them, or els perhaps are of nature feuer, insolent, or passionat, for such sometimes doe forget them selues, yea & take a pride in contradicting or admonishing their princes with lesse duty and respect then were conuenient.

8. Such a one was *Calisthenes*, of whome *Arrianus* writeth that he made him selfe odious to *Alexander* the great; *Tum ob intempestiuam liberatem, tum ob superbam stultitiam*; Both for his vnseasonable liberty of speech, and also for his proud folly. Such a one also was a Philosopher that liued in the court of *Dionysius* the elder, tirant of *Sicily*; for wheras the tirant being delighted with his owne poems was wont to impart them publikly to certayne Philosophers which liued in his court, to haue their opinions, there was one amongst the rest who could not flatter nor indure the vanity of the tirants humour, but could him plainly that his verses were nothing worth, and that it was a shame to heare them; wherwith the tirant was so offended, that he commanded his gard to take him presently & to carry him to the mynes to worke there amongst condemned persons: afterwards, the same Philosopher being released, and retourned to the court at the sute of his freends, it chanced, that the tirant caused a certaine poeme of his owne to be read in the presence of him and of al the other Philosophers, commanding them to speake their opinions therof; al the rest extolled the worke to the skies, some praising the inuention, and others the vaine and grace of the verse, euery one struiuing who should commend them most, vntil it came to the turne of this Philosopher, who in stead of giuing his censure, called suddainly to the guardes of the tirant, saying, come maisters carry me away to the mynes, for I can not endure this extreame folly; and the tirant being, as it chanced, in a good humour tooke it not ill, but was content to turne it to a iest and laughed wel at it.

9. But this Philosopher seeking to auoid *Silla*, fel into *Charibdis*; for fleeing base flattery he fel into an other extremity, to wit, impudent insolency, which is no lesse vnfit and absurd for counsellours; who are to imitate the discreet and prudent modesty of *Haphestion* counsellour to *Alexander* the great; For although he alwaies admonished *Alexander* discreetly & freely as

Who they are that commonly overshoot themselves in admonishing or contradicting their princes
Arrian li. 8. de rebus Alexand.
Vnseasonable liberty of speech, odious to princes

Plutarc.

A pleasant example of a rude philosopher.

The discreet modesty of Haphestion counsellour to Alexander.
Q. Curius de rebus gestis Alexand.

occasion serued, yet he euer did it in such sort, that it seemed rather to be *Alexanders* wil and pleasure he should so doe, then that he challenged any such right to him selfe. The like stile ought a councellour to vse in contradicting or admonishing his Prince, obseruing exactly his disposition and humour, for that no man is alwaies disposed alike to receiue contradiction or to heare of his faults, especially in the presence of others; and therefore fit time and place is alwaies to be chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be vsed of the princes prayse for some of his good partes, which in such case is no flattery, but a spur to vertue, and may serue for a preparatiue to the pill of admonition which he meaneth to geue him; so that he geue it in so good tearmes and with such dutiful respect, that the Prince may perceiue it proceedeth not of passion, or of a spirit of contradiction, or of audacious insolency, or of contempt (all which are to princes most odious) but of intire loue & affection to him, for so wil he (if he be wise) take the admonition in good part, & say with *Salomon*, that a wound at a freends hand is better then the kisse of an enemy.

10. To conclude, a Councellour may hold this rule, to speake alwaies in this manner freely to the prince him selfe, though it be of his errors; but neuer to others of him, otherwise then in his honour and commendation, and though the prince be neuer awhit the better for the admonition, yet it may suffice his councellour to haue done his dutie, and not to be partaker of his princes faultes, as otherwise he should be, if he should not in al dutiful manner aduise and admonish him, as occasion should require: and therefore though he should feare to incurre his displeasure for his plainesse, yet he ought to discharge his conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* said to *Euribiades* (who tooke vp a staffe to strike him for his free speeche) strike me so that you heare me after. Finally, a councellour should not expect that his prince should alwaies follow his aduise nor afflict him selfe much, if he doe not: For though princes geue to their coucellours great liberty to say what they wil, yet they reserue a greater to them selues, that is to say, to doe what they list; and thus much for the third part.

11. The 4. poynt that a councellour is to consider in him selfe

Al speach proceeding of passion insolency or contempt, odious to princes.

Prou. ca 27.

A wound at a freends hand, better then the kisse of an enemy
How a councellour ought to speake to his prince, and of his prince.

Councellours by commensury are partakers of their princes faultes.

Pla in The- misto.

selfe, is, that it behoueth him to be graue and constant in his opinions; For leuity and inconstancy is a most euident signe of folly. And to this end it shal be necessary for him maturely to deliberate and fully to consider the matter propounded, before he giue his opinion; for as *Seneca* saith: *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio & ira*; Two thinges are contrary to counsel, hast, and anger; and againe; *Deliberandum est diu* (saith he) *quod statuendum est semel*; The thinge that is once to be determined, is to be deliberated by lyesure; and to the same purpose *Aristotle* saith, that a wise man ought to counsel slowly and to execute speedily.

12. Therefore he excludeth very young men from counsel in matters of state, for that (saith he) their natural heat maketh them ouer hastie and headlonge in giuing their opinions, besides that by reason of their want of experience, there doth not occurre vnto them many reasons, or difficulties to be considered, in which respect they resolue easely and speedily, and with lesse iudgement; whereas ancient men both by reason of their colder humour, and also of their greater experience (which ministrETH vnto them more matter of discourse, and more doubts to be resolued) determine slowly and with farre more iudgment; so that speedy resolutiōs, are arguments of weaknes of wit or want of iudgement, and therefore to be fled of counsellours, as more proper to women, whose counsel men commonly say, is neuer to be taken but vpon a sudden, wherof I wil declare the reason hereafter.

13. The 5. point is to auoide the other extremity opposit to leuity, to wit obstinacy and wilfullnes, which is no lesse vnfit for a wise counsellour then the other; For obstinacy is euer accompanied with contempt of other mens opinions and contention; and is therefore an enemy to resolution, which can neuer be taken where obstinat and contentious men meete in a counsel. This defect proceedeth commonly either of pride and presumptiō of a mans owne wit (wherof I haue spoken sufficiently in the beginning of this discourse) or of a false conceite that many men haue, that it is a shame for a wise man to change his opinion, which is farre otherwise: for although a wise man ought not to doe it lightly, and with out great reason, yet when there is sufficyent cause, it were great shame and folly not to doe it

A counsellour ought to be constant in his opinion.

Inconstancy an euident signe of folly.

Seneca in proverbijs.

Ibid.

Arist. 6. Ethic.

Why very young men are not fit to giue counsel.

Why ancient men resolue slowly and maturely.

nu. 24.

Obstinacy in opinion vnfit for counsellours.

From whence obstinacy in opinion proceedeth. Chap. 1 nu. 3. 4. & 5. &c.

Folly for a wise man not to change his opinion when there is cause.

Seneca li. 4. de
benef. ca. 34.
A necessary ex-
ception to be un-
derstood in the
opinion of a
wise man.
Idem. Ibid.

Plat de Rep li. 2.
A wise man co-
pared to a good
gambler, by
Plato.

In what case a
wise man may
change his opi-
nion.

Whiles the
cheefe and foun-
damental rea-
sons of the de-
signement stand
good, the counsell
is not to be chan-
ged.

A counsell not
to be condemned
because some of
the motives
have failed.
Plut. in Timoleon
& in Phocion.

and therefore Seneca the stoick (who according to the opinion of those of his sect, held that a wise man neuer changeth his opinions) expoundeth it in such sort that he includeth in the opinion of a wise man a necessary exception, to wit, if nothing hap that may alter the case, and therefore he also saith that; *It is the property of fooles to assure them selues ouer much of the euent of their councelles and determinations; and that a wise man knoweth what say error beareth in the affaires of men, how vncertaine al humane things are, and how many accidents hinder good and wise designments; Whereupon he concludeth, that it is no shame for wise men to alter their opinions when occasion requireth.* And Plato compareth a wise man to a good gambler, who doth accomodate his play to the chances of the dice; and so saith he should a wise man accomodate his counsels and course of life to the occasions, which changing and varying with the time, doe often require new deliberation.

14. Neuertheles it is herein to be considered, that this change with the occasions, is conuenient only when the occasions change the fundamental and cheefe reason of the first resolution; For whereas in al matters of counsel many reasons may concur to one end, wherof some may be more important then other, and some one perhaps the ground and foundation of the rest, it falleth out otherwhiles that change of times and variety of occasions, doe alter some considerations, and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamental reasons of the matter; In which case the resolution is not to be changed, for otherwhiles men should be like weather-cokces, which change with euery wind, seeing time produceth alwaies some new difficulties, and changeth some part of the reasons in al matters that require any long time for the execution; Whereupon may follow some alteration of circumstances in the designment, though the resolution may stand good for the principal.

15. Wherefore it were great temerity and leuity in any man, to condemne others mens counsells, because some of the motives that induced them therto haue failed, or because the successe hath not in the beginning answered their expectations, as may appeare by the example of the wise Phocion of Athens, who hauing diswaded the Athenians from a certaine enterprise which succeeded wel, being reproched therewith by some of his aduer-

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saies, said, that he was right glad of the good successe, and yet nothinge repented him of his opinion; and this he said partly because he foresaw a bad sequele of their good begininge (as after it fel out) and partly because a wise man dischargeth his part and duty, if his counsell be wel grounded vpon good and sound reasons, though the successe be not so good as he expected, seeing the event of all mens counsels is only in the hands of God, and cannot be assuredly foreseene, and much lesse warrantted by the wisdom of any man, as I haue sufficiently declared other where.

16. To conclude this point, a wise man ought alwaies so to ground his opinions and counsels vpon reason, conscience, and iustice, that what soeuer succedeth he shal haue no iust cause to repent or retract the same; and therefore *Aristides* hauinge said to *Dionysius* the tirant (who demanded one of his daughters in mariage) that he had rather see her burned then married to a tirant, would neuer retract or recal his wordes, though it did cost him the life of his sonne; For when the tirant had slaine his sonne, and asked him whether he was stil of the same mind concerning the mariage of his daughter, he answered that although he was sory for that which had hapned to his sonne, yet he repented not that which he had said; which constancy of *Aristides* *Plutark* greatly commendeth, as proceeding (saith he) of a notable and complete Vertue; And thus much for the 5. point.

17. The 6. point necessary in a councellour is secrecy wherof I haue said somewhat before, and here adde that councellers must vnderstand that their mouthes are sealed vp by their princes, as *Hephestions* mouth was by *Alexander* the great, who hauing shewed him a secret letter said nothing to him, but tooke of his sealing ring and put it to his lips; This I say a young councellour must vnderstand to passe betwixt his Prince and him, when his Prince doth him the honour to make him of his counsell, or to treat with him of matters of state, wherof secrecy is as *Valerius* saith; *Optimum & iustissimum vinculum*; The best and surest bond. And therefore it was so much esteemed amongst the *Persians*, that they honoured silence for a God; and such was the care and respect that the *Romans* had therto that when King *Eumenes* came into the senat to demand assistance against King *Persus* it

A good beginning hath many tymes a bad sequel.

Chap. 11. 12. & 13.

Counsells grounded vpon conscience and iustice neuer to be repented.
Plut. in Timeleon.

Secrecy most requisite in a councellour.
Plut. in Alexander.

Secrecy the best and surest bound of matters of state.
Valer. li. 2. ca. 2.
The persians honored silence for a God.
Aminian. Marcellin. li. 23.

Julius li. 42.
The admirable
secrecy of the
Romane Senat.

Valer. li. 2. c. 2.

Some men are
ouer seacret and
some to open.

The danger of
takinge infor-
mation by ob-
scure questions.

Some intending
to be seacret,
discover their
secrets.

was neuer vnderstood, as *Livy* witnesseth either what he said, or what any answered, vntil the warre which the *Romans* made at his request was ended; such being the secrecy of the *Roman* Senatours (though very many in number) that as *Valerius* saith, it seemed that, *Not so much as one man heard that which was committed to the eares of so many.*

18. Neuerthelesse great discretion is to be vsed herein; for a man may as wel be ouer seacret in some cases, as to open. I haue noted sometimes that some great princes and counsellours for feare of discovering their designments, haue either forborne to take sufficient information, & instruction, of such as could best informe them, and might haue bene trusted (wherby they haue gone blindly to worke) or els they haue sought to informe them selues in cloudes, by such darke & obscure questions, that they haue bene falsly & ill informed; for the parties with whome they conferred, making a false coniecture of their drift, and answering them according to their owne sense (far otherwaies then they would haue done, if they had knowne their meaning) haue abused them against their wils.

19. Againe, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play as a man may say, willy-beguile them selues. I knew a counsellour, who being commanded by his prince to giue him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy, thought to informe him selfe of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning should not be so much as guessed at: but the party with whome he treated being of an excellent iudgment, presently vnderstood it, and though he answered him to his great satisfaction, yet not thinking him selfe any way bound to secrecy (for that the counsellour neither had taken his oath, nor his worde, nor had shewed any confidence in him for that matter) he wrote it to a great personage, with whome he had correspondence, by which meanes it was within a month after so publike that it came into the *gazetta* of *Rome*, and from thence was published throughout Christendome, as the counsellour him selfe hath since told me; so that in seeking information by riddels, and obscure questions, two inconueniences may be feared, the one to receiue a false information, and the other to discover the designment against a mans wil.

20. Ther-

How informations are to be taken in important matters.

20. Therefore to prevent these inconueniences, my opinion is, that when information must needs be taken (as in some cases it is absolutely necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forreine cuntries, vnkowne to him who would lay the plotte) it shal be conuenient, if a sufficient enformer may be found, who is knowne to be of a good & sincere conscience, to deale plainly with him, and to shew confidence in him, taking neuertheles his oathe of secrecy to bind him the more, and to vse other meanes of curtesy and benefits to oblige him, and to doe this with the liking and leaue of the prince, for the counsellours better discharge; But when such a confident & sincere informer can nor be had, my opinion is, that although it shal be good to vse al possible meanes & diligēce to learne what may be learned with out discouery of the intention, yet neuertheles no great foundation is to be made of an information taken by such meanes, except it be of a matter of fact, wherein no man that knoweth the truth, can falsly informe, except he wil wilfully lye, for of matters of discourse, depending vpon the iudgement of the informer he be neuer so wise, smal reckoning is to be made, when he doth not fully vnderstand the drift and intention of the propounder. Thus much concerning the sixt point.

An information litle to be esteemed when the informer doth not fully vnderstand the drift of the propounder.

21. The 7. point which a counsellour should consider in him selfe is, that in the deliberation of al matters whatsoeuer, he be cleare and free from al passion, and particular affection, that is to say from al respects, either of loue, hatred, or enuy to any; and this (I say) for that wise princes are wont exactly to obserue the humours and dispositions of their counsellours, and to make smal account of the aduise or persons of such, as they find to be subiect to any of the foresaid imperfections; and with great reason; For as *salust* saith: *Non facile animus &c. The mind doth not easily see the truth, where passion and affection beareth sway*; Besides that, passion not only blindeth the vnderstanding of man, but also doth soe corrupt his wil, that although he see the truth, yet he wil not embrace it; which *Iustin* obserued very wel in King *Antiochus* and his counsellours; For when *Hanibal* had counselled him to inuade *Italy*, his counsel (saith *Iustin*) was reiected, partly because the cheefe counsellours, & fauorits of *Antiochus*,

A counsellor ought to be free from passion & particular affection.

Salust. in Catilin.

Passion and affection blind the iudgments.

Iustin. hist. lib. 31.

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feared that if it were admitted, *Hanibal* might grow in more credit and fauor with *Antiochus* then they, and partly because *Antiochus* him selfe doubted lest his owne glory might be in some part obscured if he should be thought to doe any thinge by *Hanibals* aduite; so pestilent is the passion of enuy and emulation, that it maketh a man sometimes enemy of his owne good, no lesse then of the publike.

Enuy maketh a man somtimes enemy of his owne good.

Plutark. in his Apophtheg. of K. and Princes.

Councellors should leaue their quarrels at the counsell chamber dore

Respects of other mens greatnes pernicious in Councils.

A prudent practise of the wise Cosmo de Medices & of Philip the 2. King of Spayne.

22. Therefore *Aristides* of *Athens* being sent embassadour with *Themistocles* who was his enemy, willed him at their departure out of the towne, that they might leaue al their emulations and quarrels behinde them at the gate, least their priuate passions might hinder the publike good of the commonwelth; and so in like manner al counsellors, that haue any particular quarrels, or disgusts amongst them selues, should leaue them at the council-chamber dore, when they enter therein. And the like may also be said of the respects of priuate freendship or of other mens greatnes and fauor with the prince; which respects are many times no lesse hurtful in counsels then enuy or hatred, for that they make men conceale their owne iudgements, because they wil not disgust some freend or some great man, that holdeth a contrary opinion; in so much that it falleth out many times, that some fauorite of the prince, hauing once vttered his conceit, though none of the wisest, carieth after him al the rest with out contradiction, and so the best opinions are either concealed, or not so wel debated, as were conuenient.

23. For the preuention and remedy of this inconuenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices* Duke of *Florence*, and *Philip* the 2. last King of *Spaine* vsed to propound their most important matters to their counsellours, first by writing, commanding them to set downe their opinions also in writing, with their reasons, and not to communicate the same with any other, & afterwarde if they thought it needful, they assembled them in their presence, to heare them debate and defend their owne opinions, which proceeding was very prudent in my fancy, for so euery counsellour gaue his opinion freely with out passion or respect to any other, and for his owne honour and reputation defended it so farre as reason would beare him, wherby matters were thoroughly debated and wel discussed.

24. To

24. To conclude this point, counsellours must say of al particular respects as *Popilius the Roman*; being sent embassadour to King *Antiochus* his old freend, laid vnto him of their former amitie; *Facebat priuata amicitia &c. Fare wel priuat freendship when publike matters are in hand*; this I say should counsellours, when they come to the counsel table, both say and practize, laying a side al priuat and particular respects either to one another, or to them selues, as hauing nothing els before their eyes in al their deliberations, but the publike good, to wit, the seruice of God, their prince, and their country.

25. The 8. and last point which I would with a young counsellour to consider concerning him selfe, is the danger of punishment both humane and deuine, which he shal incurre, if he corrupt or seduce his prince by euil counsel, for that his prince him selfe if euer he haue the grace to see his owne errour, can not but hate and detest the author and counsellour therof; As did King *Henry the 5.* who repenting the riotous course of his youth, banished him from the court al those which had misled and seduced him, as I haue noted * before. And though he escape the disgrace or punishment of his prince, yet he may iustly feare the hatred of the people and his owne destruction to ensue therof; as I haue also signified before vpon an other occasion, in *Piers Gauerston*, the *Spensers*, & other counsellours of *Edward the 2.* and *Richard the 2.* to whome I may ad *Emson* and *Dudley*, put to death by King *Henry the 8.* in the begining of his raigne, to satisfie the importunity of the people, who demanded iustice against them, for the euil counsel they had giuen to King *Henry the 7.* in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniary penalties.

26. And *Plutarke* also noteth that the counsellours and fauorits of *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, *Nero*, and other tirants, were racked, head, burnt, and otherwise most cruelly tormented by the people, and iustly (saith he) for that he which corrupteth, or seduceth a prince, deserueth no lesse to be abhorred of al men, then one that should poison a publike fountaine wherof al men should drinke; Seeing that vpon the princes example & authority, dependeth the good or euil estate of al his subiects; and therefore he which misleadeth the prince, doth notable iniury to the common welth, and oweth the penalty therof, as wel to the people as to the prince himselfe.

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In which

Iustin. li. 34.
Priuat freendship not to be respected when publike matters are handled.

What Counsellors ought to haue before their eyes.

The dangers that counsellors incur by giuing euil counsel to their princes.

Euil counsellors hateful sometimes to their princes.

Polid. Virg. & Io. Sto. in Henr. 5.
Chap. 29 nu. 28.
Euil counsellors hateful to the people and punished by them.

Ibid. nu. 24.
Stovv in *Henry. 8.*

Plutar. in his treatise that philosophers should conuerse with princes.

The wicked counsellors of diuers tyrants notably punished.

A wicked counsellour, like to one that poisoneth a publike fountaine.

Plut. in Otho.
The punishment
of a wicked coun-
sellor is a debt
due to the com-
mon welth.

The danger of
eternal damna-
tion to a wicked
councellour.
Rom. ca. 1.

2. Reg. ca. 17.
Hester ca. 7.
Amon and A-
chitophel punis-
hed by almighty
God in this life
for their wicked
counsel.

Sand. lib. 1. de
schism. Angl.

Phil. Com. cron.
du Roy Louis
ca. 28.
What Comi-
neus noteth of a
councellor of the
duke of Burgundy

Hesiodus.
Evil counsel
worst to the
councellour.

In which respect *Plutarke* also noteth of *Tigellinus*, a wicked counsellour and corrupter of *Nero*, that the people after *Nero* his death made continual instance for his punishment, as for a publike debt due to the commonwelth, which at length they obtained of *Orbo* successor to *Galba*.

27. But though neither the prince nor the people doe exact this debt of a wicked counsellour, yet he shal be sure to pay it eternally to almighty God, if he repent not and satisfie his iustice otherwise. For if not only those which doe evil are worthy death (as the Apostle saith) but also those: *Qui consentiunt facientibus*, which consent thereto; much more guilty are the counsellours of evil, who are either the principal authors therof, if they inuent it, or abettors and associats in the highest degree, if they approue and ratify it; And therefore how hateful such are to almighty God, it appeareth by the examples of *Achitophel* and *Amon*, the one counsellour to *Abolom*, and the other to *Asuerus*, whose wicked counsellors God did not only frustrate and insatuate (as the scripture speaketh) but also punish most exemplarily in this life, making the one of them his instrument to execute iustice vpon him selfe, and turning the wicked counsel of the other to his owne destruction. As also the like may be obserued in Gods iust punishment vpon *Cardinal Wolsey*, & some other counsellours of King *Henry* the 8. of whome I shal haue occasion to speake more at large in the second part of this treatise. And *Philip de Comines* seriously noteth, how a counsellor of the Duke of *Burgundy* called monsieur *Contay* hauing geuen a cruel counsel to the Duke (to put to death certaine hostages of *Liege*) liued not long after, which some who were present and heard him, did in a manner pronosticate, saying that they wold warrant him he would not liue ayeare to an end: which, saith he, fel out to be true, for he died within a while; Thus then it appeareth how true the latin prouerb is: *Consilium malum consultori pessimum*; Evil counsel is worst to the counsellour. This shal suffice for those points which a young counsellour ought to consider in him selfe.

V V H M

WHAT A COUNSELLOVR OUGHT TO CON-
sider in his prince; as namely his conscience, his commodity,
and his reputation.

CHAP. 31.



COUNSELLOVR is to consider in his prince principally three things. His conscience, his commodity, and his reputation; of which 3. I place commodity in the midst, for that it is to be ballanced & waighed with both the other, seeing nothing can be truly commodious which is not agreeable to both, & no temporal commodity can recompence the losse of either of them. And first to speake of conscience; The word *Conscience*, is diuinely vnderstood, and commonly taken for an act consisting in the application of our knowledge to our actions (for that *Conscientia* is *Scientia* (um alio, Knowledge with an other thing. In which sence, conscience may erre, when we erre in knowledge, or apply our true knowledge erroneously to our actions) therefore I wil not treat of conscience here in this sence, but only as it is the * first natural habit in the soule of man, which neuer erreth, and so *Conscience* is the purest, and highest part of reason whereby we doe naturally discern betwixt good and euil, reiecting the euil and approving the good; Whereupon groweth remorse and repentance in our soules after an euil act, and contentment after a good: in which respect *Origen* saith that conscience is. *Rector & praeceptor animae &c.* The gouernour and praeceptor of the soule, whereby it is deuerted from euil, moued to good, admonished, reprobued, and chastised; *S. Basil*, as *S. Thomas* note it, called it *naturale iudicatorium*, the natural faculty of Iudgement; where of *S. Augustin* speaketh when he saith that there are in the soule of man, certaine infalible rules, true and incommutable lights of veritie whereby euery one conceaueth and iudgeth truly of the general principles of the office and duty of man *S. Chrysostome* speaking of conscience, saith, that almighty God hath placed it in

A counsellour is to consider in his prince, his conscience, commodity and reputation.

What the word conscience signifies. D. Tho. 2. d. 24. q. 2 ar. 4. c.

*Idem 1. p. q. 79. ar. 3 in cor. The definition of Conscience. Remorse of conscience.

Origen li. 2. in ep. ad Rom. c. 2.

S. Basil apud D. Thom. 1. p. q. 79. ar. 13. ca. Aug. li. 2. de libero arbit. c. 10.

Chrysost. To. 2. concio. 4. de de Lazaro.

Conscience placed in the soule of man as a Iudge of his actions.

D. Tho. quod li. 3. ar. 6. 1.
Conscience is a natural law alwayes agreeable to the law of God.
Rom. 1.

Who doth according to conscience or against conscience.

Nothing truly commodious that is against conscience.
Math. 23.5.

Math. 16.

Aug. in Psal. 119.
The principal thing that a Councellour ought to regard

the soule of man, as a Iudge which is euer vigilant, and attentive to his actions, incorruptible, in exorable, inflexible, and searching into his very cogitations and intentions, where vpon it followeth that after any sinne or offence committed, a mans owne conscience iustly iudgeth and condemneth him, with out any other accuser or witnes then him selfe. Lastly *S. Thomas* calleth it *Lex naturalis*; A natural law or the law of nature, by the light whereof the very painims know those things which are commanded by the law of God, as the Apostle testifieth, saying; *The gentils who haue not the law* (that is to say the written law of God) *doe naturally performe those things which are of the law*, and not hauing the law, are to them selues a law, and shew that they haue the worke of the law written in their harts, their ovyne consciences geuing testimony vnto them, and their secret cogitations accusing or defending them in the daie of Iudgement; Thus saith the Apostle. Whereby it appeareth that those which liue according to the rule of reason, the law of nature, and the law of God (which are alwaies conforme one to the other) doe according to conscience; and on the other side, those which decline and swarue from any of them, doe against conscience.

2. Now then for as much as our eternal felicity dependeth vpon the integrity and purity of conscience (in which respect our Sauour saith: *Beati mundo corde &c. Happy are the cleane in hart, for they shal see God*) It followeth that nothing can be truly commodious which is contrary to conscience, for what soeuer hindereth our greatest good and commodity, that is to say our saluation, and draweth vs also to the greatest misery that can be, to wit, to eternal damnation, the same is not good and profitable but mischeueous and pernicious, for (as I noted other where out of our Sauours wordes) *What doth it profit a man to gaine the whole world if he loose his soule?* And therefore *S. Augustine* saith very wel, that he which counselleth a man contrary to his saluation hath *pallium consulentis & venenum perimentis*; The cloake of a Councellor, and the poison of a killer. Whereupon it followeth that the first and principal thing that euery councellour ought to regard, is, that his counsel be so grounded vpon conscience, that God be not offended, nor his princes conscience wounded there with: which latter were of it selfe no smal infelicity though God should

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should not otherwise punish the euil act; For as on the one side, *There can be no greater happine: in the life of man, then the tranquillity and quiennes of conscience* (as *S. Augustin* saith) so on the other side there can be no greater misery or torment then. *Nocte, dieque suum gestare in pectore testem. To carry day and night the testimony of a mans vvickednes in his owne brest.*

3. And although princes doe not alwaies at the first fee the prick of conscience, whiles the pleasure or commodity of wicked counsel is yet fresh, neuer theles afterwards they are stoung and vexed therewith at one time or other; su.h being the nature of the worrne of conscience, that though sometimes it seeme to sleepe, yet otherwhiles it gnaweth and byteth bitterly; God hauing of his infinite wisdom and mercy so ordained (as *S. Chrysostome* witnesseth) *Lest if it were continual, it should not be supportable, and if it were not frequent, it might quickly be forgotten or contemned:* but howsoeuer it may seeme to sleepe in prosperity, it neuer sayleth to prick and sting in aduersity, giuing testimony to wicked men of Gods iust iudgment vpon them; For as *S. Gregory* saith. *Culpa claudis oculos, & pena aperit;* Offence, or sinne shuts the eyes, and punishment openeth them. To which purpose also *Iob* saith of the wicked man; *Cum reddiderit (Deus) tunc sciet,* VVhen God shal punish him, according to his deserts, then he vvill know, that he hath sinned. The Children of *Iacob* being taken for spies and detained in *Egipt*, self presently into account of their sinne in telling their brother *Ioseph*, saying; *Merito hac patimur &c. VVe suffer this vvorthely;* And *Mauritius* the emperour seeing his children killed before his face, & him selfe also designed for the slaughter, acknowledged Gods iustice saying; *Iustus es domine &c. Thou art iust o Lord, and thy iudgement is right, and full of equity.* The like maye be noted in *Alphonse* King of *Naples* of whome I haue spoken before, and in infinit others whome I omit for breuities sake; And this al wicked counsellours ought wel to consider and feare; in respect of the hurt that may ensw thereof, as wel to them selues, as to their princes, for that the worrne of conscience breedeth not only remorse, and repentance of the euil act, but also hatred both of the counsel, and the counsellour; As it did in King *Adelstan* the first monark of *England* after the entry of the *Saxons*, who being seduced by the bad counsel, and and false suggestions of one

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of his

No greater happiness in this life then tranquillity of conscience.

Aug. de ciuit. dei li. 21.

Iuuenal.

No greater misery then a tormented conscience.

The worrne of conscience bitech at one tyme or other.

Chrys. in 16. Luc. concio. 4.

VVhy the sting of conscience is frequent & not continual.

Greg. in Iob. 21. Sinne shuts the eyes, and punishment openeth them.

Iob. 21.

Gen. 42.

Nicephor. li. 2. ca. 40.

Guicci. li. 1. ca. 22. nu. 6. 7. 8.

Remorse of conscience breedeth hatred of the euil counsel and of the counsellour. Guliel. Malinesb. li. 2. c. 6.

of his fauorits, banished his brother *Edvvin* vniustly, commanding him to be set to sea, with only one seruant, in a boat without saile, wherein he perished; which when King *Adelsian* vnderstood, he fel into the account of his owne offence, and so much repented it, that he not only tooke vpon him 7. yeres penance, but also grew by little and little to detest and abhorre his fauorit, who had counselled him therto; in so much that in the end he cut of his head, taking occasion vpon certaine woords of his, who being his cup-bearer, & comming one daye to geue him drinke in a sollemne and publike feast, and chancing to stumble with one foore and to recouer him selfe with the other, said, *So one brother helps an other.* Whereupon the King remēbring the losse of his brother, was so moued there with, that he caused him presently to be taken and executed.

*How a wicked
councillor endi-
gereth the state
of his prince.*

*No man know-
eth for how
small an offence
God will punish
a prince in his
person or state.*
Nume. ca. 10.
Deut. c. 1.
1. Reg. ca. 15.
Example of Moy-
ses, *Dauid*, *Saul*,
and *Achias*.
2. Reg. c. 24.
4. Reg. ca. 20. 1.
pa c. 32.
Ila. c. 38.

*No wicked coun-
cel more perni-
cious to state,
then that which
is giuen for the
benefit of state,
and why.*

4. Furthermore a counsellor is to consider that counselling his prince against conscience, he endangereth not only his princes soule (as I haue signified before) but also his temporal state, exposing him and it to the iust wrath & punishment of almighty God, vpon whose wil depend the states of al princes, as I haue largely proued already. Besids that no man knoweth for how small an offence in the sight of man, God may punish a prince in his person or state. *Moyse* for a litle distrust in the promise of God, dyed before he entred into the land of promise. King *Saul* was reiected of almighty God, and disposessed of his kingdome, for reseruing some part of the spoyle of *Amalec* at the request of the people, contrary to the commandement of the prophet. *Dauid* was punished with the losse and distruction of 70000. of his subiects, for numbring them. And *Ezechias* for his vaine glory in shewing his treasure to the embassadours of the King of *Babylon*, was threatened by the prophet with the spoyle of his pallace, and captiuiti of his posterity, which after was fulfilled.

5. But of al other acts against conscience; for the which God punisheth princes and their states, none are more pernicious to state, then such as are committed with intention and hope to benefit the state, for how litle soeuer some of them may seeme to be in their owne nature, yet they haue one circumstance which doth greatly aggrauate them, and maketh them very hurtfull in the sight of God, seeing that wicked pollicyes doe com-
monly

monly proceede of distrust or lack of beleefe in the prouidence of God; For no man who sincerely beleeueth that al staires depēd vpon Gods wil and prouidence, can with any reason perswade him selfe, that any thing which is offensiuē to God may be good for state; and therefore no meruaile if almighty God (who of his iustice punisheth sinners many tymes, by the same meanes wherby they offend him) doth often turne the wicked pollicies of Macheuillians to their owne ouerthrow, ordayingn that (as Salomon saith) *Quod timet impius Veniat super eum. That which the wicked man feareth may falle vpon him.*

God doth iustly
turne macheuil-
lian pollicies to
the ouerthrow
of the contriners.
Proverb. 10.

An example of
Pharao.
Exod. 1.

Ibid. ca. 12. 14.

An example of
the Ievues.
Ioan. 11.

Aug. Tract. 49.
in Ioan.

Iustin. li. 1.
An example of
King Astiages.

6. So it fel out to Pharao who fearing least the children of Israel might multiply ouermuch to the danger of his state, oppressed them wrongfully, & cōmanded that their male children should be cast into the riuer, as soone as they were borne; Neuertheles the more they were oppressed, the more they encreased & multiplied. And through the special prouidence of God, Moyses was saued from drowninge, & nourished by Pharaos owne daughter, and by his ministry the childten of Israel were deliuered, Egypt, spoyled, and Pharao himselfe with al his army drowned. So it also fel out to the Ievues, who fearing lest Christ, if he should liue any tyme, would draw so many to belecue in him, that the Romans might easely destroy their temple & nation (for want of people to defend the same) resolved to kil him, and so drew vpon them selues, and their temple, the destruction which they sought to preuent; God so disposing for punishment of their wickednes, that the Romans did afterwards vtterly destroy their temple and country, as I haue amply declared in the 19 chapter; and hereupon s. *Augustin* notably saith; *That vvhiles for feare of loosing their temporal state, they contemned the eternal; they iustly lost both.*

7. Also the like iustice and iudgement of almighty God may be noted in King Astiages, who fearing that his daughters issue might depriue him of his kingdome, thought to preuent it by the murder of her sonne Cyrus, commanding Harpagus to destroy him as soone as he was borne; but God so disposed that the child was saued contrary to the expectation of them both, and that afterwards he dispossessed Astiages of his kingdome, with the assistance of Harpagus, whom Astiages had made the instrument of his wickednes. So also it hapned to Amulius who thinking to assure

Idem. li. 4. 9.
Plutarc. in Ro-
mulo.

An example of
Amulius.

Paul. Diac. li. 15.

The famous cap-
tain Aetius pre-
ferring reason
of State before
conscience dest-
royed him selfe
and endangered
the Roman Em-
pyre.

to assure his owne state by the murder of his two newewes; *Romulus* and *Remus* caused them to be laid forth in the woodes, when they were new borne, to the end they might be deuoured of wild beasts, or perish otherwaies, whom neuertheles it pleased God to preserue, and by the meanes of *Romulus* to dispossesse *Amulius* of his kingdome.

8. But to speake of Christians. In the time of the emperor *Valentinian* the third, *Attila* the Scythian and King of the *Hunnes* (who called him selfe *Flagellum Dei* the scourge of God) inuaded the Roman empire with an army of eleuen hundreth thousand men, and hauing already possesse him selfe of al *Pannonia* (called *Hungary* euer since) passed through *Germany* into *France*, vsing al kind of cruelty vpon al sorts of Christian people, threatening vtter ruine as wel to Christian religion, as to the Roman empire; whereupon the famous captaine *Aetius* being assisted with *Theodoricus* King of the *Goths*, and diuers other princes, presented him battaile in *France* not farre from *Orleans*, in which battaile there were slaine a hundreth & four score thousand on both sides, and *Attila* ouerthrowen in such sort, that he had no meanes to saue his owne person, but by retiring him selfe into his campe, where he fortified him selfe, and neuerthelesse might easily haue bene either killed or taken, and Christiantome therby deliuered of a most potent and dreadful enemy, if *Aetius* wold haue donne his endeouour therto; who preferring reason of state, before true Christian zeale, and Gods seruice, spared him, fearing lest if he were vtterly ouerthrowen, the *Goths* (who had already conquered al *Spaine*, and a greate part of *France*, wold be farre more dangerous to the Roman empire, being free from the feare of *Attila*, who was comon enemy to both, for which respect, he suffered him to escape away with the reliques of his army into *Hungary*; which by the iust iudgement of almighty God turned as wel to the destruction of *Aetius*, as to the greate danger of the empire; For *Aetius* being returned most tryumphant to *Rome*, fel shortly after into the disgrace of the emperor, who suspected, that he had spared *Attila* to the end to make him selfe emperor by his assistance, where vpon he slew *Aetius* with his owne hand, and *Attila* hauing with in a while repaired his army was more terrible and noysome to the Roman empire then

then before, for he came into Italy putting al to fire and sword, he razed *Aquileia* to the ground, tooke *Pavia*, sacked and destroyed *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome* to beseege it, which he had donne, if he had not bene diuerted from it by Pope *Leo* the greate, who going him selfe in person to him, perswaded him to desist from the enterprise, and to retire him selfe into *Hungary*, which he did presently; And being demanded of some of his nobility, why he changed his resolution so suddainly, he answered that he durst not doe otherwaife, for that two graue old men appareled like priests, stood by Pope *Leo* al the time of their conference, with swords in their hands, and threatned to kil him if he did not satisfy him. But to returne to *Ætius*; we see herein the bad successe of his pollicy, and how it turned to his destruction, when he preferred reason of state before conscience and the seruice of God.

9. Hereto I may adde some others of later time, of whome I haue also spoken before vpon other occasions, as *Cesar Borgia* (the mirrour of Machiauels prince) who determining to poison *Cardinal Cornetti*, poisoned his owne father and him selfe. In like manner the *Queene of Hungary* thinking to mayntaine her selfe and her sonne in the vniust possession of that kingdome, against *Ferdinand* then king of Romans, and after emperour, craued aide of *Solyman* the great Turk, by whome both the and her sonne were depriued thereof. And lastly I may conclude with a most manifest example of Gods exemplar iustice in this kind, extended a few yeares past, vpon *Henry* the 3. king of *France*, who reiecting conscience in the breach of his oth, ouerthrew both him selfe and his state, by the same meanes whereby he thought to preferue both; to wit by the slaughter of the *Cardinal* and *Duke of Guise*, after his reconciliation with them, confirmed on his part by solemne oathes, with many imprecations, and maledictions against him selfe (geuing him selfe to the deuil, body and soule) in case he ment, or should attempt any thing against them, receiuing also the blessed Sacrament publikely for their furdre assurance; which promise and oathe he was bound in conscience to performe, not withstanding any former act or desert of theirs; yet neuertheles he caused the *Duke* to be killed in his owne presence, and the *Cardinal* the next daye after, whereby he

Blondus decad. 1.
li. 2.
Sabellic. Ennead.
8 li. 1.
Baron. an. 452.

Cesar Borgia.
Chap 13. nu. 4.
& 7. Guicciar. li.
6. hist.

The queene of
Hungary.
Surius in cōmen.
an. 1541.

Henry the 3. K.
of *France* reie-
cting conscience
ouerthrew his
estate.

The death of the
Duke of *Guise*,
and of the *Car-*
dinal his bro-
ther.

thought he had so assured his estate, that he wanted with greater ioye and triumph, as wel to the queene his mother as to his fauorits, that he was then king (meaning that during the Dukes life, he had bene King only in name, and not in deede) whereas it fel out through Gods iust iudgement, that the Dukes death, was the meanes to depriue him both of his kingdome and life; For, not only al the principal townes in France reuolted presently from him (for the horroure and hatred of the fact) but also he him selfe, with in 8. monthes after, hauing leuied 50. thousand men for the seege of Paris, was miserably slaine, in the midst of his army, by a poore simple friar called Clement: whose name I note, for that S. Clement was ordained by the King, to serue for the watchword to those, who slew the Duke; and not without mystery, through Gods special prouidence, signifying, as it were prophetically the name of him, whose hand should reuenge it. Whereby it may appeare how dangerous, and pernicious all counsels, or attempts against conscience, are to state, in respect of the offence of him on whose wil depend all states, and who, as Iob saith. *Apprehendit sapiente in astutia eorum &c. Ouerreaches the wise men of the world in their owne craft, and subtilty, and disparteth the counsels, and plots of wicked men.* Therefore it may truly be said of Machiauellian princes, and their wicked counsellours, as the prophet said of the King and counsellours of Egypt. *Stulti principes &c.* The princes are fooles and their wise counsellors haue giuen foolish counsel, our Lord hath cast amongst them the spirit of giddines, and hath made them stagger and erre in all their workes, like a reeling and vomiting drunken man. Thus much touching the respect which counsellors ought to haue to conscience, wherof I shal haue occasion also to say more in the last chapter.

10. As for reputation (which is also called Honour, estimation, fame, good name, or credit) no small regarde is to be had therto, when there is any question of the princes commodity, seeing that of all external goods it is the principal, & most pretious, and (as S. Thomas affirmeth) most like to the goods of the minde, wherupon Salomon saith. *Melius est bonum nomen quam diuitia multe. Good name is better then great riches;* Which is euident in matter of state, for that reputation conserueth the states of princes many times, no lesse or rather more then wealth and force. In which respect

Henry the 3. K.
of France slayne
in the midst of
his army
Clement was
the watchword
of them who
killed the Duke,
and the name of
him who slew
the King.
Iob. 5.

Isay. ca. 16.

The reputation
of the prince
greatly to be re-
garded of a coun-
sellour & why.
Thom. 2. 9. 73.
ar. 1. & 3
Prouerb. ca. 22.

Tiberius Caesar was wont to say, as Tacitus noteth; That although the deliberations of al other men, doe commonly consist in the consideration of utility and profit; yet the state of a prince is such, that he ought principally to respect fame and reputation; And the reason is, for that the losse of reputation, is not only the signe and (as I may say) the pre-
amble of a princes fall, but also the occasion therof many times, because therewith decaieth & falleth commonly the affection of freends and the respect, feare, and obedience of subiects; wherupon followeth the subversion of states.

The danger of the losse of a princes reputation.

11. Now then, wheras the reputation of princes consisteth especially in 4. things, to wit, wisdom, valour, vertue, and power; al counsell tending to commodity is to be waighed with the estimation therof, for nothing that may impair the honour of the prince in any of these, can be accounted truly commodious for him; Therefore Philip de Comines aduiseeth touching the princes wisdom, that if he be not very wise, and of good partes, great care be had that strangers be not admitted to his presence, especially to treat with him, lest the discouery of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemish his reputation, and animate his enemies to contemne him; And the french historiographers affirme, that the opinion which men had of the wisdom of Charles the 5. King of France called the wise, auailed him more against the English, then his force; in so much that the dispatches which he made in his chamber, were more feared (say they) then his armies in the feild

Wherin the reputation of a prince consisteth.

Philip. de Com. ca. 57.

The care to be had of the reputation of wisdom in the prince.

Du Haillan in Charls le sage.

12. The like also is to be said of the opinion of valour in a prince, which maketh him no lesse redoubtable to his enemies, then beloued of his freends and subiects; wheras the opinion of his effeminacy or basenes of mind maketh him contemptible to al men, and often causeth the deposition, and destruction of princes, as it did to Sardanapalus the great Assirian King; to Chilperic King of France, to Venceslaus the emperor, and to many others.

The reputation of valour.

Iustin. li. 1. Paulus AEmilius in Chilper. Nauelet. chron. 1400.

Arist. li. 5. Polit. The reputation of vertue and religion.

13. And as for vertue (where in I include also religion) Aristotle teacheth that the only reputation, and opinion therof, is a notable stay, and prop to a princes state, in respect that al men commonly conceiue that a vertuous, and religious prince is in the fauour, and protection of almighty God; And therefore

Achior cheefe captayne of the *Amonites* councelled *Holofernes* when he made warre vpon the children of *Israel*, to informe him selfe whether they had committed any greate offenses towards their God, where by they might loose his fauour, assuring him that otherwaite it wold be in vaine to assaile them, for that their God wold defend them. And the like conceit it seemeth that *Loelin* prince of wales had of *Henry* the 3. King of *Englad*, for when certaine bishops who were sent by the King to treat with him to reduce him to obedience, threatned him with the Kings greate power, and forces; he answered that he feared more his almes, then his armies, meaning that he douted lest in respect of his greate charity and piety, God would protect and assist him, and that otherwaite he wold little esteeme his force, & power. So much it importeth a prince to haue the reputation of vertue, and religion, which serueth for a bridle to his enemies both domestical. and forrein, to withhold them from al attempts against him; Besides that it causeth that his faults, and errors are either not beleueed, or more easely excused, or the blame therof laied vpon his counsellours.

Matheus Paris in
Hen. 3.

Macchi. in princ.
Macchiauel ad-
uiseeth his prince
to seeke to haue
the reputation
of religion and
vertue.

The absurdity
of Macchiauels
doctrin imbug-
ning it selfe.

Terent. in Eu-
ruch.
Cicero. de offi.
Nothing that is
dissembled can
last long.
Math. c. 8.

Tyranny cannot
be hid.

14. And for these causes Macchiauel also counelleth his prince, to procure by al meanes to haue the reputation of a religious, iust, and vertuous prince, though he teach him withal to be a most wicked tyrant; wherein I can not omit by the way to note the absurdity of his doctrin, notably impugning & contradicting it selfe, seeing he wil haue his prince to seeme a lambe, and be a wolfe, and to make shew of a Saint, and be indeede a diuill; which is no more possible then as the commical Poet saith. *Cum ratione insanire, to be madde With reason*; For al fayned things (saith Cicero) fade and fall away like flowers, and nothing that is dissembled can long last, which our Sauour him selfe confirmeth saying exprefly of hipocrisy; *Attendite &c. Take heede of the leuen of the Pharises that is to say hipocrisy, for nothing is secret that shal not be reuealed nor any thing hid that shal not be knowne.*

15. And this is more euident in dissembling and hypocritical tyrants, then in any other sort of men; for that so violent is the flame of tyranny, that it breaketh out through the weake and clouen walls of hipocrisy, and discouereth it selfe to the world; such being the state of publike persons, and especially of princes

(whole

(whose actions are subiect to the eyes and censures of al men) that their least faults cannot passe either vnknowne or vncontrold of the people; as *Pliurark* affirmeth, notably aduising princes to haue a special regard to al their actions, for that their least defects, or imperfections are noted; which he confirmeth with examples of diuers princes, as of *Pompey* the great, noted of singularity for scratching his head with one finger; *Lucullus* censured to be ouer delicate in his dyer; The famous *Scipio* blamed for sleeping much; And *Cesar* for going il girded: What then shall we say of tyrannycal acts, such as *Machiauel* commendeth in his prince, I meane murders, breach of promises and othes, fraudes and deceit, and al kind of iniustice? Can any man with reason thinke that the same can be sufficiently couered with any cloake of hipocrisy; or can a people be so simple, or senseles as not to know, and see a tyranny when they see the manifest effects, and feele to heauy wayght therof in them selues? Therefore what els can follow of hipocrisy in a tyrant but that his subiects shal hate him much more, and the sooner conspire his ouerthrow, as of one no lesse odious to God then to man? whereby the scripture shalbe fulfilled, which, saith that *The heauens shal reueale the iniquity of the hipocrite, and the earth shal rise against him.*

16. But because I am to speake purposely, and much more amply of this matter in the 2. part of this treatise, it shal suffice to haue said thus much here by the way, and withal to inferre thereupon, that the reputation of vertue which is necessary for the conseruation of a prince, must be grounded vpon true vertue, and not vpon vaine shewes and hipocritical dissimulations; for, as true religion, iustice, and vertue, ioyned with princely power, engender in the subiects admiration, respect, reuerence, and loue towards their prince: so impiety iniustice, and intemperance in him, breede in the subiects either hatred, or els contempt of person. For of the crymes of impiety, and iniustice (as periury, deceit, & cruelty) proceedeth hatred; and of the vices that grow of intemperance (as lasciuiousnes, dronkennes, and such like) is engendred contempt, as I wold declare here more at large, but that I reserue the furdur discourse therof to the 2. part of this treatise, where I determine to speake of the princes vertues more particularly, and amply, in respect that al perfection of

The least defects of princes are commonly noted and : now vne to their subiects. Plur. in his instructions for those that mannage matters of state.

No hipocrisy can suffice to couer a tyranny.

Hipocrisy encreaseth the hatred of God and man against a tyrant. Iob. 20.

The reputation of true and not of fained vertue, requisit in a prince.

What true vertue in the prince worketh in the subiects.

What are the effects of vice in a prince.

vertue proceedeth from Gods grace, and true religion, whereof I am to treat there.

Concerning truth
and fidelity in
the prince.

17. Neuertheles I thinke good to say some what more in this place, concerning one special vertue very requisit in a prince for his reputation, to wit, truth, fidelity, and constancy, in the exact obseruation of his oathes, promises, and word; whereof I am the more willing to treat for that *Macchianel* alloweth, and commendeth al manner of falshood, deceit, trechery and periury in a prince, when he may hope to gaine, or to benefit his state thereby. But how impious and absurd his doctrine is in that behalfe, yea and how pernicious to princes and their states, it wil the more euidently appeare if we consider how dangerous and damageable al falshood, and deceit is to commonwelth; for the conseruation whereof, nothing is more necessary then truth, and fidelity, as wel in the prince, as in the people.

Cicero. li. 1. de
offic.

*V*berin fidelity
consisteth.

Idem. pro Sext.
Ros.

Idem. li. 2. de
offic.

Valer. li. 6. ca. 6.

18. Therefore *Cicero* teacheth that *Fides*, which we may call *fidelity* (consisting as he sayth, in the verity, & constant performance of words, promises, & covenants) is *fundamentum iustitie*, the foundation of iustice which is the special proppe & stay of state, in which respect he calleth it *commune omnium praesidium*. The common defence, or refuge of al men; & also sayth, that *nulla res vehementius rempublicam continet quam fides*. Nothing doth more firmly unite and hold together the commonwelth then fidelity; and *Valerius* calleth it; *venerabile numen & certissimum humana salutis pignus*. A venerable and deuine power, and the most sure pledge of humane security; and the *Romans* so much esteemed it that they buylded, and dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddesse, in which temple al leagues, truces, covenants, and important bargains, were publikly made & sworne, which were so religiously obserued, that who soeuer broke them, was held for a cursed, and damned creature, and ynwoorthy to liue in humane society. And with greate reason, for if falshood and fraud were permitted to haue course in commonwelths, what traffick or commerce with strangers, or friends? what assurance in leagues with forrain princes, in contracts and mariages, in promises, and bargains, in buying or selling? what loue? what society? what comonwelth? which consisteth in the communication of commodities one with an other, & flourisheth so much the more, by how much euery one tendereth, and desireth the

If falshood and
fraud were per-
mitted amongst
men no common-
welth could
stand.

Dionis. Halicar.
li. 2.

Liui. li. & 2.

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publyk good more then his owne, in which respect it is called *Respublica*, that is to saye, *weale publyk*. And therefore if trusty and faithfull dealing should faile amongst men, there would be no more ciuill society amongst them then amongst Tigres, and beares, foxes, and woolues, cats, and doggs; which the Apostle insinuateth notably when he exhorteth the *Ephesians*, and in them al other Christians to vse al sincerity, and truth one with an other, because we are al combined in one mystical body; *Propter quod* (saith he) *deponentes mendacium &c.* Therefore laying aside al lies, let every one of you speake the truth to his neighbour; *Quoniam sumus inuicem membra*. Because we are al members one of another.

Ephes 4.

29. Hereupon it followeth, that fidelity is not only most necessary in the subiects, but also in the prince, for the conseruation of the common welth; for seeing nothing is more requisite for the maintenance of the political body then the vnion of the head with the members therof, that is to say of the prince with the people, and nothing againe more necessary therto, then their trust and confidence one in an other (which can not be where there is no fidelity) it followeth, that nothing is more requisite for the conseruation of both the prince, and the people, then fidelity in both; without the which neither the subiects can assure them selues of their princes protection, nor the prince be satisfied of the loyalty of his subiects.

Fidelity most necessary in the prince for the conseruation of the common welth.

30. And to speake here particularly of the prince; it is to be considered, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous not only to the common welth, but also to him selfe, as it wil be euident if we waigh the force & effect of the good or bad example of the prince, & how potent a motiue it is to induce his subiects to vertue or vyce, seeing as *salomon* sayth, and experience teacheth that; *Qualis est rector ciuitatis, tales sunt habitantes in ea.* Such as is the gouernour of the City, such are the inhabitants therof. Therefore I saye that as the example of the princes fidelity doth redound both to the good of the common welth, & also to his owne security (for that the people doth learne therby to be not only faithfull one to an other, but also dutifull, & loyal towards him) so also the example of perfidious & double dealing in him, doth worke the contrary effect, and teacheth his subiects to be no lesse faithlesse, and traiterous towards him, then fraudulent, and treche-

The force of the princes good or bad example in the common welth.

Eccles. 10.

How the fidelity of the prince redoundeth to his owne good.

A perfidious prince teacheth

treche-

his subjects to be
strayious, to
him selfe.

trecherous one towards an other, which may turne as wel to his destruction, as to the hurt of the commonwelth.

21. But perhaps some *Macchiauilian* wil say, that although the prince for his owne commodity do vse sometimes to violat his faith, yet he may so seuerely punish it in his subjects, that no inconuenience shal follow of his example, either to the commonwelth or to him selfe.

The princes bad
example over-
weyeth good
lawes.
Claudian.

22. Wherto I answer, that the prince can not with reason, expect that the seuerity of lawes, or other polityk meanes, shal repress in his commonwelth any vice which shal be autorized by the example of his owne practise; for as the Poët saith.

-----Totus componitur orbis

Regis ad exemplum nec sic inficere sensus

Humanos edicta Valent, ut vita regntis

Plutar. de do-
ctrina princi-
pum.

The prince is the
rule of his sub-
iects.

That is to say, al the world is framed after the model of the king and no lawes or edicts can so moue the minds of men, as doth the life of the gouernour; which *Plutarke* confirmeth notably, saying. *That euen as a squire, or rule, must be strait in it selfe before it can make other things strait; so the prince (who is, as it were, the rule of his subjects) ought first to rectify him selfe, before he goe about by lawes or other meanes to rectify his commonwelth: for he that is falling (saith Plutarke) is not fit to uphold others; nor he that is ignorant, to teach; nor he that is incorrigible, to correct; nor he that is him selfe disordred, to put others in order.* Thus saith he, geuing to vnderstand that a vicious prince who seeketh to make his subjects vertuous by rigour of lawes, labourereth in vaine, like vnto one that buildeth with one hand, and pulereth doune with the other, and so destroyeth more in one daie, then he can build in many: for so doth the bad example of the prince, corrupt more in a daie, then his lawes can correct or amend in a yere; as is euident ynough by that which I haue largely discouraged els where of the procliuity of man to vice, with the facility, and many meanes found in euery commonwelth to escape the penalties of lawes.

A bad prince
who maketh
good lawes, buil-
deth with one
hand & putteth
doune with the
other.
cbap. 4. nu. 28. &c.

The Roman ma-
gistrats and Se-
nat most exact
in the obserua-
tion of othes.

23. This the ancient *Romans* so wel considered that their magistrats, and *Senat* were most exact, and punctual in the obseruation of oathes, and promisses euen to their very enemies, for the regard they had not only to iustice, and to their owne reputation, but also to the consequence of their good example in the

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commonwealth; to which purpose I alledged before vpon another occasion the example of the woorthy consul *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, who being taken prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, and dismissed vpon his oath (promising either to procure the deliuey of certaine prisoners, or to returne him selfe to *Carthage*) was sent back by the Senat with his owne consent, because the Senat did neither think it conuenient to deliuer the prisoners, nor to recouer and retaine their consul contrary to his oath. And the like I haue also noted before in the same place of *T. Venturius*, and *Spurius Postumius* consuls, and of *T. Mutius* and *Q. Emilius* tribunes of the people, who were deliuered prisoners to the *Sannites*, because the Senat would not ratify the peace which the said consul and Tribunes had made with them; To whome I may ad *L. Minicius*, *C. Manlius*, *Q. Fabius* and *C. Apronius* men of greate dignity, deliuered also by order of the Senat to the embassadours of *Carthage*, and of the city of *Appollonia*, for some abuses which they committed against the said embassadours contrary to the law of nations.

24. The like notable examples of particuler men amongst the painims may also be alledged, wherof I wil relate only one or two for breuities sake. *Sextus Pompeius*, sonne to *Pompey* the great, hauing warres with *Antonius* the *Triumuir*, and meeting with him at the sea side vpon a treaty of peace, inuired him to supper in his galley, geuing him his oath for his assurance, and being demanded secretly by *Metrodorus* the Pirat whiles they were at table, whether he would haue him wave anker, and sette saile, and so make him selfe lord of the world, he answered, that it was not his custome or condition to fortwere him selfe, esteeming it neither honorable, nor profitable for him, to gaine the empire of the world by periury.

25. No lesse care of fidelity had *Licurgus* brother to *Polidectes* King of *Lacedemonia*; for, hauing taken vpon him the government of the kingdome after his brothers death, at the instance of the people vntill his brothers wife, who was greate with child, should be brought to bed, and the child of yeres to gouerne, and being sollicitied by her, to marry with her, vpon her promise to kil the child in her wombe, therby to assure his state, he not only refused it, but also proclaymed her sonne King, as soone as

X x

he was

Chap. 1. nu. 1.
Cicero. li. 3. de
offic.

Chap. 1. nu. 4.
Cicero. li. 3. de
offic.

Valer. li. 6. ca. 6.

Sextus Pompeius
would not breake
his oath to be
emperour of the
world.

Plutar. in Anton.

The care which
Licurgus had of
fidelity.

Plutar. in Licur.

an. r.

he was borne taking only the tuition of him vntill he came to age, as I haue declared more at large in the 8. chapter.

Ferdinand brother
to Henry K.
of Castile.

Luc Marin. Sicu-
lus de reb. Hisp.
li. 11.

26. I neede not to adde here to any exampls of Christian princes whose religion both teacheth and bindeth them to be more exact and precise then paynims in like cases; Neuertheless, I cannot forbear to speake of a notable act in this kind of the most Christian and vertuous prince *Ferdinand* brother to *Henry* the 3. of that name King of *Castile*, which *Ferdinand* being le t by his brothers testament tutor to his sonne King *Iohn* the 2. (an infant of 8. months old) and being vrged greatly by the three *Princes* of *Castile* to take the crowne to him selte, wold by no means consent therto, saying that he wold neuer be false, either to his brother dead, or to his nephew liuing, to whom he had promised fidelity; for the which God rewarded him, as it seemeth with in six yeres after with the kingdome of *Aragon*, whereto he was chosen by the free election of the nobility, and comons of the realme. Lo then how greate respect not only this Christian Prince, but also the paynims before named, had to sincerity and fidelity, as wel for the causes before mentioned, as also for the very detestation, and hatred of perfidioulnes, being a vice of it selfe most odious, and vnwoorthy of princely dignity.

Perfidiousnes is
a signe of a base
and vile nature

Plot. in Alexander.

Once false, euer
suspected.

27. For where as al other vices and sinnes for the most part, are or may be attributed either to frailty, or error (wherby they seeme many times more woorthy of pardon) perfidioulnes is euer presumed to proceede from a trecherous, maligne, vile, and base nature. and therefore not excusable in princes, whose proceedings ought to be in al things real, generous, noble and heroycal; in which respect one false, and trecherous act may suffice to eclipse, and obscure the glory of many greate vertues in a prince, as *Plutark* noeth in *Alexander* the greite, who causing certaine Indian souldiars to be killed after they had rendered them selues vnto him vpon his woord, spotted and stayned (saith he) the renoune of al his glorious conquests and royal verres with the ignominy of that one act; and the reason is, for that so delicat is mans credit, and reputation in matter of trust, and confidence, that it is like to a glasse, which being once broken is not reparable; and therefore he that is once knowne for a lyer, is not beleueed when he saith true, and he that is once repu-
ted to

ted to be false, is ever suspected, and according to the general rule of the law. *Semper presumitur malus in eodem genere mali.* Is ever presumed to be wicked in the same kind of wickedness; Whereupon it followeth that a faithles prince, is hated of his subiects, suspected of his best friends, irreconcilable with his enemies, beloved and trusted of none, and betrayed or forsaken of al men in his greatest necessities, and that woorthily; seeing he him self geueth the euil example which other men follow to his euertrowe.

li si cui ff de ac-
curat. Bart. in li.
Cassius de Sena,
The dangers
which accom-
pany perisous-
nes in a prince.

28. But here the polittike, or Macchiauillian wil say, that a wise prince hath sufficient remedies against thete inconueniencies, to wit, strong gards, garrisons, and fortresses b sids his owne pollicy, assisted with the prudence of faithful and vigilant counsellors, whereby he may securely make his commodity in al occasions, without feare of any dammage that may ensue therof to his person, or estate. Thus saith the Macchiauillian most absurdly, as it wil appeare if we consider whence groweth the danger that the prince incurreth by perfidious and deceitful dealing, which being most hateful not only to man, but also to God, doth draw vpon him both diuine, and humane punishment, against the which neither these, nor any other Macchiauillian remedies can warrant him.

The insuffici-
ency of Macchia-
uillian remedies.

Falschood hate-
ful to Gods, and
man.

29. And first to speake of the offence of God and deuine punishment ensueing therof. We fynd in holly Scriptures, that nothing is more detestable to almighty God then a deceitful, or dooble dealing man and therefore the Holly Ghost saith in the parables. *Os bilingue detestor; I doe detest a dooble tongued mouth.* And againe in the same place. *Abominatio Domini est omnis illusor. Every deceiuer is abominable before God.* And the royal Prophet coupling the deceiuer with the blood-sucker, saith of them both. *Vtrum sanguinum & dolosum abominatur dominus: God doth abhorre the bloody, and deceitful man;* And speaking of the guylful tongue of Doeg he thretneeth the vengeance of God to him, and al such; saying. *Lingua dolosa; propterea &c. A deceitful tongue; God will therefore destroy thee eternally he will pul thee vp, and remoue thee from thy tabernacle, and roote thee out of the land of the liuing.* Loe then how odious al fraudulent, and dooble dealing is to almighty God, who being, *Ipsa Veritas, trush it selfe,* exacteth nothing more of man created to his

Prouerb. 8.
Ibid. ca. 3.

Psal. 51.

Psal 11.
God exacteth
nothing more
of man then
truth.

A prince is the
Image of God in
two respects.

nu. 18.

Great prudence
to be vsed of
princes in playn
nes.

Great difference
to be noted be-
twixt telling a
lie and concea-
ling the truth.
The difference
betwixt fiction
and discrete dis-
simulation.
Discrete dissi-
mulation com-
mendable in
princes.

Proverbia ca. 17.
A lie most vn-
seemly in the
mouth of a
prince.

Ibid. ca. 30.
Ibid. ca. 10.
Aug. cont. Cref.
con li. 3. ca. 9.
A lyer the child
of the deuil.
19. nu. 8.

image, then verity and truth. and much more of a prince then of any priuat person, for that the prince is his image, not only by reason of the natural gifts of his soule (as al other men are) but also in respect of his office, whereby he representeth his person, as his lieutenant. in the administrati-on of Iustice, wherof fidelity and truth is the foundation, as I haue declared before.

30. Wherein neuertheles it is to be vnderstood that although al real, plaine and true dealing be most requisite in a prince, yet he is to vse great discretion, and prudence therein, for that infinite occasions occurre, wherein princes ought to conceale and couer their intentions, with more care and circumspection then al other men, especially in matters to be executed: wherefore great difference is to be noted betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the truth, which the latins doe signify in two proper woords, to wit *simulatio*, and *dissimulatio*, wherof the fyrst (which we may tearme simulation, or fiction) is euer vnlawful, & therefore neuer to be vsed, and the later, (which we maye calle discrete dissimulation) is both lawful and commendable, yea and some tymes so necessary in princes, that it may wel and truly be sayd; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.* He which knoweth not how to dissemble, that is to saye discretely to couer and cloke his intentions when occasion requyren, knoweth not how to raygne. The which how and in what cases it may be donne and practised without offence, I wil declare particularly and amply in the second part of this treatise, where I meane to resolue many doubtful cases of state, according to the rule of conscience, for the instruction of yong statists; and in the meane tyme I saye here with *Salomon* (who was him selfe a most wyse & potent prince) that; *Non decet principem labium mentiens.* A lying lippe or mouth doth not beseme a prince; In which respect he also prayeth to almighty God; *Verba mendacia longe fac a me;* O lord preserve and keepe me farr from lying woords; And agayne in an other parable he sayth. *Qui nititur mendacijs pascit venus;* He which trusts to his feeds the vyndes; that is to saye, as *S. Augustin* expoundeth it, *sic elca spiritus malis;* he becomes the meate, or pray of wicked spirits or of the deuil, whole, imitator, or rather whose child he maketh him selfe. For as our Saviour saith the deuil is; *Mendax & pater eius;* A liar and the father of lies, and is therefore called *Diabolus* which signifieth a deceiuer.

31. What

Macchiauels
prince perfidious
and periured.

31. What then that we saye of such a prince as Macchiauel frameth, to wit a most trecherous, perfidious, and periured person; can he deserue to be called the Image, lieutenant, or minister of God, whose similitud, and likenes, he defaceth in him selfe, whose commission he abuseth, and whose holly name he shamefully profaneth? what els can he expect at the hands of God, but seuerer punishment, not only in the world to come, but also in this life if he repent not? This may appeare by manifest examples wherof I wil alledge some out of approued autors, both ancient, and moderne, to thew the impious absurdity of Macchiauels doctrine, allowing perfidiousnes and periury in a prince, as necessary sometimes for the benefit of his state.

32. And first to speake of our holly Scriptures, we read in Genesis, that *Simon*, and *Leui* the children of *Jacob*, were cursed by their father at his death, for that they had violated their league made with *Sichem*, and *Hemor*, whome they destroyed with al their city, contrary to their promise, and couenant. *Maledictus* (saith *Jacob*) *juror eorum quia pertinax &c. Cursed be their fury because it was obstinate; and prophesying furdur of the temporal punishment, which God would inflict vpon their posterity for the same, he added. Diuidentes in Jacob, & dispergam in Israel; I wil deuide them in Jacob, and disperse them amongst the children of Israel.* Which was fulfilled afterwards, as *S. Hierome* witnesseth, for that their tribes had not their habitation apart as the others had, for the tribe of *Leui* was distributed in diuers cities amongst the other tribes, to be their *Leuites*, and priests, and the tribe of *Simon*, had their dwelling with the tribe of *Juda*, and as the Hebrewes affirme, serued for scholemasters in al the other tribes, and got their liuing by teaching children.

Genes. 49.

ibidem. 14.
*Simon and
Leui cursed by
their father Ia-
cob, for viola-
ting their league
with Sichem,
and Hemor.*

Hieron. in tradi-
tion. hebraicis in
Genesis.

Peterius in Ge-
nes. ca. 49.

33. In like manner the punishment of God was notable vpon King *Sauls* posterity, for his breach of league which *Iosue* made with the *Gabaonites*; where in it is to be noted, that although the *Gabaonites* craftily circumuented *Iosue*, & induced him by fraude and deceit to make legue with them, putting on their old shoes, and torne clothes, and affirming that they were a people dwelling in a farre cuntry, and that being moued with the same of his victories, they were come so many daies iourney to meete him that they had worne out their shoes and clothes in their

2. Reg. ca. 21.
*Iosue 9
Sauls posterity
punished for his
breach of lea-
guish the Gaba-
onites.*

X x 3

voiage (

The greater regard which Iosue had v his oth and league with the Gabaonites. Ibid.

The obligation of lawfull leagues.

2. Reg. 21.

2. Mach. ca. 4. Ananionus punished for his treachery towards Onias.

How the paynims obserued Gods iudgements vpon perfidious persons. Politian li. 2.

Plutar in Apoph. Lacedem. Gods notable iudgement vpon Cleomenes for his periury.

voiage (whereas they dwelt not farre of, and in the very land of promise which God had geuen to the children of Israel) neuertheles when Iosue discovered their deceit, he had such regard to his oath that he wold by no meanes violate it, but answered to the children of Israel when they murmured against him; *Iurauimus eis* (saith he) *Vt euiue* (syorne vnto them in the name of the lord God of Israel, and therefore we may not touch them lest the vrrath of God faule vpon vs if we breake our oath. Thus saith Iosue whereby we may learne how greate is the obligation of al iust, and lawfull leagues, or other couenants passed by oath; and how dangerous is the breach therof, in respect of Gods iust and teuer iudgements vpon the offenders in that behalfe, whereof the experience was teene aboue 300. yeres after Iosue, time in the breach of that league by Saule, for the which the children of Israel were afflicted with three yeres famin in Dauids time, and 7. of Saules children. and family were deliuered into the hands of the Gabaonites, and cru.ified by them in punishment of Saules offence.

34. Furdermore we read in the booke of Machabees that Antiochus, a fauorit of King Antiochus, was by the iust iudgement of God, and the commandment of Antiochus him selfe, shamefully put to death in the same place, where he had kill'd Onias the heigh priest, who had rendred him selfe vnto him, vpon his promise of security. Also the examples hereof are very notable amongst the *Ethnicks* who obseru. d dilligently the Iudgements of God vpon traitrous and perfidious persons; And therefore when Tissaphernes the Persian made warre against the Grecions, and broke a truce which he had made with them for 3. months. *Agesilaus* reioysed greatly saying, *Vt e beholding to Tissaphernes for making the Gods his enemies, and our frends; wherefore lette vs boldly geue him battaile*, And so he did, and gaue him a great ouerthrow.

35. Plutarck also recounteth a notable history of Cleomenes king of Lacedemonia, who hauing made truse with the Argiens for 7. daies. set vpon their campe in the night, and taking them vnprouided by reason of the truse, made greate slaughter of them, and being reproched with the breach of his promise, & oath, he iested at it, saying that he swore truce for the daies, and not for the nights; but so it fel out, saith Plutarck, in punishment of his falshood and periury, that it serued him to no purpose; for whereas

whereas he assailed the city presently, hoping to take it with al facility, he had a shameful repulse by the women which dwelt therein, and after falling furiously madde, he tooke a knife and ripped vp his owne body from his very heele to his hart, and so died laughing.

36. The same author also signifieth, that one *Calippus* being iustly charged with a conspiracy against *Dion* of *Sicily*, and hauing denied it with many solemne oathes in the Temple of *Ceres*, was by Gods iust iudgement slaine with the same dagger wherewith *Dion* was killed before by his consent. I omit diuers other examples, which might be all adged out of prophane historiographers, to adde a few out of Christian, and more moderne authors.

Plutarc. in *Dione*
Calippus punis-
hed by almighty
God for periury.

37. The seuerer iudgements of God vpon men for the sinne of periury, haue bene alwaile so euident amongst Christians, that the custome was in the primitiue church to decide matters in controuersy by oathes at certaine holly places, and the tombes of martires, where almighty God did ordinarily extend his iustice vpon periured persons; which custome as *s. Augustin* witnesseth, was in vye in his time at *Millan*, wherof he saith; *Nos nouimus Mediolani* &c. *In y selfe haue knowne, that in . iij . n at the memory of Saints* (where duels doe miraculously and terribly confesse the truth) a certaine theefe who went thither with intention to deceiue by periury, was compelled to confesse his theft, and to restore that which he had stolne. Thus saith *s. Augustin*, signifying with al that he had sent a priest of his called *Bonifacius*, and another who had accused him of certaine crimes, to the body of *s. Felix* at *Nola* in *Italy* (where he saith greate miracles were then wrought) to the end that the bad conscience of one of them, might be discouered there, either by feare, or by deuine punishment; And furder debating in the same place, why God, who is euery where, and to be adored in spirit and truth doth shew his power and iudgements miraculously in some places, and not in some other, he concludeth, that it is to be left to the inscrutable iudgements of God; For, saith he, as he geueth his graces, and gifts diuersly vnto his seruants. to one the grace to heale and cure disleases, and to another to discern spirits, and not al gifts to al alike: so also he wil not that these kind of miracles be donne in al places alike.

Matters in con-
trouersy decyded
by oathes at the
tombes of mar-
tyres in the pri-
mitiue church.
Aug. ep. 137.

What Saint
Augustin affir-
meth of his
owne know-
ledg and pra-
ctise.
Idem.
Ibid.

Idem.
Ibid.

Thus

3

Thus saith s. *Augustin* in substance.

Grego. Homil.
32. in Euangel.

Periury miracu-
lously punished
at Rome in the
time of s. Gre-
gory.

Greg. Turon. de
glossa Matt. ca.
39.

Idem. Ibid. ca.
103.

A notable ex-
ample of a no-
ble man of En-
gland miracu-
lously punished
for periury.

Guliel. Malmesb.
de gest. Reg. An-
gl. li. 2. ca. 6.

The letters patēt's
of King *Adelstan*
testifying
the history aboue
menconed.

38. But to proceede. s. *Gregory* testifieth, that the same cus-
tome of trial of truth by oathes in holly places, was also vsed in
his time, namely in Rome at the bodies of s. *Processus*, and s. *Martinianus*, whereof he saith. *Periuri veniunt, & a demonibus vexantur, demoniaci veniunt & liberantur. Perjured persons come thither, and are vexed with liuels, and such as are possesst with deuils are deliuered. And the like is also witnesst by Gregory of Tours of the body of s. Pancratius in Rome, whome he therfore calleth. Valde in periurijs vltorem; A notable punisher of periury; And saith that assoone as the party, who came thither for his purgation, did forswere him selfe, he was either presently possesst by the deuil, or els fel doune dead vpon the ground; And he affirmeth the like of the body of s. Poluentus in Constantinople.*

39. But of this matter we haue a most famous, and autentical example in our owne histories. *Elfred* a noble man of England in the time of King *Adelstan*, conspired against him with certaine others, and being accused therof, stood vpon the denial, and because the prooues were not sufficient to conuince him, he was sent to Rome (as the custome was then) to make his purgation by oath at the body of s. *Peter*, where he swore contrary to his owne conscience, and presently fel doune before the Altar, and died with in three daies after; Vpon the aduertisement whereof king *Adelstan* (to shew his gratitude and deuotion towards s. *Peter*) gaue al the lands of *Elfred* vnto the church of s. *Peter* in the Abbey of *Malmesbury* with letters patēt's, wherein after the grant of the said lands, he declared the whole matter as it passed in these woords.

40. *Scient sapientes &c.* Be it knowne to al wise men of this our cuntry, that we haue not taken vniustly the foresaid lands, neither haue geuen to God an vnlawful spoile, but that we haue had them by the iudgement as wel of al the nobility of England, as also of Iohn the Apostolical Pope of the Roman church by the death of *Elfred*, who was the enemy of our life, and felicity, and consented to the wickednes of oth r our enemies. which conspired to put out our eyes at the toun of winchester, after our fathers death; from the which God of his greate mercy deliuered vs; where vpon their conspiracy being discouered, and

Elfred

Alfred sent to the Roman church to purge him selfe before the Apostolical bishop, he tooke his oath at the Altar of S. Peter, and presently fel doune to the ground, and was caried away by his seruants to the * (schoole of the englishmen, where he died the third night after, and then the Apostolical Bishop sent vnto vs, to know what we wold haue to be donne with the body, and whether it should be buried in christian mans burial, which at the earnest, and humble sute of his kinsfolkes, and other of our nobility, we were content to graunt, and so we signified vnto the Pope, by whose consent he was buried amongst other Christians (though vnworthy therof) and so al his possessions litle and greate were adiudged to vs, which we haue thought good to signify by these letters to the end that so long as Christianity shal raigne, it may be knowne how we gotte the foresaid possessions, which we haue now geuen to God & S. Peter, it seeming to vs most iust, to geue the same to them who ouerthrew our enemy in the sight of al men and gaue vs the prosperous raigne and kingdome which we enioye. Thus farre the letters Patents of King *Adelstan*, which *William* of *Malmesbury* who liued in *William* the conquerours time, citeth out of the original that then was extant in the Abbey, where he wrote the history.

*This schoole of the English was not where the English hospital is now (as Polidore vergil erroneously conceiveth) but where the hospital of S. Spirito is now to S. Peters.

Guliel. Mal. l. idid.

Regino. Chron. Aymoy. li. f. ca. 21. Sigon. de reg. Ital. an. 869. Nauclet. Chron. an. 867. Baron. an. 862.

41. Also some yeres after in the same age *Lotharius* King of *Austrasia* (which contained al *Lorraine*, and *Flanders* and some part of *Germany* *Burgundy* and *France*) came to *Rome* accompanied with al his nobility in the time of *Adrian* the second to be absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred in the time of Pope *Nicolas* the first, for his deuorce from his lawful wife *Themperga* and his mariage with *Waldrada* his concubine; and whereas he had bene also furdre accused to the sea Apostolik of diuers crimes concerning the same matter he was content for his purgation therof, to receiue the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Pope *Adrian* together with his nobility; which he did, protesting for his part, that he was cleare of those things whereof he had bene accused, which also his nobility confirmed, though it was most false; as afterwards it euidently appeared by the exemplar punishment of God vpon them al; For whereas they departed shortly after from *Rome* homewards, there fel amongst them such a strange disese, that *Lotharius* ha-

Y y

uing

uing scene the death of most of his noble men before he came to *Luca*, fel sicke there him selfe, and with in a few daies after, died at *Placencia*, and of al those who receiued the blessed Sacrament with him, there liued not any one to the yeres end, as testifieth *Regino*, *Aymoinus*, *Sigonius*, *Naclerus* and diuers others.

Vbi supra.

Henry Hunrend.
hist. li. 6

Ingalphus hist.

Angli. an. 1133.

Polidor hist.

Angli.

Periury notably
punished in

Earle Godwin
father to K. Har-
old.

King Harold
slayne by Will-
liam the conque-
rouer in punish-
ment of his peri-
ury.

42. And now to returne to our owne cuntry. Earle Godwin father to King *Harold* hauing procured the vntimely death of *Afred* brother to King *Edward* the Confessor, denied it continually with sollemne oathes, and especially once, when he dined with the king, at what time occasion being offred to speake of that matter, he tooke a piece of bread and praied to God that the same might be his last, if he were any way consenting, or priuy therto, and so eating the bread was choked therewith, and died there in the Kings presence.

43. It is also obserued and testified by the most of the old historiographers of our cuntry, that the ouerthrow of *K. Harold* by *William* the conquerour, was a iust punishment of God vpon him for his periury; The story is breely thus. *Harold* being in *Normand*, with duke *William* in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor promised to assist him after the death of the king in his pretence to the crowne of *England*, which he also confirmed by sollemne oath, whereupon Duke *William* fianced his daughter vnto him, and for that she was not then of yeres to be married, he tooke *Harold*s oath to performe the mariage with in a ceraine time after. But when the time appointed for the mariage was expired, and *Harold* shewed no care to performe any part of his promises, the Duke sent messengers vnto him to request of him the accomplishment therof, but he in steede of geuing satisfaction to the Duke, derided and abused his messengers, causing some of their horse tiales to be cutte of, and others to be lamed, and afterwards when King *Edward* died, he practised not only to exclude the Duke from the crowne, but also procured it for him selfe, pretending that his promise to the Duke was made for feare, and that therefore it could not bynd him. And when the duke was entred into *England* with his army, and solicited him by messengers to haue care of his conscience, representing vnto him the seuerer iudgements of God vpon periured persons, offering to come to some reasonabe composition with

with him, he made no account therof, neither yet of the admonition of his owne brother called *Gurth*, who aduised him seriously before the battaile to retire him selfe, and to leaue the conduct of the army vnto him, and others who were not bound to the duke by any oath or promise, lest other waite God might suffer them al to be ouerthrowne for his cause; whereto he answered, that he wold put it in venter and that God should be Iudge therof, & so geuing battaile was slaine him selfe, & al his army ouerthrowne, whereupon also followed the conquest of the cuntry. And although the said conquest might seeme to be a punishment of God vpon the whole realme for the sinnes of the people (as I haue amply declared before) yet the particuler disgrace which happened to King *Harrolds* person may wel be thought to haue proceeded of Gods iust iudgement for his periury, and so the English croniclers which wroote in that age, or neare that time doe signify, as *Ingulphus*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntindon*, *Mathevv of yvestminster*, *Mathevv Paris* and *Roger Houndon*, which last speaking of that victory, saith; *Vere & absque dubio Dei iudicio ascribenda est, qui puniendo scelus periurij, ostendit se Deum nolentem iniquitatem; Truly and without doubt it is to be ascribed to the iudgement of God, who punishing the crime of periury, shewed that he is a God which doth not allowv of iniquity.*

Chap. 21. nu. 21.
22. & 23.

Ingu'phus hist.
A. gi. Hen. Hunt.
Hist li. 6.
Guliel. Malmesb.
li. 3. Roger.
Honed. Annal.
par. 1.

Philip. de Comines.
Chron. du
Roy Louis ca. 83.
& 91.
Charles Duke of
Burgundy wor-
thily betrayed.

Cesar Borgia
punished for his
perjurious trea-
chery.

Guicciardin li. 8.

44. But to come nearer to our time *Philip de Comines* noteth the manifest Iustice of God in the disgraceful death of *Charles* last duke of *Burgundy*, through the treason of *Campobachio* an *Italian*, shortly after that the said *Charles* had betrayed the count *S. Paule* sent him prisoner to *Levis* the 11. King of France, not with standing that he had geuen him saufe conduct to come into his country.

45. Furdermore I cannot omit *Cesar Borgia* though I haue spoken of him before diuers times. For as *Macchiauel* worthely maketh him a mirrour for his tyran in respect of his manyfold vices, so he may worthily be proposed for an example of Gods iustice, in respect of the manyfold Iudgements of God diuersly extended vpon him, and particularly in the punishment of his perfidiousnes and periury, where by he had deceived and ruined diuers principal personages, as *Liuerozzo*, *Vittellozzo*, *Pagolo*, *Vrsino*, and the duke of *Gravina*, whome he caused to bee stran-

*Liueroito ha-
ving trayterous-
ly murdered his
uncle, was also
trayterously
murdered him
selfe.*

*Idem.
Ibid.*

Chap. 3. nu. 4.

*Surius anno. 1577.
An other exam-
ple of Christiern
King of Den-
mark.*

*Olaus Mag. li. 8.
ca. 39.*

gled after they hadtendred them selues vnto him vpon com-
position, and emploied them selues faithtully in his ser-
uice; wherein Gods iustice may be noted by the waye in *Liueroito*
who a little before, had cruelly and trayterously murdred his
owne vnle, and diuers other principal cittizens of *Fermo*, ha-
uing inuited them to a banquet in his owne house, which perfidi-
ous trechery of his, God punished as it seemed, by the trechery,
& perfidioulnes of *Cesar Borgia*, who also receiued the like mea-
sure him selfe of others, with in a whyle after; For whereas he
had taken the oaths of 40. principal personnages to assist him
after his fathers death, he was forsaken of them al, and after-
wards putting him selfe in to the hands of *Hernando Gonzales*
Gouernour of Naples, vpon his fause conduit he was also be-
trayed by him, and sent prisonner into Spaine, as I haue signi-
fied els where.

46. The like Iustice of God may be noted also in *Christiern K.*
of *Denmark*, and *Norvvay*, who married a sister of the Emperour
Charles the 5. in the time of *Henry the 8.* king of *England*. This
Christiern besieging *Stoekholme* in *Suecia* tooke it by composition,
binding him selfe to certayne conditions, not only by oath, but
also by receiuing the blessed Sacrament, which conditions he
observed for some dayes, til he had the Castle, & al the strongest
places of the towne in his owne hands, & that he had furnished
them with men, & munition, & then inuiting al the noble men,
and magistrats to a banquet, to the number of 94. he imprisoned
them, and after killed them, with a greate number of the citi-
zens, & synding that very many escaped by hidinge them selues,
he promised by proclamation, life and liberty to al those which
were left aliue, where vpon they al shewed them selues, and
were al of them miserably slayne. And with in a while after he
was driuen out of his kingdome by his owne subiects, and when
he had wandred from cuntry, to cuntry, in al pouerty and mi-
sery, for the space of 10. yeres, he was receiued againe by some
of the cheefest of his nobility, who though they promised him
obedience and assistance vnder their hands and seales, neuerthe-
les they tooke him prisonner vpon his entrance. and with in a
while poysoned him in prison; and to his perfidious falshood
was iustly repayed with the like; after whose deposition, and
death

death his vncke *Frederick* a worthy prince, was chosen King of *Denmarke*, of whome our most gracious, and renoumed *Queene* is lineally descended.

47. About the same tyme also the Duke of *Burbon* being fled from *Francis* the first King of *France*, to the seruice of the Emperour *Charles* the 5. and made by him gouernour of *Millan*, so exasperated the people by his exactions and cruelty that they rose against him, in so much that to pacify them he bound him selfe by oath to certayne conditions, praying withal to almighty God, that in case he did not exactly performe them, he might be killed with a bullet in the first occasion of warre which should be offered; Neuerthelesse he fel afterwards againe to his former course, without regard of his oath, and being with in a while after made general of an army of the Emperours in Italy, he was tumultuously carried by the souldiars against his wil to the siege of *Rome*, where he was presently slayne with a peece of Artillery of his owne, negligently discharged by his souldiars, and so he payed the penalty of his periury, according to the Iudgement and sentence which he had (as it were prophetically) geuen against him selfe. To conclude; to these may be added *Henry* the 3. last King of *France* on whome almighty God extended his iustice in this kind most notoriously a few yeres past, as I haue particularly declared in this chapter vpon an other occasion, and therefore shal not neede to repeat it here.

Martin du Belley
anno 1527.

The Duke of Burbon
slaine at the
siege of *Rome* in
punishment of
his periury.

Paulus Ionius de
expug. vrbis
Romæ.

The notable Iudgement of God
vpon *Henry* the
3. K. of *France*.
Supra nu. 9.

3. Things to be
considered and
noted of Mac-
chiauillian: in
the premises.

The insufficiency
and vanity of
Macchiauillian
pollicie: for the
defence of a
ruined prince.

48. Now then; I wish al *Macchiauillians* to consider here three things, which are euident by these examples: The first; how detestable al perfidioufnes and periury is in the sight of God; The second; how dangerous it is to princes in respect of Gods wrath, which may be like to falle vpon them and their states for the same through the seuerity of Gods iustice, against the which no humane wit, or power is able to defend them; The third is, a necessary consequent of these two, to wit, that al *Macchiauillian* remedies (consisting as is before said partly in humane prudence, and dilligence, and partly in force, and strength of gards, garisons, fortresses, and such like) are most friuolous and vaine when God is offended, and wil punish for sinne; where vpon it followeth also that the foresaid remedies are in like manner insufficient to protect a perfidious prince

Y y 3

from

Chap. 7. nu. 7.

from the danger of humane punishment, which is commonly but a sequele and effect of the iust iudgments of God, in whose hand are the hartes and wills of al men, and who vserveth the same as his instruments to execute his iustice vpon princes when they deferue it, as I haue signified before, and meane to declare more amply here after in the 35. chapter.

49. Besids that it is euident inough in true reason of state, that although there were no danger at al of Gods wrath, yet these and such other Macchiauillian policies, are not only insufficient to preuent or remedy the inconueniencies which wicked princes incurre by the hatred of men, but also doe many times encrease their dangers, and helpe to præcipitat them to their vtter destruction, wherof I forbear to treat more particularly here, partly because it wold require a longer discourse then for this place is conuenient, & partly because I shal haue sufficient occasion, to speake therfore amply in the 34. chapter, where I wil examine certaine principles of Macchiauels doctrin, and shew the vanity thereof for the better instructiō of a yong Statist. And in the meane time this shal suffice for as much as cōcerneth the vertue of fidelity in the prince; with this cōclusion, that because the danger which groweth to princes by fraud and deceit, proceedeth principally from the iust Iudgements of God, as I haue amply declared, therefore the yong Statist and counsellour whome I informe, ought to vnderstand concerning this, as wel as al other vertues, that the reputation therof which he is to desire and procure in his prince, is to be grounded, not vpon vaine shewes, and apparances of counterfet vertue (which God of his Iustice wil discouer, and punish sooner or later) but vpon the solid foundation of sincerity, and truth, which is the surest piller, and stay of al humane actions, and most grateful both to God and man; and therefore the wise man saith. *Qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidentur. He which walkes simply, and plainly, walketh boldly and surely; Et qui deprauat vias suas manifestus erit; And he which runneth an vndirect course shal be made manifest.*

50. It resteth now that I saye somewhat though very briefly, of the reputation of a princes power and greatnes, the losse and decay wherof emboldneth his enemies, discourageth his friends, and laieth open his person to the contempt of al men, and his

*A reputation
of vertue ought
to be grounded
vpon sincerity
and truth.*

Proverb. ca. 10.

Ibidem.

*The reputation
of the princes
power and
greatnes.*

any his state to infinit dangers. For as the reputation of a princes greatnes, welth, and power, striketh a terrour and feare into the hartes as wel of his subiects, as of strangers, and with holdeth them from conspiring against him: so also the opinion of his weaknes, worketh the contrary effect, and is the very mother, and nurse of rebellions, conspiracies, and al hostile attempts, and no man knoweth how finite an attempt may ouerthrow the greatest state in the world. Seeing it dependeth only vpon the successe, which no man can warrant, & many times is such that it deceiueth al mens expectation; and therfore the surest and wisest way is, to vse al preuentions, that nothing be attempted against the state.

*Opinion of the
princes weaknes
is the mother of
conspiracies.*

51. To which purpose the reputation of a princes power, force, and greatnes is greatly auaylable, the which *Augustus Caesar* knew so wel, that hauing lost an army in Germany of 40000. men, yet he continued the warre for no other necessity or reason as *Tacitus* noteth, then to maintayne the opinion and reputation of his power, lest otherwife he might growe to be contemned as the great *Xerxes* was; who hauing terrified al Greece with his huge army of a million of men, was vpon his ouerthrow and retourne into *Persia* so dyspyled, that he was killed by one of his owne subiects. So dangerous it is and dammageable to a prince, to loose reputation how great foeuer he be. Wherupon I conclude that it importeth a wise counsellour to measure and waigh al the commodity and benefit of his prince, as wel with his reputation, as with his conscience; though not in like degree.

*Augustus Caesar
laboured greatly
to conserue the
reputation of his
greatnes.*

*Tacit. li. i. annal.
Iustin. li. 3.*

*The great Xerxes
ruyned by the
losse of reputa-
tion.*

*Al benefit of
the prince to be
rayed with
his reputation
and conscience,
but not in like
degree.*

52. For although reputation be the cheefe external good of man (as I haue signified before) yet it is inferiour to the internal (that is to say to the goods of the minde, wherof a pure conscience is the principal, seeing therein consisteth the cheefe felicity of man in this life as *s. Ambrose* saith; Besides that, the benefit which redoundeth to princes of purity of conscience is the fauor and protection of almighty God to them and their states, here in this world, and eternal reward and saluation of their soules in the next; and the dammage that ensueth of a corrupt and sinful conscience, is Gods indignation in this life) wherby the greatest monarches and their monarchies haue perished) and

*Reputation,
though it be the
cheefe external
good, is inferiour
to conscience &
why.*

*Ambrose li. i. de
offic. c. 12.*

*The benefits that
redound to the
prince of the pu-
rity of conscience.*

cuer-

The damage
that cometh to
the prince of a
bad conscience.
How farre the
gaine or losse of
reputation may
hurte or auail.
Rom. 3.

The losse of repu-
tation is chastly
to be feared
when conscience
is stayned.

The losse of repu-
tation is no-
thing so dange-
rous, when con-
science is cleare.

1. Cor. c. 1.
The comfort of a
good conscience
against calum-
niations.
A good desyn-
ment is not to be

euerlasting dānation in the world to come; Whereas on the other side, al the benefit or dāmage, that the gaine or losse of reputatiō can yeild (being considered in it selfe) extendeth no furdre then to the fauor or disfaueur of men, who can neither vphold whome God ouerthroweth, nor ouerthrow whome God protecteth; For as the Apostle saith. *si Deus pro nobis &c.* If God be with vs, vyhat matter makes it who is against vs.

33. Whereupon it followeth that whether we regard, the dignity and benefit of conscience & reputation, or els the dammage that ensueth of the blemish of either of them; the respect of conscience is far to be preferred before the other, and that the losse of reputation is then principally to be feared, when conscience is also staine'd; For then the prince lying open to the contempt and hatred as wel of God as man, hath no defence but may wel feare and expect punishment from both, and the rather for that the losse and want of reputation, is one special meanes wherby God vseth to execute his iust iudgment on wicked princes; it being most consonant to iustice and reason that those who contemne and disobay their soueraigne Lord, King, and Creator, should be ruined by the contempt hatred, and disobedience of their owne subiects; and this danger (I say) is iustly to be feared, when both reputation and conscience are staine'd.

34. But when conscience is pure and entiere, the losse of reputation is nothing so dangerous; For although the iustest and best men, are sometimes so calumniated, that they incurre infamy and disgrace through the practice of the wicked; yet for as much as the same hath no ground at al it vanisheth away like smoke, and is euer through Gods iustice, discovered and cleared in the end to their greater reputation and honour; and in the meane time they haue the comfort, not only of Gods protection, as I haue said, but also of their owne consciences; the good testimony wherof giueth in such cases inestimable consolation, and therfore the Apostle saith. *Gloria nostra hac est testimonium conscientiae nostrae.* The testimony of our conscience is our glory. In which respect wise and vertuous princes, though they haue euer due care of their reputation, yet doe not so much regard false rumours when, their conscience is cleare, as to forbear the execution

execution of any good and necessary designment for the feare therof, but follow the example of the wise and valiant consul *Fabius Maximus*; *Qui non ponebat rumores ante salutem: VVho preferred not rumours before the good of the commonwelth.* For although his delaies against *Hannibal* were through the malice of his enemies much calumniated and generally condemned, by the common people (as proceeding of cowardize) yet he was nothing moved therewith, holding it, as he said, for greater cowardize to leaue a good purpose for feare of mens tongues, then to leaue the field for feare of an enemy. In which respect he continued his course, vntil he had therby wasted and consumed the forces of *Hannibal*, with security to the Roman state, for the which, he was afterwards highly commended, because (as *Ennius* saith) *Cunctando restituit rem.* He repared and restored the state of the Romans by delaies.

lest of for feare
of false rumours

Plur. in Fabio.
Cicero. li. 1. Of
ficio.

Ennius apud Ci-
ceron. li. 1. de
officio.

55. Neuertheles in such cases also, al dilligence is to be vsed by princes and their counsellours, to take away the scandal that may grow of the erroneous conceit of their actions, though their consciences be neuer so cleare; wherupon *S. Augustin* saith, *That he vvhich trusting to his conscience neglecteth his fame or good name, is cruel;* And therof he yeeldeth this reason, *Because (saith he) he killeth the soules of others;* for although he doe not the euil that is supposed, yet the very supposition therof serueth for a stumbling block to ouerthrow such as are weake and il disposed; and therefore *S. Augustin* also saith, *That conscience and fame being two things, the one of them is necessary for vs, and the other for our neighbour, and that he, vvhich keepeth his conscience cleare, doth good to him selfe, but he vvhich preferueth his fame doth good to others.*

Good fame not
to be contemned
vvpon confidence
of a good conscie-
ence.

Aug. Ser. 49. c. 1.
& de bono vi-
duitatis c. 21.

The preseruatio
of a mans good
name is necessa-
ry for his neigh-
bour.

Aug. Ibid.

Plur. ep. ad Dio-
nysium. 2.

VVhy a man
should seek to
leaue behind
him an euila-
sing fame.

In vvhat case
an vnjust ble-
mish of reputa-
tion is to be toler-
ated.

56. For this cause also *Plato* requireth in euery good and vertuous man, that he haue special care to leaue behind him an eternal reputation and fame of his vertues, to the end, to stirre vp not only men of his time, but also al posterity to the imitation therof; the which is most necessary in publike persons, and especially in princes; for that their example inciteth to vertue or vice much more then the example of priuar men; and therefore not only reason of state, but also conscience bindeth them to be most careful of their reputation and good name, and not to permitte the least blemish therof (though it be neuer so vnjust, if

it may be conueniently remedied, but when it can not be helped without some greater detriment to them selues or to the commonwelth, then it is to be tolerated and borne with patience; for both reason and conscience require, that the publike and common good be preferred before any mans particular benefit, and that of two inconueniences the lesse be chosen, wherof also conscience is to be iudge.

57. Therefore I conclude that wheras commodity, conscience, and reputation, are to be respected in al deliberations concerning princes affairs, conscience ought euer to predominate, and to serue for the touchstone and rule, as wel of reputation as of al temporal commodities; and therein a counsellour shal wel discharge his duty, if in al his consultations he hold the knowne axiome of Cicero for his ground, to wit, that, *Nihil est vile quod non sit honestum*. Nothing is profitable which is not honest; Which point Cicero discourseth and teacheth notably in his offices, and I meane to proue at large in the second part of this treatise, where I shal haue occasion to treat of true vility. And thus much touching what a counsellor is to consider in his prince.

Conscience is the touchstone of al reputation and commodity
Cicero. de offic. li. 1.

A counsellour should hold for a ground that nothing is profitable that is not honest.

WHAT A COUNCELLOVR IS TO CONSIDER in the matters which are to be consulted.

CHAP. 32.

Concerning matters to be consulted.



ND now to come to the last point of my diuision that is to say, what a counsellour is to regard in the matter it selfe that is to be consulted; it is to be vnderstood, that although the affaires of state are infinit, and therefore can not be sufficiently reduced to particular rules; yet some things are generally to be considered in al matters what soeuer, wherof I wil here touch some such as occurre to me at this present.

2. First, for a necessary preamble, or preparatiue to al deliberations in matters of state, it is to be considered, that in respect of the

of the connexion which particuler affaires of state, either haue or may haue, with the general state of forreine princes, it is conuenient & necessary for a counsellour to haue bene a traouiller, or otherwise to procure by al meanes to haue an exact knowledge and vnderstanding, not only of his owne princes state and affaires, but also of the estates & affaires of other princes, especially of such as are his princes neighbours, enemies, or confederats.

Necessary for a counsellour to know the state of forreine princes.

3. To his end two things are requisite, that he be affable and courteous towards al men, and willing to heare them, and to conferre with them, especially strangers, for that he may learne by them many things, more then otherwise he can come to know, of the state of forrayne princes and countries. For as the Spaniſh prouerb saith; *Mas sabe el necio en su casa, que el cuerdo en la agena*; *A foole knoweth more in his owne house, then a wise man doth in another mans.* And although a counsellour may perhaps by this facility be many tymes troubled whith impertinent matters; yet he shal withal vnderstand many things, which may import him to know, and there is no man so wise, but he may sometymes heare of a simple man, somewhat that may serue him to very good purpose; and therfore the trouble in this case is to be borne with patience, in respect of the benefit that he may reape therby.

A counsellour should be affable & courteous to strangers and every.

4. The other thing necessary for a counsellours better information, is to procure frequent aduises, and intelligence by lettres from al partes, of the state, humours, and dispositions of forrayne princes; of al changes and innouations in their courts and countreyes; of the marriages and alliances of them, their children, and their most powerful subiects; of embassages to and fro, and their treatyes, of prouisions and preparations for warre, by sea and land, and their intentions therein; of al taxes and impositions laid vpon the people, or other leuies of money, of the diuisions that fall out amongst the nobility, or common people, of their discontentments; and synally of al matters that may tend, either to the establishment & strengthening, or to the weakning or innouation of other princes states. For although a counsellour shal by this meanes heare many vntruths: yet he shal very oft receiue aduise of important matters, wherof he may make good vse and benefit, and being a man of iudgment,

A counsellour ought to procure frequent intelligence out of forrayne countreyes and of what matters.

What benefit a counsellour shal

shape by frequent
intelligence.

and hauing intelligēce with many he may easily discerne truths from falshoods, by conferring their aduises together, especially if he take order that his intelligencers doe not know one of an others employment. Finally, he shal by this meanes, not only iudge better, and more clearly of al matters occurring for his princes seruice; but shal also make him selfe much more grateful to his prince, by his diligence, and more intrinsical with him by the occasion of his frequent aduises of forreyne newes, which princes are alwayes most desirous to heare: And thus much for the first point.

S. Tho. 2. 2. q. 57.
Arist. li. 6. Ethic.
3 hinges to be
especially respec-
ted in every
matter.

5. Secondly a counsellour is to consider that in al matters of counsel, three things are specially to be respected; (as *S. Thomas* noteth following *Aristotle*) the first a due end; the second conuenient meanes, and the third fit tyme and season; that is to say, that the end and meanes be not only lawfull, iust, and honorable in them selues, and in their owne natures; but also conuenient, and proportionable as wel one to another, as also to the person, state, and power of the prince: for if ther be any inconuenience, or disproportion in any of these, I meane if the meanes be not conuenient for the obtayning of the end, or if the end or meanes be impossible, or aboue the might and power of the prince, or base, or any way vnfit for his state and person, or if the counsel be guien out of due tyme and season, especially to late, it looseth al grace, and cannot be accompted either good or prudent.

Plato. in Phedro.
Necessary to
know the state
of the matter
with al the cir-
cumstances.
One litle circum-
stance mi norvne
may cause great
error in there-
solution.
Why wise men
doe not alwayes
iudge with like
prudenc.
What is parti-
cularly to be con-

6. To this purpose I say, that according to *Platoes* rule, he who is to giue his opinion of any matter what soeuer, ought first to vnderstand & know fully the state therof with al the circumstances. For mans iudgement is grounded vpon his knowledge and guided therby, and some one litle circumstance vnkowne, may wholly alter the case, and cause great error in the resolution, in so much that a simple man who knoweth more of a matter, may iudge more wisely therof then a far wiser man that knoweth lesse; And the reason why wise men doe not alwayes iudge with like wisdom and prudence in al causes, is commonly, because they doe not vnderstand them alike.

7. But to proceede; the state and circumstances of the matter being once fully knowne to the counsellour, he his then to passe to the consideration of the inconueniencies, difficultyes, dangers,

dangers, discommodities and commodities therof, which may minister different arguments, *pro et contra*, in the discussion and decision wherof the prudence of a counsellour is specially seene.

8. And here I note by the way (though perhaps, I may seeme somewhat to digresse from the matter) that some men which haue great viuacity and sharpnes of wit to find out inconueniencies, to foresee dangers, and to propound obiections, doubts, and difficultyes, haue not maturity of iudgement to cleare and decyde them, or to find out remedies; and that some other who are more mature and sound in iudgement, are lesse sharpe of wit: & againe that some who are of good capacity, haue so litle courage, that they are dismayed with euery difficulty, and therefore cannot easely resolue vpon any thing; whereas some others of lesse capacity, & more courage resolue far more easely and better in any occasion, so that we may say with the poet; *Non omnia possumus omnes*; *We cannot al doe al thinges*. And therefore Philip de Comines obserueth very wel, that it is conuenient for princes to haue many counsellours, to the end that one of them may supply the defects of another; *For the wisest (saith hee) erre oft tymes, either through passion, or through hate, or affection, or through the indisposition of their persons, especially after dinner, and if any (saith he) thinke that such ought not to be made counsellours, it may be answered that yve are al men, and that yvboeuer wil haue none to bee of a princes council, that erre at any time in speach or opinion, or are otherwhiles moued and led with passion, or affection, he must seeke them in heauen, for in earth none such are to be found*. Thus saith he, who was him selfe a graue and wise counsellour; which I note here by the way to the end that young counsellours may learne, neither to assure them selues ouermuch of their owne opinions, nor rashly to condemne others of their follow-counsellors, if they erre and be deceaued sometimes.

9. And to prosecute this digression yet a litle further, I also adde that it is necessary for a prince to haue his council composed like mans body, that is to say, of men of different complexions and humours, to the end that the cholericke heate and hasty seruor of some, may be tempered with the flegmatick coldnes and slow resolution of some other; and that the viuacity of some mens sanguine spirits, and eleuated wits, may be some what de-

The difference that may be noted in the ability of counsellours.

Phil. Com. Cron. du Roy. Louis. ca. 27.

VVhy it is conuenient for princes to haue many counsellours.

Al counsellours erre at one tym or other.

A princes council ought to be composed of men of different humours.

The melancholike iudgment most sound.

Aristot. problem.
Sect. 30. quest. 1.

pressed and counterpoysed with the maturity of some others melancholike iudgments (which *Aristotle* holdeth to be soundest in matters of state) wherby the whole body of the council may be reduced to a perfect temperature, so that the predominant quality therein be found iudgment in most, or in some at least, which may helpe to correct the peccant and offenseue humours of the rest, restrayne the superfluity of ouer-flowing conceits, cleare doubts and difficulties, and satisfie obiections which proceede many tymes from them who are not able to resolute them, and serue to great purpose in counsell, to whet the wits and open the vnderstanding of men of iudgment. This I haue thought good to touch by the way that the young counsellor whom I aduise, may vnderstand some what as wel of the nature of a council, as of the office and duty of a counsellour.

10. But now to retourne to the consideration of matters to be consulted, it is requisite that a counsellor doe prudently waygh, and compare the discommodities with the commodities, and inconueniences with the remedies, the difficulties, and dangers with the possibility, and probability to ouercome them; and not to reiect a very commodious and honorable desynment because it is costly, or some way discommodious or difficult and hard, or some way dangerous; for as the prouerb saith. *There is no commodity without a discommodity, nor any thing honorable which is not difficult*; And therefore it is to be foreseene, and provided that the commodities ouerwaigh the dammages, that the gaine quite the cost, that euery inconuenience haue a due remedy, that euery difficulty be some way facilitated, that euery important danger may be probably preuented or escaped; that of commodities which cannot be had together, the greater be chosen, and of inconueniences, when al cannot be auoyded, the least be admitted; al which being foreseene and probably provided for, any important action whatsoeuer may be determined, counselled, and vndertaken, notwithstanding that some difficulties, and dangers may be incident therto. For he that wil not take paynes to crack the nut, cannot eate the kernel, and he that wil hazard nothing, shal winne nothing; For nought Ventur (saith the prouerb) nought haue.

11. Yet this is to be vnderstood, that the danger be not ouer great;

No commodity
without a dis-
commodity.

What is to be
foreseene & pro-
vided for in
euery matter.

He that wil
hazard nothing
shal winne no-
thing.

great; which may partly be provided for, if it be foreseene, that the greatest danger rather concerne some circumstance of the matter, then the principal parte, or the whole body of the plot, that the benefit expected, doe farre exceede the losse or detriment which may be feared; that no certaine thing of moment be left or aduentured for a thing vncertaine (for better one bird in the hand then two in the bush) that of matters doubtful which can not fully be resolued, the lesse doubtful or more assured be preferred; and finally that the hope of benefit be grounded vpon probable reason, and sufficient meanes to atcheiue the same, and not vpon chance, which is so vncertaine that no man may safely build any important matter thereon. And therefore *Tiberius Caesar* held it for a ground of state, as *Tacitus* witnesseth. *Non omittere caput rerum, neque se in casum dare*; Not to let-slip the first opportunities, nor to aduenture him selfe or his affaires vpon chance, that is to say, not to hazard him selfe or his estate in any enterprise, when he had not sufficient probability of good successe.

12. For although the euent of al plots that are put in execution, is casual, depēding vpon the wil of God (as I haue amply declared) yet it is a wise mans part to doe that which lieth in him, to assure it by al probable and conuenient meanes, and then to leaue the rest to Gods disposition; for otherwise he should tempt God and offend him by his negligence, as I haue signified *before; and therfor without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought to be attempted by a wise man, except in desperat cases, when the necessity and exigent is so great and so suddaine (as sometimes it falleth out to be) that there is no time or place for discourse; For then there is no remedy but to trust only to God and a mans good fortune, which falleth out many times better then by humane discourse can be expected or immagined; As it did to *Julius Caesar*, who finding him selfe vnable to giue battaile to *Pompey*, because his forces were not arriued, and being in the meane time constrained to disguise him selfe, and goe to sea in a litle fregot, in such stormy weather and rough seas, that the *Pilot* would not passe forth, discouered him selfe vnto him, and bad him set saile and goe forward in any case, for that he carried *Caesar* and his fortune, which succeeded wel, for therby he escaped at that time, and after

What is to be considered concerning danger and the prevention thereof.

Better one bird in the hand then two in the bush
Tacit. Annal.

Resolutions are to be grounded vpon probable reasons & sufficient meanes.

Nothing of importance is to be left to chance.

* ca. 29. nu. 6.

In extremities a man must trust to God and his good fortune.

Of Julius Caesar and his fortune.
Plut. in Iulio. Casare.

after ouerthrow Pompey, and became Emperour of the world; But this he did because he had no other remedy, thinking it better to put him selfe to the mercy of the sea, then of his enemy.

In extremities
the counsel of a
simple man may
be good and
why.
Arist. de bona
fortuna.

Why a womans
counsel is neuer
good but vpon
a sudden.

Ibid.

* ca. 11. nu. 2.

Nothing to be
left to chance
but in case of
necessity.

Ecclesi. ca. 3.
He which loues
danger shal pe-
rish in it.

The necessity of
the daily recom-
mendation of
our actions to
God.

13. And in such desperate and sudden exigents when there is no time and place for wisdom or discourse, the counsel of some woman or simple Idiot may be better then of the wisest man; For that (as Aristotle saith) some such being by the gift of God borne fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of nature, may aduise or execute more hapily then men of great wisdom, who pondering al things in the ballance of reason and discourse, doe not follow many times a fortunat motion in them selues, or happy counsel of others, because they see not some good and reasonable ground for the same, whereby they forgoe and loose their good fortune, and this is the reason why the common prouerb saith, *That a womans counsell is neuer good but vpon a sudden*; For when women counsel according to their first motion, they may counsel fortunatly, either by chance, or by some natural impulse or motion; whereas falling to discourse of reason or to deliberation, they seldom or neuer coucel wisely, through the infirmity and weaknes of their iudgement. And to this purpose Aristotle alleadgerh the old prouerb; *Fortuna fauet fatuis*; Fortune fauoreth fooles, as I haue signified * before, where I haue spoken somewhat of this point.

14. Hereupon I conclude two thinges; the one that except in case of necessity, a wise man ought to leaue nothing to chance that may be any way assured by reasonable meanes, in respect of the danger thar may ensue therof; For although dangerous councells grounded vpon hope of good fortune, speed wel sometimes by meere chance, yet they proue most commonly pernicious, and therefore the wise man saith wisely. *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo*; He which loues danger shal perish in it.

15. The other conclusion is, that seeing men are many times put to such sudden extremities, that they haue no time or opportunity to aduise them selues, or sufficiently to consult with others, it is most necessary that they arme and prouide them selues against the same by frequent praier and by daily recommendation of al their actions to almighty God, the author and giuer of al

of al good successe, to the end that he may in such cases, guide, protect and prosper them as I haue sufficiently declared before and can not repeat too oft, for that I hold it to be the soundest aduise that any counsellour can giue vnto his prince. Thus much for the second consideration.

- Chap. 29. nu. 8.

68. The third shal be to ponder and examine diligently not only the present state of the matter, and the immediate or next sequels therof, but also what may be like to succeed from time to time, and especially what may be the conclusion or (as I may tearme it) the vpsshot of the whole; For many times it falleth out that designments prosper and succeed wel for a while, and ouerthrow the authors and attempters in the end, not so much by fortune or chance, as by ouersight of the counsellour or contriuer therof, who being deceaued with the appearance or hope of some present or neare commodity, foreseeth not, or else neglecteth some future and final disgrace: much like to the sick man, who following his owne appetit, eateth or drinketh some thinge which refresheth and contenteth him for the present, and augmenteth his defeate or killeth him in the end. In this point al wicked and machiauellian counsellors faile for the most part, which doe often succcede wel for a tyme through Gods permission (for secret causes knowne to his diuine wisdom) but in the end doe destroy princes and their states, partly through the iustice of almighty God, and partly by errorr of the counsellours in true reason of state, as I hope to proue substantially and amply in the 34. and 35. chapter.

The ouer sight of some counsellours.

Some imprudent counsellours compared to sick men.

Wherin al wicked or machiauellian counsellors faile for the most part.

6. In the meane tyme I adde for the present a fourth consideration to the same purpose, to wit, that a wise counsellour ought to waigh the commodity of euery thinge with the stability and security therof, and not to aduise his prince with a few yeres, present pleasure, or benefit, to purchase many yeres future payne or discommodity; but rather to endure some disadvantage or dammage for a tyme, when therby he may attayne to some stable and permanent good afterwards; which he may learne by the course that nature holdeth in humane and worldly affayres, or dayning motion for rest, buisnes for repose, labour for ease, and payne for pleasure. In which respect a wise man laboureth when he is young to rest in his old age, & taketh

Commodity to be waighed with stability and security.

The course of nature to bestow labour in the deliberation of matters of state,

a loathsome porion, or bitter pil to recouer health, and willingly endureth al temporal misery to attaine in the end to eternal felicity. This I say not only nature, but also true wisdom (which alwayes followeth the course & steps therof) doth teach vs no lesse in matters of state, then in al other humane affaires.

Plutark in his treatise vvhether a prince ought to be learned.

The greatnes of princely authority to be measured by the stability therof.

What is chiefly to be considered concerning stability.

True stability is in eterny.

Sufficient rules cannot be giuen in particular concerning matters of state.

17. Therefore by the same reason a counsellour ought also to preferre a certaine and durable commodity; though it be lesse, before a greater that is short and vncertaine; To which purpose Theopompus King of Lacedemony answered the Queene his wife very wel, when shee lamented to him that he would leaue his roial authority lesse to his children, then he had receiued it of his father (because he had ordained certaine controlers of the Kings called Ephori): No (saith he) I shal leaue it them greater because, it shal be more firme and sure; Thus said hee, wisely measuring the benefit of princely authority not so much by greatnes, as by surety and stability, wherto al the counsels and endeauors of wise counsellours and statists ought chiefly to tend, yet with this consideration, that although of worldly thinges some are more stable and permanent then others, yet there is no true stability in any of them, & t^hat therefore al wise mens coucells are specially directed to the attaining of heavenly thinges, in the which is true stability and eterny, wherof I shal speake more in the last chapter. Thus much for considerations to be had in general concerning matters to be consulted.

18 And for asmuch as sufficient rules cannot be giuen in particular concerning the same, in respect that the affayres of state are infinit and variable, by reason of the infinit occasions and accidents that fal out daylie to be considered (al which may require different considerations, according to the different nature and quality of the matters, and the sundry circumstances of tymes, places, and persons) I haue therefore thought good for example sake and the instruction of young Statists, to handle and debate here, some one matter of state by way of discours. And because occasion is offered often tymes to deliberat about the maintenance of a ciuil war in a forreine country, I wil set downe my opinion what aduise a young Statist may safely giue concerning the same.

FOR THE BETTER AND MORE PERTICV-
lar instruction of a young councellour concerning matters to be
consulted; A matter of state is debated, to wit, what is to be
considered in a deliberation, touching the maintenance of a
ciuil warre in a forraine country.

CHAP. 33.



Ho soeuer shal giue aduise concerning the
maintenance of a ciuil warre in a forraine
country, it shal be conuenient for him in my
fancy, to consider principally these points fol-
lowing.

Concerning the
maintenance of
a ciuil warre in
a forraine coun-
try.

2. Firſt, the equity and iuſtice of the cauſe, as wel of his prin-
ces parte (to wit, whether it may be iuſt and lawfull for him to
giue the aſſiſtance demand'd) as alſo whether their quarrel
which demand the ſame, be lawfull and iuſt, or no. For if iuſtice
and equiry want in either of both, no commodity that a prince
can receiue or expect, can counteruaile the diſhonour, danger,
and damage, which he ſhal aſſuredly incur by the offence of
almighty God. *Qui auſert ſpiritum principum, & terribilis eſt apud
reges terra. VVho takes away the life of princes and is terrible to the Kin-
ges of the earth;* And wil aſſurdly exact the penalty therof of him,
or perhaps of his eſtate, or of both, ſooner or later, which is the
cheefe and higheſt point of ſtate to be conſidered in al delibera-
tions of princes ſeeing the deſtruction and vtter ruine of them
and their eſtates, proceedeth principally of the offence of God,
as I haue partly made euident * already, when I treated of the
iuſtice of God, and wil make more manifeſt * hereafter.

The equity of the
Cauſe to be con-
ſidered.

Psal. 75.

The higheſt point
of ſtate.

* Chap. 16. 17. 18.
19. 20. 21. et 22.
* Chap. 35.

3. It is alſo to be conſidered what good and iuſt motiues his
prince may haue on his owne part to giue the ſuccours demand-
ed, which may be reduced to four caſes. The firſt when he may
doe therby ſome notable ſeruice to God, which is alwaies in it
ſelfe not only honorable, but alſo profitable, as it were, money
put to intereſt in reſpect of the reward, that he ſhal receaue
aſſuredly

Iuſt motiues on
the princes part
to giue ſuccour.

Some notable
ſeruice to God.

assuredly at Gods hands for the same, howsoeuer it succeed for the present.

*Obligation of
oath, promise, or
gratitude.*

4. The second case is, when he is bound by oath, promise, or gratitude, to succour the partie that craueth his aide: for in such case the omission therof, when it may iustly and conueniently be done, were both offensive to God, and also dishonorable, yea and dangerous to a prince, as wel in respect of Gods punishment for his periury (whereof I haue spoken amply in the 31. chapter) as also for the bad example & iust occasion he should giue to others, his allies, and confederats, yea and to his owne subiects to forsake him in his necellity.

an. 17. 18. &c.

*A iust pretence
to a forreine
gouerne or state*

5. The third case is when the prince of whome the succour is demanded hath a iust pretence to a forraine crowne or state, for the obtaining wherof he may hope to haue a party by maintaining a iust quarrel in the same state or country; wherein respect is to be had, that the princes owne forces be sufficient for the execution of his enterprize, that he shal not neede to relie further vpon his party, then only to facilitate the same, for if his hope of good successe, either in obtayning his pretence, or in conseruing or maintaining of it afterwards, doe chiefly depend vpon the good wil, fidelity, and strength of such a party, he builds (as a man may say) vpon the sand, and puts in aduerture his labour, charges, and reputation.

*A forreine
warre not to be
principally
grounded vpon
hope of a party.*

*A lamentable
example of Se-
bastian K. of
Portugal
Hieron Conesta-
gio del vniõ de
li. reg. di Portu-
galo li. 2.*

6. Hereof we haue had a lamentable example a few yeres past in *Sebastian King of Portugal*, who hoped to make him selfe King of *Marroco* vnder couler to restore therunto *Muley Mahomet*, wherof he made so sure accõpt that he caried a crowne with him to crowne him selfe kinge there, not cõsidering that his aduerlary *Muley Moluco*, (who was then in possession of that kingdome) was not only most valiant for his person, but also able to put into the feild for his defence aboue 100000. horse and foote, against whome neuertheles Kinge *Sebastian* vnderooke the enterprize with an army of 3000. soldiers or therabout, the most parte of them vntrayned, besides that neither he him selfe, nor any that did command the army vnder him had euer borne armes before, in so much that he trusted as it seemed to the conduct and forces of *Muley Mahomet* his confederat, who when he came to trial was not able to bringe to the feild 2000. men; so that aduenturing

with

with so few to fight with at oue 40000. horse, & 10000. foote & as some say a farie greater number; his army was presently inclosed on al sides & so oppressed with multitude, that he lost both the battaile & his life. So perilous a thing it is for a prince to ground any desygnment of a forreine warre vpon conceite either of the weaknes of an enemy, or of the strength of a confederat, and not vpon sufficient forces of his owne. But to proceede.

7. The fourth case is, when to auoid some imminent danger of inuasion or warre at home, or other great vexation, a prince is forced to hold his enemy occupied in his owne country by supporting there a iust quarrel against him: wherein though he may spend largely without feare of losse, (in respect of the present security which he purchaseth, and exemption from greater expences and danger at home) neuertheles it shalbe wisdom for him in my fancy to practise the counsel which Alcibiades the Athenian gaue to *Cistafernes*, in like case, to wit, not to giue greater succour then may suffice to keepe the warre stil on foote as wel to gaine tyme (which often remedieth the greatest inconueniences) as also to extenuat and weary both parties, in such sort, that whether the warre end by victory or composition, they may haue no ability to assaile him, which he may wel feare, though the party which he assisteth should preuaile.

8. For this purpose it is to be considered, that ciuil dissensions end many tymes to the cost of the forreine prince who mantayned the same, whether they end by victory of his enemy, or of his confederat, or els by their composition; For his enemy if he ouercome, remayneth more irritated, and more obliged to seeke reuenge then before; and his confederat if he vanquish the other, and succede him in his state, is more like to proue an enemy then a freend, especially if the quarrel of the other was not personal (that is to say proceeding of some particular iniury done to his person) but a quarrel of state, as commonly it is, for in that case who soeuer shalbe gouernour of the same state wil be his enemy notwithstanding any benefit receiued; For experience teacheth that respect of gratitude for benefits past, litle auaileth when it is any way encountred with reason of state which (as *Guicciardin* saith) *Vince ogni partito; dath wish princes ouerwaigh al other considerations*, and is so variable according to the variety of

A forraigne warre to be mantayned to auoid a domesticall.

Good counsel of Alcibiades concerning the maintenance of a forreine warre.

Ciuil warres end often to the cost of the forreiner that mantayned them.

Respect of gratitude inuade inuencured with reason of state litle auaileth.
Guichard. nella auisipolia.

Reason of state
very variable.

occasions and successe of affaires that it changeth daily, and of a freend this day maketh an enemy to morow, in which respect the leagues and amity of princes is commonly very vnsecure, be the obligation neuer so great.

R. Henry the 7.
Polid. virgil. hist.
Angl. li. 16.

9. Henry the 7. King of England became an enemy to Charles the 8. King of France in defence of the Duke of Britany for reason of state, though the said Charles did lately before assist him with men and money against King Richard the third, and helped to make him King of England. And what greater benefit could one prince receaue of an other, then the late Queene of England receiued of the Catholike King Philip the 2. King of Spaine, who when he was King of England, and married to her sister, saued her life, which otherwise shee had lost for conspiracy against her said sister, yet neuertheles shee became the greatest enemy he had, and so continued during his life.

Elizabeth Q. of
England.
Sand. li. 2. de
Schism. Angl.

Mon. lent to
man. ne a for-
reine vvarre in
danger to be lost.

10. Moreouer it commonly falleth out, that the party whom a forreine prince helpeth to aduance, remaineth his debter for the charges bestowed in his succour; wherupon it followeth many times, that the creditor looseth both his freend and his money. For if he trust to bare promises of repaiment, he is in danger to be serued as was Edward the black prince, who going in person with a great army into Spaine to succour Peter the King of Castile vpon his promise to repay him al his expences, was after the victory so delaied and deluded by him, that he was faine to returne without any satisfaction; by the meanes wherof he was constrained to lay such impositions vpon his owne subiects in Aquitany for the paiment of his soldiers that they rebelled, and he lost the greatest part of that country.

Edward the
black Prince.

Polid. virg. hist.
Angl. li. 19.

Places or tow-
nes given in
pauine for money
ma. e enemies of
friends.

11. And put the case he haue any places, or townes deliuered him in consideration of his expences, or for his better security (which any prince that shal giue succours to forrainers hath reason to seeke) then his frend many times for reason of state becomes his enemy to recouer the places, which he gaue him before: And to also it falleth out commonly whensoever ciuil wars and dissentions come to end by composition of the parties deuided, who for the most part willingly agree and ioyne against the forreiner, that maintained their diuision, especially if he haue any hold or footing in their country, though it were at the

the first with their owne consent, wherof I wil alleadge a few examples, as wel ancient as moderne.

12. In the Barons wars in England in the time of King John, Lewis the 8. then sonne to Philip the 2. King of France assisted the Barons against their King and being called by them into England and proclaimed King thereof, was shortly after by common consent, as wel of them as of al other english, driuen out againe.

The Barons wars in England.
Polidor Virgil. hist. Anglia li. 19.
Paul. Aemilius Philip 2.

13. Also Philip Duke of Burgundy to be reuenged of the Duke of Orleance and of Charles the 7. whiles he was yet but Dolphin, called Henry the 5. King of England into France, and assisted him first to make him Regent and after to crowne, not only him but also Henry the 6. his sonne king of France in Paris, yet in the end he made his peace with king Charles aforesaid, and helped him to depriue the English of al that which either they had got by his meanes, or els held before by title of inheritance.

Philip duke of Burgundy.

Pol. Virg. in Henr. 5. & 6.

14. In like manner Charles the 8. King of France was most earnestly sollicitod to the conquest of Naples by the Neapolitans them selues, who neuertheless shortly after helped to expel the garisons and forces which he left there, not with standing they had receiued great beneficts of him.

Charles the 8. K. of France.
Philip Comin. in Carol. 8. c. 2. & 19.

15. In this age also the late Queene of England supported the Protestants in the first troubles of France against their king to her great charges, and when they made their peace in the yere of our Lord 1562. they alioyned with the catholikes against her to recouer of her *Hauere de Grace*, which they had before giuen her for the assurance of the money, which she had lent them.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

16. And now lastly not with standing the chargable and costly succours of men and money that the french catholikes receiued of the catholike King of glorious memory, yet they forsooke him al most al in the end, and ioyned with his and their aduerse party, and made warre against him to recouer of him some few townes in the frontiers of *Flanders* which they had giuen him before for his and their security.

Philip the 2. K. of Spain.

17. Therefore although these thinges doe not alwaies succede in this manner; yet for as much as most commonly they doe, and that nothing is more vncertaine then that which dependeth vpon the wil, affection or gratitude of other men, or

vpon

Nothing more
uncertaine then
that which de-
pendeth on the
will of men or
reason of state.

vpon reason of state (which, as I haue said, doth vary and change daily according to the variety of occasions) I hold it for a special point of prudence in a prince to take the surest way, to wit, not to engage him selfe to farre, nor to aduenture more then he careth not to loose, in the maintenance of a ciuill warre in a foraine country, except when either the seruice of God, some iust obligation, or the conseruation of his owne state, doth necessarily require it. Thus much concerning such points as are to be waighed on the behalfe of the prince that is to giue the succour.

Considerations
concerning those
which demand
succour.

18. Furthermore great consideration is also to be had of the state and condicion of the parties which demand it, as whether they be able to ouercome their aduersaries, or at least to stand and maintaine their quarel, with the assistance which they craue or may be giuen them, for otherwaies it were great imprudence in any prince to vndertake their maintenance, but rather to endeavor by way of treaty betwixt them and their aduersary to compound the quarrel, and therby to make him selfe grateful to both parties.

Concerning
townes or states
confederated.

19. And for as much as it many tymes falleth out, that the ability and power of the party, which craueth assistance, consisteth not in the strength of some one potent & absolut prince, but in the force of many princes, townes, or states confederated and leagued together, it is in such case specially to be considered, how, or vpon what reasons the said party is vnited.

The motives or
ends of leagues
to be considered.

20. To this purpose it is to be noted, that in al confederacies and leagues wherein many vnite them selues, the confederates are moued therto, either with one motiue or end (as in the *Cantons* of the *Switzers*, or in the league which the *Pope*, the king of the *Romans*, the king of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan* made against *Charles* the 8. king of *France*, for the defence of *Italy*, wherein al of them were interestted) or els they are moued therto, with diuers and sundry motives, some with one, and some with another; as for example in the late French league or vnion, some entred only for the conseruation of the catholike religion (which was the common and pretended end of al that party) others entred for particular respects, as either for passion, or for ambition, or for the freendship of some man on the one

Philip. de Com.
Cron du Roy.
Charles ca. 23.

The common end
of the french
league.

The particular
ends of many in
the french lea-
gue.

side or

side, or hatred of some on the other, or for hope of future gain, or for present profit and commodity, or such like.

21. Now then those that are led by particular respects, doe not for the most part remaine any longer in any league, then they may hope to obtaine their desires, and when they are perswaded that they may sooner obtaine the same by adhearing to the aduerse party, they are easely induced thereto; and hereupon followeth commonly the dissolution of such leagues and confederacies; For which cause the strength and power of any league, is not to be measured so much by the multitude of confederats (be they neuer so great and potent) as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the selfe same end: for as a few men vnder one head, are stronger then many vnder many and different heads (as *Philipus Comminens* noteth very wel) to a few principal persons or townes vnited to geather for one and the selfe same cause, are to be reputed farre stronger, and more like to stand, then very many, though much more potent, if they haue many and different ends.

Diversity of ends causeth the dissolution of leagues.

A few vnder one head stronger then many vnder different heades
Philip. Commin.
Cron. du Roy Louis c. 16.

22. Therefore it much importeth a prince which shal support a foreine league to discouer as much as he may, what end or motiue induced the heads and principal confederats to enter therein, wherby he shal the better discerne, what their force and strength may be, and how they may be like to stand and maintaine their quarrel, for if they haue al one end, they may be reputed the stronger, but if their ends be diuers they can not long stand, as we haue seene by experience of late in the french league, which not with standing the great succours both of men and money giuen them by the catholike King, dissolued rather of it selfe then by any forces of enemy, by reason that very many of the gouernours of townes and cheefe pillars therof, concurred not in one end with the whole league, and therefore when they receiued satisfaction of their particular desires, or saw them selues out of hope therof, they easely changed their party.

Necessary for a Prince to discouer the ends of the principal confederats.

The dissolution of the french league through the diuersity of ends.

23. To such leagues I say vnited only in exterior shew, and not in one common end, I hold it not secure or conuenient for a prince to giue succour, except he be moued thereto by some imminent danger of inuasion or other great damage, which he may feare to receiue from the enemy occupied (as I haue signi-

In what case a prince may support a foreine league not vnited in one end.

fied before) whiles he neither prepare for his better defence at home, or at least may winne time, which in al extremities is to be sought, and often remedieth the greatest inconueniences.

24. Moreouer for as much as the succours demanded, or giuen, consist commonly either in money, men, or in both, and that it may import a prince for the furtherance of some iust pretence, or obligation of his owne, or for some publike good to employ not only his forces but also his money largely, to maintaine and support a forreine league, I wil adde somewhat concerning the same, to the end that a young Statist may the better vnderstand, both what to aduise, and also how to deale therein.

How money is
to be bestowed in
the mantaynāce
of a forreine
league.
What effect mo-
ney may worke.

25. Therefore, first concerning the bestowing of money, I say that although it can not be denied but that money may doe very much in al busines of this quallity (for *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri sacra fames?* What doth not the detestable hanger of gold compel men to doe? yet ordinarily the effect that money can worke is but to dispose the wills and minds of men to the desired end, which disposition neuertheles in some that receaue the money, is none at al, in others very litle, and in most very doubtful, and to be suspected; For, those to whome thou giuest thy money either are thy enemies, or thy freends, or els neutral: if they be thy enemies, commonly they take thy money, to impouerish thee, to enrich them selues, and to employ thy owne money against thee when they shal see time: if they be thy freends, thy money worketh litle, for that their owne good wil and frendship, bindeth them vnto thee more then thy money; if they be neutral and become thy frendes for the profit thy haue by thee, their frendship wil last no longer then the profit continueth, and when they may thinke to get more by thy enemy then by thee, they wil be his freends for the same reason that they were thine; and although they shal haue neuer so great benefit by thee, they wil perswade them selues that thou seekest thy owne commodity and not theirs, and that thou art beholding vnto them, for that they doe vouchsafe to take any thinge of thee.

The desire of mo-
ney encreaseth
with the use
and possession
therof.

Cicero. offic li. 2.

26. And for as much as the hunger and desire of money doth encrease with the possession and vse therof, the more thou giuest them, the more they wil desire, for as Cicero saith. *Fit deterior qui accipit, et ad idem semper expectandum paratior, He which taketh or receiveth*

or receiveth

or receiveth money is made worse thereby, and alwaies the more ready to expect the like. So that if thou doe not euer giue them, when, and how much they shal expect, or demand of thee, they wil hate thee more for that which thou dost not giue them, then they haue loued thee for that which they haue receiued already; For as Seneca saith. *Petus & nota ingratitudo est, dati immemores meminisse negati, ideoque rara & tepentes gratie feruida & frequentes quærelæ*; It is an old and notorious ingratitude to forget a benefit receiued, and stil to remember a benefit denied, whereupon it follovyeth, that thanks are rare and cold, and complaints feruent and frequent.

Seneca.
A benefit receiued soone forgotten, a benefit denied, remembered euer.

27. I say not this for that I thinke it not conuenient to negotiate with money to gaine & entertaine the affectiōs of men, but to signifie that it is to be done with great consideration; for as Pliny saith. *Inconsiderata largitionis comes paenitentia est*; Repentance euer accompanieth the inconsiderate employment of money. Therefore to say somewhat of this point, my opinion is, that it is conuenient for any man, that doth negotiate with money in a strange country, to haue his purse alwaies open, for such as are true friends to him, and the league, as wel to gratify them, and to recompence their good wils, and good offices, as also to helpe their necessities and to enable them to vphold their party.

Plin. li. 7. ep.
Money to be bestowed with great consideration.
Liberality to be used towards true friends and who they are.

28. And those may be accompted true friends, whose end is either the common end of the whole league, or so dependant therof, that it can not be otherwise obtained, but by the good successe of the league; and to such, money may be euer securely giuen, when their necessities, or the publike good of the league shal require it: but to others, litle or nothing is to be giuen, in my fancy, except it be to buye of them some important places, or to recompence intelligences, or seruices already done, and therefore it shal be conuenient to vse al diligence (as before I signified) to discouer the true motiues that induced euery one, to whome money is to be giuen, to enter into the league.

How money is to be bestowed vpon suspected persons.

29. And in case it may seeme needful, to aduenture somewhat to entertaine some few principal men, though neutrals, or suspected (to diuert them from compounding with the enemy) it shal be conuenient in my fancy to giue them largely, and more then the enemy is like to giue them, and precisely to accomplish what els shal be promised, for otherwise they wil acknowledge

The danger of breach of promise.

no obligation, and when the enemy shal giue them more, they wil follow him, and if promise be not kept with them, they wil esteeme them selues to be mocked, & for very disdaine wil passe to the enemy; and of al this, I saw daily experience in time of the league in *France*, where the Catholique King bestowed many millions, in pensions, in entertainments which many receiued, and after became his open enemies; some of them because they were not punctually paid their entertainments; others because (as they pretended) promise was not kept with them in other things; and some others againe, either because they could not haue what soeuer they demanded, or because others had more then they.

Money and forces concurring worke great effects.

No trust in affection bought with money.
Cicero. offic. li. 2.

A man corrupted with money will be faithfull to no man.

29. But how much soeuer shalbe bestowed vpon one or other, there is no security, or assurance, in negotiating with money alone, except the same be either accompanied, or thorly seconded with sufficient forces, which concurring therwith may worke great effect, and therefore the Oracle said to *Philip of Macedony*; *Hælis pugna, argentatis & omnia vinces. Fight with siluered speares, and thou shalt ouercome al*; Aduising him therby, to employ money and forces together, for as for negociation with money alone, the longer it continueth, the more danger there is to loose both the money and the busines, for no trust is to be had in affection bought with money, and not grounded on reason and vertue. In which respect *Philip King of Macedony*, said very well to *Alexander* his sonne, who sought to gaine from him the good wills of the *Macedonians* with gifts and bribes; *What a mischief (saith he) perswadest thee to thinke that those wil be faithfull vnto thee, vrbome thou hast corrupted with money.*

30. Thus much for this matter, wherof much more might be said if the question were reduced to particular persons and countries which might minister other important considerations of difficulties according to the nature strength or weaknes of the places, and the conditions, and habilities of the persons who were to be succorred or impugned, which I forbear to prosecute any furdur to passe to an other matter; meaning to debate, whether the remedies which politykes teach against the dangers and inconueniences growing of wickednes, be sufficient in reason and true policy to assure the state of a wicked prince, by the

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the occasion whereof I wil examine diuers principles of Macchiauellian doctrine, and shew the absurdity thereof, to the end that the young Statist whome I informe, may vnderstand, as wel what to auoid, as what to embrace in matter of policy, and that a princes state, can not be assured by wickednes.

ANOTHER QUESTION IS DEBATED FOR the furdur instruction of a yong Statist, to wit, whether a princes state can be assured by wicked policy; by the occasion whereof many principles of Macchiauel and of the politikes his followers, are examined, and confuted, by reason of state, without the consideration of Gods iustice.

CHAP. 34.



O man that is endewed with reason wil deny, that wickednes in a prince, maketh him hateful to his subiects and consequently endangereth his estate, which al Macchiauellians and politikes, know so wel, that the greatest part of their policy consisteth in, deuising remedies against the same, to the end that their prince may be securely wicked, that is to say, that he may purchase and enioy al worldly pleasures, and commodities, *per fas & nefas*; by right or wrong, without danger of any reuenge of man, not fearing the wrath, & iustice of God, because they belecue not, that there is a God, or at least that he medleth with the affayres of men.

2. Now then, for as much, as I haue already sufficiently proued through out this whole treatise, that God disposeth of princes, and their states, and punisheth them for sinne when they deserue it (where vpon it also followeth that al Macchiauellian, and wicked policies, tending to the conseruation of wicked princes, are not only friuolous and wayne, but also noysome, and pernicious to their estates) therefore I wil here in this chapter, lay aside the consideration, of Gods prouidence and iustice, and examine the sufficiency of Macchiauellian pollicies only according

wherein consisteth the greatest part of Macchiauels pollicies.

Politikes do
first drayve
princes into
dangers, and
then see to re-
medy them.
Folly to admit
an inconueni-
ence in hope of an
uncertain reme-
dy.

Macchia. de
princi.
Macchianels
principal reme-
dy consisteth in
extremity of
wickednes.
Macchianel
would have a
prince to be
either a
Saint or a deuil.

Macchianels
absurditie in
seeking to reme-
dy a disese by
encreasing the
cause thereof.
Excessiue wic-
kednes exposeth
a prince to exces-
siue hatred.
Cicero offic. 1.

to reason of state; to shew thereby the absurdity of politikes; who thinke them selues able to warrant and defend a prince in wickednes, plunging him first into needles dangers, and then endeavoring to apply some remedies: as if a man should poyson his friend, making full account to cure him afterwards, whereas it is the part of a wife and politike man, rather to preuent the danger and inconuenience, then to admit it vpon confidence of remedies, whereof no man liuing can warrant the successe. This I say, for that Macchiauillians doe most absurdly endanger their princes by their wicked counsel, in hope to deliuer them afterwards by their policies, where of the successe is not in their hands, but so vncertayne and subiect to chance and hazard, that no wit or power of man, can assure it, as I haue most amply proued in the 11. 12. and 13. Chapters.

3. But let vs see some of their remedies. One of the principal (according to the doctrine of their maister Macchianel) is, extremity of all mischeefe and wickednes, which Macchianel teacheth to be farre more secure for a prince, then mediocrity betwixt vertue, and vice, therefore he would haue his prince to be either the best man liuing, or the worst, that is to say, either to be a Saint, or a deuil; whereof his reason must needs be (if he haue any at all) that he which holdeth the middle way betwixt vertue, and vice, & doth sometymes wel, and sometymes ill, must needs incur the offence and hatred of some men whereby he shalbe endangered; wherefore he thinketh it conuenient for such a one to practise the common prouerb, to wit; *Qui semel in recundia sua transferit* &c. He that hath once past the bounds of shame, must be notably impudent; That is to say, he that is once ouer the shoos in sinne, and iniquity, must for his safty, goe ouer head and eares; as though the way to remedy a disese were to nourish & encrease the cause thereof, as to cure a dropsy, with continual drinking, or a burning feauer with whot wyne, and spice, or to cast oyle into the fyre to the end to quench it; for so doe Macchiauillians, who to remedy the danger that groweth to a wicked prince by hatred, do make him more hateful, and by the extremitie and excess of wickednes, expose him to the extreme and excessiue hatred of all men, and consequently to ruine and perdition.

4. For as Cicero saith; *Multorum odij nulla opes nulla vires po-*

terunt

cannot resistere. No force, power, or vvelsh can suffice to resist the hatred of many; and much lesse of al men; yes saye they; *Oderint dum metuant. Let them hate him* (be they neuer so many) so that they feare him; For feare shal so repress their hatred, that they shal nor dare to attempt or execute any thing to his prejudice. Thus say they but most absurdly, For, feare, in a mind posselt with hate, is nothing els, but, as it were; *Vnguis in vlcere; A mans naile, or a scratch in an vlcere* or borch which is exasperated thereby, and the paine of the patient greatly agrauated; And although feare do in some sort delay and repress the fury of hatred, yet it makes it much more secure for the hater, and more dangerous to him that is hated.

5. For, those who hate without feare, doe many times attempt vnadvisedly to their owne destruction; but those which both hare and feare, do deliberat, and execute with much more maturity, and consideration, & consequently with lesse danger to them selues, and more to their enemy; so that when the prince doth adde feare to the hate of his subiects, he redoubleth both his owne feare, and also his owne peril. Whereupon the tragical Poët saith.

----- *Qui sceptrā duro sauis imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in autorem redit.*

That is to saye, he which gouerneth by severity, and cruelty feareth those which feare him, and the feare turneth vpon the author, or cause thereof. And as seneca the stoick saith. *Necesse est vt multos timeat, quem multis timent.* He must need be in feare of many, whom many feare. Also Cicero following Ennius the Poët saith notably thus; *Quem metuunt oderunt &c.* Men hate him whom they feare, and euery one desireth the destruction of him whom he hateth, and no force or power of Empire be is neuer so greate can long stand if it be prest with continual feare of the subiects. Thus saith Cicero, declaring the danger that groweth to a prince by hatred and feare, which are the most forcible and vrgent motiues that may be, to moue a people to conspiracies, as wel amongst them selues, as with forreiners, both to deliuer them selues of their feare, as also to discharge their hatred and ire vpon their prince. wherefore Aristotle doth reckon hatred, and feare amongst the principal causes of the destruction of monarchies, and tyrannys.

No force or power can sufficiently resist the hatred of many. Politicians take absurdly to remedy hatred by feare. Feare concurring with hate makes it more dangerous to him which is hated and vwith.

The prince adding feare to the hatred of his subiect, redoubleth his owne feare and danger. Seneca Treaged.

Feare turneth vpon the author.

Cicero offic. li. 2.

Hatred and feare are the causes of conspiracies.

Aristot. li. 3. Polit.

*Macchianillian
remedyes against
conspiracies.*

6. But here saye the Macchianillians; for this cause hath the prince his gards, armies, and fortresses to defend him selfe from al attempts both forraigne and domestical, besides the vigilancy, and policy which he vseth for the preuention of conspiracies, disarming and empouering his subiects, forbidding their assemblies, and publik conuentions, and al other meanes which may breede loue, trust, and confidence amongst them, terrifying them also often times with the frequent thew of his gards, and garrisons to make them seruile, and base minded, suffering them to be vicious, and dissolute of life to make them effeminate, not permitting them the vse of schooles, or other meanes, whereby they may become learned, wise, and politike, employing his spies euery where for the discouery of euery mans intention, nourishing diuision amongst the greatest to counterpeise one with an other, suspecting al men, be they neuer so much bound to him, and finally cutting of by one meanes or other, al those whose power, courage, or wit, he may think to be dangerous to his state; wherby he shal be secure and free from the danger which may grow vnto his person or state by the hate of his subiects.

*Macchianel
was not the im-
mentor of his
policies.*

*Macchianillian
policies known
and practised
in al ages by
wicked princes
to their ruine.*

*Arist. lib. 1.
polit. c. 11.
Macchianillian
policies rejected
by Aristotle a-
bout 2000.
yeres agoe.*

7. Thus say they; whereto I answere, that if Macchianel or some other politikes, in these our dayes, had ben the first inuenter of these policies, & that they had neuer ben yet tryed, and put in practise, it might with more reason be supposed, that there were or might be some assurance, and security therein for a wicked prince, but seeing al this, or whatsoeuer els Macchianel, or any politike doth teach for the conseruation of a tyrant, hath ben practised in al tymes and ages, by tyrants and wicked princes (who neuertheles haue al, or the most part of them perished, and bene ruyned by the hatred of men) who seeth not the insufficiency therof, for the assurance of a prince in wickednes.

8. Can Macchianel, or any other politike teach more to this purpose, then we fynd written about 2000. yeres agoe by Aristotle in his politikes, who shewing the meanes whereby tyrants seeke to preserue them selues, and their states, ministrerth to Macchianel and his followers al the matter, and substance of their wicked policies; which neuertheles were not approued by Aristotle

Aristotle as sufficient for the cōseruation of tyranny, but reprocud and vtterly reiectēd by him; in which respect he declareth how vnſure tyranny is, and exemplyfyeth the ſame in al the tyrannical ſtates, which had bene before, or in his tyme, ſhewing how ſpeedily they al perished, excepting only foure, whereof the firſt continued a hundreth yerēs, the ſecond 73. and ſix monthes, the third 33. and the fourth 21. yerēs. And the cauſe of the long continuance of the firſt, & ſecond, he aſcribeth to the moderat and iuſt gouernment of the tyrants, who though they got their ſtates tyrannically, and held them by vſurpation, and force (in reſpect whereof they were called tyrants) yet they gouerned with ſuch moderation, and iuſtice, that they were greatly beloued of their ſubiects.

The ſpeedy fal of tyrannical ſtates noted by Aristotle.
Aristot. libid. c. 12.

9. To which purpoſe *Aristotle* alſo obſerueth that the ſtate of a tyrant is ſo much the more ſure, by how much more moderat it is, and nearer to the iuſt gouernment of a king; wherein the *Macchiauillians* may note, both by the doctrine and experience of *Aristotle*, that the extremity of wickednes and tyranny, is the high way to carry a prince head-long to his deſtruction, notwithstanding al their preuentions aforeſaid, whereof ſome part are moſt neceſſary for the conſeruation of any princes ſtate, as gards, garrifons, fortrefſes, vigilance of conſeillours, diligence of ſpyes, & intelligencers, as alſo ſuch other part of thoſe pollicies, as is conforme to reaſon, iuſtice, and conſcience; but the reſt, I meane thoſe points of hindring loue, and confidence amongſt the ſubiects, immoderat pilling and polling them, making them effeminate, ignorant, & baſe minded, nourishing debate amongſt greate perſonages, and cutting of ſuch as are more eminent in credit, power, courage and wit then the reſt, theſe I ſay, and al ſuch as are againſt charity, iuſtice, and conſcience, are againſt al true policy, and ſo farre from helping to conſerue a tyrant, that they helpe to ruine him; as here in this chapter it ſhal appeare concerning ſome of theſe points in particuler, and ſome in general, ſo farre as I ſhal think it neceſſary for this tyme, leauing the examination of the reſt to the ſecond part of this treatiſe, whereto they more properly belong.

Aristot. ibid. ca. 11.

Macchiauillian policy contrary to Aristotles doctrine and experience.

What is to be reiectēd and what allowed in the Macchiauillian remedies aboue mentioned.

10. And now to ſpeake of ſome of them, what can be more contrary to true reaſon of ſtate, then to hinder truſt, cōfidence, & loue

Macchianels doctrine concerning diuifion cōfuted.

Ccc

amongſt

amongst the people, without the which there can be no commonwelth? For without loue, and confidence there can be no fidelity, and without fidelity, no iustice, and without iustice, no commonwelth; as I haue declared sufficiently in the 31. Chapter, where I treated of the necessity of fidelity in the prince.

num. 18.

*Why publike
feasts and playes
were first insti-
tuted.*

*The benefit of
loue and friend-
ship in Common
welths.*
Arist. li. 2. polit.
c. 2.

Plutar.

*What common
welth Solon
liked best.*
Plutar. in Solon.

*The loue and
vnion of mem-
bers of the poli-
tical body most
necessary for the
conservation
thereof.*

Seneca li. 2. de
Ben. ca. 31.

*Why Marcellia-
willians think
that factions*

11. For this cause al ancient law-makers, and founders of commonwelths, haue ordayned in al countries and citties, publike feasts, playes, and assemblies, where the people may meete together, not only for their recreations, but also to make them knowne one to an other, to the end that of their acquayntance and conuersation may grow loue, and frendship, and the same redound to a general vnity for the conseruation of peace in the whole commonwelth; And therefore Aristotle saith that frendship is; *Maximum bonum ciuitatibus.* The greatest good that can be to commonwelths, for saith he; *By the meanes thereof they shalbe free from sedition.* Also Solon esteemed this amity, and vnion of mynds, to be so necessary for the conseruation of humane Society, that being demanded what commonwelth was best, and most like to continue; *Such a one* saith he, *vvherein euery man doth take the iniury which is donne to an other, to be donne to him selfe;* and to the same purpose he made a law in *Athens*, geuing leaue to euery one to take vpon him the iust quarrel of any other, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concerned himselfe, which constitution of Solon, Plutarke commendeth greatly; *As a meane* saith he, *to accustom the people to feele and redresse the grieues and iniuries one of an other, as being all members of one bodie;* whereby we may vnderstand that the vnion and loue of the members of the political body (that is to say the commonwelth) is no lesse necessary, then the combination of the parts in the body natural; which Seneca teacheth notably in these woords. *Ut omnia inter se membra &c.* *As all the members and parts of mans body, doe agree together, for the conseruation of the vvhole, vvwhich also redoundeth to the good of euery part in particular, so all men ought to agree to the benefit one of an other, for that we are borne to liue in society, vvwhich cannot be conserued but by the agreement and loue of the parts thereof.* Thus saith Seneca.

12. How then can it stand with true policy, or reason of state, to hinder this vnion, and loue of the people, or to sowe and nourrish factions amongst them, and especially amongst
greate

greate personages, whereby seditions, tumults and garboyles may grow in the commonwelth; Marry, say the Macchiauilians, it standeth notably wel with the reason of our princes state, who seeketh not the general good of the commonwelth, but his owne particuler benefit, and therefore for as much as the vnion and frendship of his subiects may animat and enable them the rather to conspire against him, it is good policy and reason of state for him, to maintayne factions amongst them, according to the old saying; *Si vis regnare diuise; If thou wilt raigne, make diuision.*

13. Thus say they; of whome I wold gladly learne, how they can in this case separat the peril of the commonwelth, from the peril of the prince, to make this good policy for him; can the body be in danger without the danger of the head? hath it not bene seene manny times, that some priuat quarrel growne at first betwixt meane personages, hath after passed further to a multitude, and from them come to be general to the ruine of a whole state? and therefore *Plutark* wysely compareth sedition to a little sparke of fyre, which falling into straw, or other dry matter, in some corner of a howse, setteth the same on fyre, wherby in the end a whole toun is burnt; in which respect he counteth it for one of the most special points of political scyence to take away al occasion of sedition, and when it groweth to appease it quickly.

14. *Aristotle* also teacheth the same very seriously, affirming that sedition is the cheefe cause of the mutation, and subuersion of commonwelths, shewing how many wayse it may arise, and how it may be remedied, and that it is alwaie dangerous, but then most pernicious, when it groweth amongst greate personages, and therefore he aduise th to remedy the same if it be possible in the very beginning, for that; *Principium dicitur esse dimidium totius; The beginning is said to be the one halfe of the whole*; And little seditions at the first, grow after to be greate, especially amongst greate men, whose discord, saith he, draweth the whole commonwelth after them; whereof he alledgeth diuers examples, which I omit because I haue treated this matter already in the 7. Chapter vpon the occasion of a law of *Solon*, where I haue shewed how dangerous, & pernicious some seditions haue bene which haue

amongst subiects
ar good for their
princes.

A macchiauil-
ian proverb,
and very ripe
consuted.

The good and ill
of the common
welth and of
the prince are
conioined
Factions in the
common welth
dangerous to the
prince.
Plutark in his
instructions for
such as deale in
matters of state.

Arist. Polit. li. r.
ca. 2. 3. & 4.
Sedition a prin-
cipal cause of
the subuersion of
States.

Idem Ibid.
c. 4.

Factions amongst
greate men most
dangerous.

nu. 14.

num. 19. 20.
& 21.

Ibid. nu. 17.

Ibid nu. 16. & 18.
Philip. Com. de
reb. gest.
Lodou. c. 138.

Princes may
make factions,
and can not as-
servvards hin-
der the bad ef-
fects thereof.

num. 11. & 12.

Macchiauillian
policies make
princes odious, to
their subiects.

The hatred of
subiects most
dangerous to
princes by the
experience of al
ages.

Cicero offic. li. 1.

sprong but amongst women and boyes, and I haue also furder declared the danger of nourishing diuision amongst greate personages by a domestical example of the vtter ouerthrow of King Henry the 6. and al the house of Lancaster, whereof the first ground and occasion was, that the Queene his wife maintayned the diuision betwixt the Duke of Somerset, and the Earle of Warwick; And to the same purpose I haue also alledged other examples out of Philip de Comines with his opinion and aduise to al princes to labour with al speede to compound the quarrels, that falle out amongst their nobility, and not to nourish them by any meanes, lest they should kindle a fire in their owne house, which after they shal not be able to quench. Whereby it may appeare how dangerous & absurd is the counsell which Macchiauillians geue to their princes, to nourish factions in their commonwelth, and especially amongst the greatest personages, as though, princes were omnipotent, and had the harts, and wils of al men in their hands, to moue, and sway, incense, or temper, in such manner, & measure, as it shal please them, which is only in Gods hand & power to doe. So that it is euident in this case, that the Macchiauillians expose their prince to manifest danger without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedy, which in matter of state is most absurd, as I haue declared in the 32. Chapter.

15. The like may also be said of their other pestilēt policies before mencioned, cōsisting in al kind of cruelty, iniustice & wickednes, wherby they make their princes most odious to al men, and by consequent, draw them into manifest danger, from the which they are not able to warrāt or defend them by al their policy: as it may appeare by the experience of al ages, and former times vntil this wherin we liue, seeing al histories do testify that the more wicked and tiranical princes haue bene, and themore they haue incurred the hatred of men, the sooner they haue bene ruined; some by open rebellions of their subiects; some others by their general defection in fauor of strangers, others by secret conspiracies of a few, and others also by some desperat attempt of some one man, not withstanding al their policies, power, or force of gards, armies, fortresses, or other humane meanes.

16. This point Cicero proueth by the examples of Phalaris a most cruel tirant (whome al the people of the Agrigentins oppressed in a

in a general tumult) & of *Alexander* the tirant of *Phera*, killed by his owne wife; & of *Demeirius K.* of *Macedony* forsaken of al his subiects in fauor of *K. Pirrhus*; To whome we may adde *Romulus* the first fouder of the *Roman* Empire, who hauing made him selfe hateful to his Senatours, was murdred by them, in the very Senat house. As also *L. Tarquinius Priscus* his 3. successor being become odious to the people for his iniustice & fraud towards the children, of *Ancus Marcius* (whome he depriued of their kingdome, though he was left their tutor by their father) was slaine by two shepherds. In like manner *Tarquinius Superbus* (the 7. and last king of the *Romans*) who vsed al the tirānical policies about mencioned, violating al lawes humane & deuine, for the conseruation of his estate, was neuertheles driuen out of his kingdome by his subiects, & the name of king & kingly authority abolished amongst the *Romans* in hatred of him, for the space of 500. yeres.

T. Linius. Dec. 2.
li. 1.

17. And if we looke into the *Roman* Empire after *Julius Caesar* we shal find that neither policy, nor power, could defend many emperours of *Rome*, and *Constantinople*, against the hatred of men, as (to omit others who perished vpon other occasions) it may appeare by *a Julius Caesar* him selfe, *Caius Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *b Commodus*, *c Didius Iulianus* & *Caracalla*, *e Opilius Macrinus* and his sonne *Diadumenus*, *f Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Julius Maximinus*, *g Galienus*, *h Philipus*, *i Aurelianus*, *k Constans* the first *l Gratian*, *Valentinian* the third, *Basilicus*, *Zeno*, *Mauricius*, *Phocas*; *Heracleona* with his mother *Martina*, *Constans* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Phillipicus*, *Constantinus* the sixt *Nicephorus Stauracius*, *Leo Armenius*, *Michael* the sonne of *Theophilus*, *Nicephorus* surnamed *Phocas*, *Ioannes Zemises*, *Michael Calaphates*, *Stratioticus*, *Michael Parapinacens*, *Andronicus Comnenus* and diuers others who hauing incurred, the hatred either of their subiects in general, or of some particular persons, were some of them poisoned, and others violently slaine, either by the fury of the people, or by their nobility, or by their owne guards, & soldiars, or by their wives, cōcubins, or seruants, or by other particular men: besides that some others of them were deposed, and either confined into Monastaries, or depriued as wel of their eyes and noses, as of their empyre; and one amongst the rest, to wit *Zeno* (a most cruel and craftie tyrant) was put into his Sepulcher aliue, by the consent of his wife, whyles he was

Examples in the
Empyre of Rome
and Constantinople.

a Sueton Traqui.
b Aelius lamprid.
c Spartian.
e Iul. Capitolin.
f Lamprid.
g Trebellius pollio
h Sextus Aurel. victor.
i Flavius Vopiscus.
k Pomponius Iustus. l Ioan. Baptista Egnatius. Zonaras Nicetas Choriatres.

Oedren. in Cōp.
Zonaras Annal.
To. 3.
Ioan. Baptista
Egnat. in Zenone.

drōunk, or as some write, taken with a fit of the falling sicknes, being also so hated of his owne seruants, and gardes, that when he came to him selfe and cried for helpe out of the Sepulchre, no man assisted or pittied him, and so he died raging, and tearing, his owne flesh with his teeth, as it appeared afterwards when the tomb was opened.

18. And although euery one of these was not so suttile, nor so politike, nor yet so wicked as *Maachianel* would haue his prince to be, yet it is euident in them al, that the hatred of subiects is most pernicious to princes, and in some of them it appeareth manifestly, that no humane power, or wicked pollicy, can warrant, and assure, the state of a prince generally hated, seeing that diuers of the aboue named, excelled not only in imperial power, but also in suttlety, craft, perfidioulnes, periury, deepe dissimulation, cruelty, and al such wickednes, as *Maachianel* requireth in his prince. As (to omit others for breuities sake) the last whome I named of the Emperous of *Constantinople*, to wit *Andronicus Comnenus*, was soe eminent and egregious in al tiranical pollicy, that *Egnatius* woorthily calleth him. *Callidissimum mortalium*; The most crafty of al mortal men, of whose manner of gouernment, I wil saye somewhat breefly, to the end it may appeare how little security a prince may haue by wicked policy against the hatred of men.

Epico.
Ioan. Bap.
Egnatij.

Nicetas Choniates
in Andronico
Comneno. li. 1.

19. This *Andronicus* hauing with greate art and suttlety, obtained to be tutor to the young Emperour *Alexius* sonne to *Emanuel*, made him selfe shortly after, his companion in the Empire, procuring the death of the Emperesse mother to *Alexius* and of diuers others, whose liues he thought to be preiudicial to his pretence, and with in a while also caused the young Emperour him selfe to be murdred, notwithstanding his former oath of fidelity solemnly confirmed with receiuing the blessed Sacrament. And being then Emperour alone, and finding him selfe to be hateful to his people, he practised al the tiranical policy, which could be deuised for his owne conseruation; He garded his pallace, and person, with strong gardes of barbarous strangers, and the most desperate fellows that could be found, who could neither speake nor vnderstand the language of the country; and he had besids euery night at his chamber dore a huge

Andronicus
Comnenus em-
perour of *Con-*
stantinople, an
egregious poli-
tike.

Idem li. 2.
His gardes of
barbarous stran-
gers, and his
great dogs.

Idem li. 1. & 2.
His wicked in-
struments.

huge mastiffe dogg, so fierce that he durst fight hand to hand with a lyon, or with an armed man on horse back; He was also provided of wicked instruments for the execution of his wil in al cases, as spies, promoters, and false witnesses, whereby many noble men were killed, imprisoned, or banished, for no other cause, but for that he feared, that either their credit with the people, or their power, or their welth, or their wit, might proue in time dangerous to his state;

20. Yet neuerthelesse knowing right wel, that the more his empire florished in iustice, the more it wold be to his honour, benefit, and security; he shewed such special care thereof, that he excelled many notable princes therein, not only providing for the election of iust and wise officers, but also seuerely punishing those, who either did, or permitted, any wrong to be donne to the meanest or poorest subiect he had. Besids that he ordained, and gaue most liberal allowance to al magistrats for their maintenance, to the end, that they should not haue any neede, or pretence to take bribes, and such as were proued to be corrupt, he punished so exemplarly, that with in a while no magistrat durst take so much as a present of any man, though it was neuer so voluntarily offred; he shewed him selfe affable, and courteous to the poore, and seemed ful of pittie and compassion when he heard their complaints, and did them exact iustice, and further tooke such order for the releefe of the necessities of the common people, that al kind of vittails were most plentiful and cheap, the ground wel tilled, and manured; the countries wel inhabited, villages and citties much augmented; and the commonwelth greatly enriched.

Idem li. 2.
His care of the
administration
of iustice in all
things which
did not touch
his particuler
benefit or plea-
sure.

Idem Ibid.

21. Such was the care he seemed to haue of iustice, and of the publike good, which neuerthelesse he respected no further then it might tourne to his owne particuler benefit or pleasure, wherof he preferred the consideration, before al things what soeuer, as al tirants doe. For as he provided the commonwelth of notable magistrats, so he furnished his court and counsel with wicked counsellors and Iudges, void of al conscience, who executed his wil vpon al such as incurred his dislike, or suspicion, banishing some, spoiling others of their goods, depriuing others of their eyes, drowning and murdering diuers se-
cretly,

He furnished his
commonwelth
with good ma-
gistrats and his
court with wic-
ked Counsellors
and iudges.

*Idem. li. 1.
He suspected
made avray his
most faithfull
servants.*

*His deep dissi-
mulation, and
fayned piety.*

Idem. li. 1.

*His horrible
cruelty craftily
concealed.*

*Andronicus
had the quintes-
sence of Macchi-
aueles policy.*

*Idem.
Ibid.
His feares and
suspitions.*

cretly, and condemning many publickly vpon false pretences, of whom neuertheless he him selfe would seeme to haue greate compassion. As for example; vnderstanding that one *Ifacius* a noble man had taken armes against him in the Iland of *Ciprus*, he picked a quarrel against two of his owne trustiest seruants and fauorits, because they were greate friends of the other, and caused them to be accused of treason, comdemned, & executed, and when sure was made vnto him after their deaths, that their bodies, which were hanged vp, might be taken doune and buried, he seemed so much to pittie their case, that he shed abundance of teares, lamenting that the sentence of the Iudges & the seuerity, & authority of the lawes, must needs ouerweigh his desire, & the affection that he beare them. And when any were toucht with matter of sedition, not only they them selues, but also al their whole kindred, and families were condemned and ruined, to the end that none should be left of their race to reuenge it. The which neuertheless he seemed rather to permit, and suffer to be donne, then him selfe to ordaine it; For he caused his Iudges and magistrats to geue those sentences by publik Edict, with plausible preambles, shewing their care of the fauty of the Emperours person, and referring it not to his commandement, but to the deuine inspiration, as a thing necessary for the seruice of God, and the good of the commonwelth.

22. Here now I appeale to any *Macchiauillian*, whether *Andronicus* had not the quintessence of *Macchiauels* policy before *Macchiauel* was borne, and whether he wanted ether desire, wit, or wickednes, to conserue his estate against the hatred of men, if it had bene possible to haue donne it by wicked meanes. Therefore let vs see the end, which was such, that it may serue for an exemplar warning to al *Macchiauillian* politikes.

23. Whiles *Andronicus* gouerned in this manner, his cruelty and iniustice did purchase him more hatred, then the good which he did for the publik could recompence, which filled him euery daye with new feares, suspitions, and iealousies, especially after that he was pressed with warres by *William King of Sicely*; who hauing ouerthrowne some of his armies, and taken *The Salonica*, and other townes of importance, marched towards *Constantinople*, wherewith the people beganne to take courage, and to

and to discover their hatred towards *Andronicus* daily more and more, which put him in such feare of conspiracies, that he consulted with sorcerers, and witches, and especially with one *Seithus* a magician, who deuined by a basen of water; And one daye when *Andronicus* desired to know the name of his successor, *Seithus* shewed him in the water the two letters. *I.* and. *S.* whereby he and his counsellours coniectured that it should be *Isacius* (who was rebelled against him in the Island of *Cyprus*, as I haue declared) neuerthelesse, for as much as there was another *Isacius* surnamed *Angelus* at the same time in the court, a man of so quiet a spirit, and so smal courage, that *Andronicus* him selfe (as suspicious as he was) did no way suspect him, one of his special counsellors, suggested to him, that it were good to command the said *Isacius Angelus* to be taken and put in prison to preuent the worst, lest, saith he, we may seeke the viper abroad in the field, when perhaps we haue him in our bosome; And though *Andronicus* seemed at first to contemne *Isacius*, as a man no way to be feared, yet at last it was resolued by him and his counsel that he should be taken, and for that purpose, *Stephanus* (one of his chief counsellours and worst instruments) went him selfe with certaine of his catchpoles to the house of *Isacius*, who defending him selfe, killed *Stephanus*, and ran presently with his sword bluddy in his hand through the market place, to take Sanctuary in the cheef church of the towne, imploring as he went, the aide of the people, and declaring what he had donne, and why; The people flocked after him to the church, pitying greatly his case, and commending his act; and at length their courage encreasing with their multitud, they began to embolden one another first to defend *Isacius*, and after to make him Emperour, which being propounded to the whole assembly, was accepted and allowed of them al, though he him selfe neither desired it, nor so much as dreamed of it, but thought him selfe wel apaied if he could saue his life.

24. This resolution being taken amongst them they proclaimed him emperour, first in the church, and after in the streets, which was approued with general consent of the nobility and people of the city, who came al to yeeld him obedience and to assist him; *Andronicus* seeing him selfe forsaken of al his subiects

His sorceres & witchcrafts.

How he was overreached in his sorceres.

How his wickednes turned to his overthrow.

Isacius fearing to loose his life was suddenly made Emperour.

Andronicus forsaken of al his subiects.

The reward &
miserable end of
his tyranny.

The fruite of
Macchiauillian
policy.

Examples out
of our histories
Polidor virgil.
i. 7.

Idem. lib.

Idem. lib.

Idem. lib.

Syr Thomas Mo-
re in King Ri-
chards lyfe.

durst not trust to the strength neither of his pällace, nor of his gards, nor of his greate dogg, but fled away in a boat, and was shortly after taken, and brought back loden with yron chaines, skörned, and reuiled by the people, his haire of his head and beard pulled away, his teeth strooken out, his right hand cut off, and a few daies after, one of his eyes being pulled out of his head, he was set vpon a skabbed camel, appareled ridiculously, and caried through the streetes to be shewed to the people; who cast vpon him al kind of ordure, and filth, euery one contending who should deride him, or abuse him most; and at last, he was hanged vp by the heeles, his apparel torne from him, and his naked body wounded by who soeuer wold stricke him, as many did in diuers manners, some for sport, some for reuenge of iniuries, some to try their swords, and some their strength, til at length he was hacked and hewed in pieces. Loe here the fruite of Macchiauillian policy, the lamentable issue of wickednes and tyranny, and the smale assurance that tirants haue against the hatred of their subiects, either by vsurped power, or impious policy; whereto I might adde a special obseruation of Gods iust Iudgements, but that I haue determined not to vrge the same in this chapter. Thus much concerning the Roman and Greeke Emperours.

25. I may also produce many other notable examples of this matter out of the histories as wel of our owne country as of al others. For what caused the destruction of Edmond Ironside who was muredred vpon a priuy, or the continual rebellions in the tyme of king Iohn; or the vntimely death of Edward the 2. broched with a Spit; or of Richard the 2. first depofed, & after slayne in prison; or yet of Richard the 3. forsaken of his nobility, and commons and killed at Bosworth field? what els, I saye, was the cause thereof, but the hatred of their subiects? And as for the last of these, I meane Richard the third, if we consider his malignant and trecherous nature, his cruelty, his deepe dissimulation, his diuelish deuyses & inuentions (as wel to gett the crowne, as after to conserue it) his murders and mischeefes, and his other horrible impiety, wee shal not find him inferiour to the most famous tyrants of former tymes for al impious and wicked policy, which neuerthelesse could not free him from the danger of

ger of destruction, which the hatred of his subiects drew vpon him.

26. But what neede I alledge other examples seeing the mirrour of Machiuel's owne prince, (to wit *Cesar Borgia*) may serue for a witnes of this matter: For though he so far surpassed all former tyrants in wickednes and tyrannical policy, that *Machiuel* made special choise of him, to frame his wicked prince by the model of his tyranny, yet could not he vphold, and conferue his state against the hatred of men, but being abandoned by his subiects, and friends, became a notable example not only of human imbecillity, but also of the woful end of such as trust to wicked policy, as I haue declared before vpon other occasions,

*An Example of
Cesar Borgia.*

Guicciar. li. 6.

Chap. 3. nu. 4:
& chap. 13. nu. 4.
& 5.

*Christiern k. of
Denmark.*
Surius in Com-
ment. an. 1517.
Olaus mag. li. 8.
c. 39.
*Henry the 6. k. of
france.*

27. And though all former examples should fayle vs, yet one or two of the last age stil fresh in memory, might suffice for a warning to princes, how they incurre the general hatred of their subiects, I meane the lamentable end of *Christiern* king of *Denmark*, first driuen out of his kingdome by his owne people for his tyrannical cruelty, and after also taken, imprisoned, and poysoned by them: (as I haue signified before) and of *Henry* the 3. last king of France, who though he be not to be numbred amongst the wicked tyrants before mentioned, yet may serue for an example of the smale assurance that a prince may haue against the hatred of his people, seeing that an army of 40000 men, could not defend his person against the resolution of a simple man, who slew him in the midst of them all; whereby wee maye see how true it is which *Seneca* saith. *Qui suam vitam contemnit, tunc dominus erit; he which contemnes his owne life, shal be mayster of thine.*

*No power or po-
licy can defend
a prince from
the resolution of
some one man.*

28. Hereupon therefore it followeth that no princes power or policy can sufficiently warrant, and assure his estate against the vniuersal hatred of men, especially considering the little security, that wicked princes, when they grow to be hated, haue, of their owne guards, or armyes; which though they are the special meanes of their defence, yet serue many times for no other end, then to butcher and slaughther theym, as I haue declared before in the 13. chapter, where I haue alleged the examples of *Caligula*, *b Caracalla*, *c Heliogabalm*, *Philip*, *d Gallien*, *Machrinus*, *e Aurelianus*, *f Maximinus*, and others slayne partly by their souldiars & partly by their gardes, not with standing the greate liberality

*The little secu-
rity that wic-
ked princes haue
of their gardes or
armyes.*

num. 11.
a Sueton.
b Spartian.
c Lamprid.
d Trebellius pol-
lio. e Flau. Vopi-
scus. f Iulius
Capitol.

Julius Capitolin in
Maximin.

which many of these Emperours vsed to buy their affections and fidelity; As it may be wel obserued (to omit dyuers others) in Maximinus, of whome *Julius Capitolinus* saith. *Ea astutia fuit, vt milites non solum virtute regeret, sed etiam premijs et lucris sui amantissimos redderet. He was so crafty, that he did not only gouerne his souldiars by vertue, but also wanne their affections by gifts and rewards: and yet neuertheless they conspyred diuers tymes against him, and at length when he was denounced publike enemy by the Senat, and some what distressed in his march towards Rome for lack of vittayles, they killed him, and his sonne in their tents, and sent their heads to Rome.*

The fruite of
cruelty.

Idem.
Ibidem.

num. 12. & 13.
The infelicity of
such princes as
seekerather to be
feared then to be
beloued.

Plutar. in Galba.

29 And herein I wish two things to be noted; the one, the fruit of cruelty; for this Maximinus being made Emperour tyrannically by his souldiars against the wil of the Senat, followed the principles which *Maecbiauel* teacheth his prince, perswading him him selfe, as *Julius Capitolinus* testifieth; *Nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri; That he could not hold the Empire but by cruelty*, wherein he so exceeded; that some called him, *Cyclops*, some *Bustris*, some *Scyron*, some *Typhon*, and some *Thalaris*, and therefore in the end he receiued the iust reward thereof, at the hands of his owne souldiars, to whome notwithstanding his greate donatiues he became no lesse odious then to other men. The other thing which I wish to be obserued, is that, which I haue also touched in the 13. chapter, concerning the greate infelicity of such princes, as seeke rather to be feared then to be beloued, for though they are forced for their owne safety, to become slaues to those, by whome they keepe others in slavery, yet they are not secure thereby, being stil in danger not only of others, but also of them who should defend them, whose mercenary minds, are so inconstant, and subiect to corruption, that the liues of the princes whome they gard, are euer salable, and therefore neuer warrantable by any humane policy, or power; for let the prince geue them neuer so much, to bind them to his seruice, yet he that shal geue, yea or promise more, may winne them from him, as it hath fallen out diuers tymes to the Roman Emperours, who haue ben sold by their souldiars, and gards, not for reddey money, but for the promise of greater summes, then could be expected at their hands, as *Plutarke* noteth in the gards and souldiars of *Nero*, corrupted by

Nim.

Nimphidius in fauour of *Galba*, vpon promise of a greater donatiue then could afterwards be performed, which saith he caused the destruction both of *Nero* and *Galba*; for the souldiars forsooke *Nero* in hope of the payment promised; & killed *Galba* because he could not pay it; so tickle is the trust that princes repose in mercenary men, and so vnsecure the state that is to be vpholden by such vnsecure, and weake propps, which many tymes fayle, when there is most neede of them.

30. Furdermore an other especial and ineuitable danger is to be noted, which any prince generally hated must needs incurre, to wit, the defection of his subiects in al occasions of inuasion from forraine cuntries, for although he be neuer so strong at home in gards, garrisons, and fortresses, and his subiects also so poore and weake that they neither dare, nor can rise against him, yet if forraine princes do inuade him, either vpon a quarrel of state (which amongst princes that are neighbours neuer wanteth) or vpon ambition to enlarge their dominions, what remedy hath he against the general hatred of his people, who haue then sufficient oportunitie, and meanes to be reuenged of him, and to free them selues from the yoke of his tiranny, by taking part with the forrainger, whereof the experience hath bene seene often times.

An inuitable danger which a prince generally hated must needs incurre.

31. We read in *Iustin* that the subiects of *Demetrius* king of *Siria* abandoned him for the hatred which they bore him, and tooke part with a knowne counterfeite, cauling him selfe *Alexander*, pretending to be of the roial race (as did *Perkin Warbeck* in England) which *Alexander* they accepted for their king, being so incensed against *Demetrius*, that they were content (saith *Iustin*) to admit any who soeuer, to be rid of him. Also the last kings of *Naples*, no lesse rich & potent then wickedly politick, being most hateful to their subiects for their tyrannical gouernment, were forsaken of theim al, & betrayed to the french, to whome they yeelded theim selues with out any resistance; as I haue signified so amply in the 22. chapter that I shal not neede to speake furder thereof in this place.

Iustin. li. 39. Demetrius king of Siria.

Guicciard. li. 6. Philip. Comin. in Carolo. 2. Alfonso and Ferdinand kings of Naples.

32. Also *Lodonic Sforza* Duke of *Milan* may serue for a notable example of this matter. For when *Leuy* the 12. King of France, made warre against him, and had already taken diuers principal

Lodonic Sforza duke of Milan.

Guicciardin. li. 4.

Polidor. vergil.
in Ioan.
King Ihon of
England.

Matth. vvest-
mon. anno.
1216.

Macchiauel
seeking to expel
and remedy one
poison with an
other poisoneth
his prince
double.

The danger
which tyrants
incur by the
ordinary errors
proceeding of
humane imbe-
cillity.

townes, and forts in the state of Milan, Duke Lodouic knowing him selfe to be very odious to his subiects for his greate exactions, and impositions, and fearing lest they wold abandon him, assembled the people of Milan to recouer their good wills, and not only remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them, but also gaue them many reasons and excuses of his former proceedings; neuertheles such was the hatred which they had conceiued against him, that within a few dayes after, they tooke armes, killed Antonio Landriano his treasurer, forced him to flee, cauled in the french, & yelded the toun and them selues to their obedience. Haue we not seene also the like effect of hatred in England, in the tyme of king Iohn when the Barons and nobility of the realme cauled in Lewis the 8. king of france whiles he was Dolphin, and proclaymed him king, choosing rather to liue vnder the ancient enemyes of the English nation, then to obey king Iohn their natural king, who as Matthew of westminster wyreth. *Exosum se prabuit &c. Made him selfe hateful vnto them, as vvel for the murder of his nephew Arthur, as for his adulteries his tyrany, his exactions, the continual seruitude vtherin he kept England, and lastly for the vyarre which his deserts procured, in respect vtherof. Vix alicuius meruit lamentatione deplorari, he deserued not to be lamented scarcely of any man.* Thus saith he. I forbear to alledge many other notable histories to the same purpose, for that I hold it needeles in a matter so euident as this.

33. What then shal we say of Macchiauels pestilent precepts for the preseruacion of a prince already infected, and poysoned with wickednes? Can we say ought els, but that whiles he seeketh by one poyson to expel or remedy an other, he poysoneth him double, and killeth him out right? For a wicked prince adding, as Macchiauel aduise, wickednes to wickednes, and cruelty to cruelty, doth accumulat vpon him selfe hatred vpon hatred, which as I haue declared, wil breake out sooner or later to his overthrow.

34. Neither can the Macchiauillian helpe his maisters cause, by saying, that such wicked princes, as haue perished by the hatred of men, haue committed some error or other, which they should or might haue foreseene, and auoided; for, I haue made it manifest throughout this whole discourse, that the imbecil-
lity

lity of mans wit and power is such, that no man living is able to foresee and prevent al the dangers and accidents which may occurre in the affaires of men to the overthrow of their designmets which I haue evidently proued by examples of the absurd errors as wel of the wisest Senats and counceils, as of most politick men. Where vpon it followeth that the prince who exposeth him selfe to the general hatred of men incurreth notable danger.

Chap. 3. 4. & 9.

35. For euen as townes of warre, or fortresses which haue no enemy neere, do, or may commit many errors in matters pertaining to their defence, with out any danger, but being besegged by their enemies, are sometimes surpris'd by the occasion of their least ouersight or negligence; so it fareth with princes, who, so long as they are generally beloued, are little or nothing preiudiced by many errors which faule out in their gouernment, but being once, as I may terme it, besegged with the hatred of their subiects, and neighbours, they are ruined some times with the least error which they or their magistrates commit; For the hatred of men when it is general, may be compared to a swelling sea, which enuironing a ship on euery side, doth otherwhiles ouerwhelme it with the impetuosity of waues and sometimes againe entreth in at euery little leake, or rift, and sinketh it. Euen so also the general hatred of men, doth not only overthrow a princes state, by potent, and powerful attempts, but also by taking aduantage of euery little error, or accident which may help to ruine it. And therefore, for as much as the weakness of mans wit, and the variety of times, and occasions produce alwaise some dangerous accidents in the states of princes, either by their errors, or otherwaies (where vpon their industrious, and watchful enemies, especially at home, may take aduantage) it followeth that no prince generally hated can liue long in security be he neuer so dilligent, vigilant, or suspicious of al men, as Macchiauel wold haue his prince to be.

Euery little error of a prince generally hated is very dangerous.

No prince generally hated can long liue in security, & why.

36. Who could vse greater vigilancy, or dilligence for his owne conseruation, or be more suspicious then Alexander the tiran of Phares, who though he loued his wife Thebes very dearly, yet neuer came to her chamber, but he caused both her coffers, and her selfe to be searched, to see whether she had any weapon

Cicero de officiis li. 2.

No vigilancy sufficeth against the general hatred of men.

hid

Sueton. in Claudio.

Idem in Domitiano.

Most provident and politike princes overthrow some tymes by their owne policies.

Chap. 3. 4. & 13.

A nother danger proceeding of humane infirmity.

Nicar. in Iulio Cesar.
Iulius Cesar.

hid in his garments, and neuerthelesse was killed by her in the end? Could any man be more prouident for his owne safety then was *Claudius* the Emperour, who wold neuer goe to any banker, but where his owne gards and souldiars serued the table, and neuer visited any sick man, whose chamber was not searched before by some of his gards, euen to the very beds and bedstraw? and yet he was poisoned at last by his owne taster, whome he neuer suspected; What should I saye of *Domitian* the Emperour who was so feareful and suspicious of al men, that he made the walls of his galleries, where he vsed to walke, to be sette ful of a kind of bright and cleare stone called *Phengites*, wherein he might see what soeuer was donne behind him? and neuerthelesse he was murdred by his owne chamberlins.

37. Many such other examples might be alledged of princes, who besids their great gards, and armies for the defence of their persons vsed also al humane dilligence, being ielouse and suspicious of al men, and yet neuerthelesse were ouer-reached, some times by those whome they most feared, and sometimes by those whome they least suspected, or best trusted. Whereto I ad (as I haue also noted els where and can not repeat too oft) that some times the most prouident, and politike princes, are through the imbecillity of humane wit, ouerthrowne by their owne policies, that is to say by the same meanes, whereby they seeke either to benefite them selues, or to hurt and destroy others; as hath sufficiently appeared by the examples of *Cesar Borgia* himselfe, the Admiral *Chastillon* in France, *Henry* the third last King of France, and diuers others of whome I haue spoken before in sundry parts of this treatise.

38. But what security can a wicked prince haue by gards or other humane prouidence, and dilligence, seeing we see sometimes that the wisest and best garded being aduertised of some imminent danger, either haue not the hap to vnderstand it, or the wit to beleue it; So it hapned to *Iulius Cesar*, who as he was going to the Senat, receiued a memorial, wherein the conspiracy against him was discovered, and being willed to read it presently, for that it imported him greatly, was so troubled with the presse and importunity of suters, that he could not attend vnto it, and so was killed the same daye in the Senat house. Also

Archib.

Archias a tirant in *Thebes* being invited to a supper, where his death was conspired, receiued a letter from a friend of his contei-ning an aduice of the conspiracy, and being desired by him that brought it, to read it out of hand, for that it concerned matters of great importance, he answered that it was no time then to negociat, and so laying it a side, was slaine with in two houres after. In like manner *Charles* the last duke of *Burgundy*, who as I haue declared before, was killed at *Nancy* by the treason of *Campobachio* an Italian, was aduertised and forewarned thereof by *Lewis* the 11. king of France; Neuerthelesse perswading him selfe that his aduertisement proceeded either of malice to *Champobachio* or of a desire to depriue him of his most necessary, and trusty seru-ant, wold not beleue it, but loued him the better for it; besides that, one who was priuy to the conspiracy being condemned to dye for an other matter, and determining to reueale it to the duke, thereby to obayne his pardon, made sute vnto him to speake with him, promising to aduertise him of some things which it imported him greatly to know, but the duke wold not be intreated so much as to heare him, and so the man was executed, and the duke slaine with in a few daies after.

39. Now then I wold gladly know of *Macchiauel*, and his followers, what security they can promise their prince in extre-mity of wickednes, seeing it is euident by the reasons and ex-amples alledged, that the extreame hatred which extreame wic-kednes draweth vpon them, doth, not with standing al their power and policy, woorke their ouerthrow by so many meanes, as I haue declared, to wit, by open rebellions, or the general in-surrection of a whole people, by the enterprise of a few, by the attempt of some one man, by the disloyalty, and trechery of fai-ned friends, fauorits, souldiars, and gards, by the defection of subiects in fauor of some enemy forrain or domestical, by the negligence of officers, and ministers, by the casualty of al humane affaires, and designments, and lastly by the errours wherto al hu-mane wit and policy is subiect (which to princes that are ge-nerally beloued are nothing so dangerous) by al which meanes, the strongest, mightiest, and most politick tirants haue bene ouer-throwne at one time or other,

40. So that the absurdity of *Macchiauel*, is most manifest in

Ecc

true

Idem. in pelop-
pida.
Archias a ty-
rant of *Thebes*.

Philip. Com. in
Lodouico 11. c.
83. & 91.
Charles duke of
Burgundy.

How many
wayes a wic-
ked prince is
endangered.

Macchianel ex-
poseth his prince
to an assured
danger, and
geueth him not
so much as a
probable re-
medy.

Plutarc in his
treatise, how to
know, whether
a man haue pro-
fited in vertu.
The furder a
prince proceed-
eth in macchi-
auels policies the
more he endan-
gereth him selfe.

The torment of
conscience
which tyrants
endure.

an. 2. 3. 4. 5. & 6.

Cicero Tuscul.
quæst. lib. 5.
Denis tyrant of
Sicily.

true reason of state, seeing that in counselling princes to wickednes and tyranny, vpon confidence of humane force and policy, he exposeth them to an assured danger, and doth not geue them any assured or probable remedy, but rather heapeth danger vpon danger, by encrease of cruelty and of al tirrannical impiety; In so much that it may be said to *Macchianels* prince, as *Diogenes* said to a disciple of his, whome he had forbidden the tauerne; for seeing him one day running from the tauerne dore, where he stood, into the tauerne to hide him selfe from him, he cauled vnto him saying, come back thou foole for the furder thou goest forward, the more thou art in the tauerne: and so may we saye to *Macchianels* prince, that the furder he proceedeth in his dangerous course of wicked policy, the more he endangereth him selfe, and as the Poët saith. *Incidit in scillam cupiens Vitare charibdim*, that is to say, seeking to auoide scilla he fauleth into charibdis, or as our English prouerb saith, he leapeth out of the frying pan, into the fire.

41. But put the case that a *Macchianillian*, or wicked prince could by *Macchianels* policies assure his estate from al forraine and domestical danger, yet he should infallibly pay such a greuous penalty of his wickednes euen in this world, that he should reape neither pleasure nor profit thereby; For such excesse of impiety (as *Macchianel* requireth in his prince) is euer accompanied not only with hatred of men, and infamy, but also with greefe and anguish of mind, infinit suspicions, and feares. weary dayes, restless nights, dreadful dreames, and continual torment, and horreur of conscience, yea and many tymes with distraction madnes, and despayre, as I haue signified in the 16. Chapter where I haue already handled this point; and therefore wilbe the breefer here, meaning only to adde some 2. or 3. examples, which there I thought good to omit.

42. The elder *Denis* tyrant of *Sicily* though he raigned 38. yeres in greate welth, and magnificence, yet liued in such continual feare, ielously, and suspicion of al men, that he durst neuer trust any barber to dresse him, but taught his owne daughters to shaue whiles they were very youthig; and when they came to be of any yeres, he wold not suffer them to vse the rasor, but made them burne a waie the hayres of his beard with walnut-shels, made

made red hote, and hauing two wiues, he alwaie caused them to be searched, before he wold come to them, and when he had occasion to treat any thing with the people, he spoke vnto them from the top of a high towre; And how miserable also his whole life and state was, he him selfe declared sufficiently, when *Damocles* one of his flatterers admiring his greate welth, dominion, magnificence, and maiestie said that he thought no man liuing more happy then he. Whereupon *Denis* asked him whether he wold try how happy he was, & take a tast of his felicity; & when *Damocles* was content there with, he caused him to be sett vpon a sumptuous bed (as the vse was then) richly couered, and cubbards of plate to be furnished with siluer and golden vessel, tables replenished with al kind of delicat meates, and most beautiful boyes attending thereon; besids that, there was no want of precious oyntments, and sweete perfumes, excellent musick, and whatsoeuer els might delite the senses, in so much that *Damocles* thought him selfe to be a happy man. But at length, casting vp his eyes, he was aware of a bright, and sharpe sword hanging ouer his head by a hayre, with the point downward (for so had *Denis* ordayned) which when he saw, he had no more pleasure in beholding his fayre boyes, or his rich furniture, or to eate of his dainties, or to heare his musick, but desired the tirant to geue him leaue to be gonne, for that he wold be no longer happy; Thus did *Denis* wel expresse the infelicity and misery of wicked tirants, how pompious, potent, or magnificent soeuer they may seeme to be.

Idem.
Ibidem.

How *Denis* represented to *Damocles* the miserable state of a tyrant.

43. I omit to speake of the Emperours *Nero*, *Claudius* and *Domitian*, and of King *Alfonsus* of *Naples*, of whome I haue spoken before, & I wil only touch the wretched state of K. *Richard* the third, after he had murdered his neuwes, as sir *Thomas Moore* describeth it in the story of his life in these woords. I haue heard (saith he) by credible report of such as were secret vvith his chamberers, that after this abominable deede donne, he neuer had quiet in his mind, he neuer thought him selfe sure; vvhen he vvent a broad, his eyen whirled about, his body vvvas primly fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner, like one alvvay redy to strik; he took no rest a nights, lay long vvaking, and musing, sore vvieried vvith care, and vvatch, rather slumbred then slept, troobled vvith feareful dreames, suddainly sometymes started vp, leapt

Chap. 26. nu. 5.

Sir Tho. Moore in the story of K. Richard the 3. The tormented conscience of K. Richard the 3. after he had killed his neuwes.

out of his bed, and ranne about the chamber; so vvas his restles hart tossed, and tumbled vvvith the tedious impression, and stormy remembrance of his abominable deede. Thus saith Sir Thomas Moore.

Plutark that
wickednes suf-
fiseh to make a
man miserable.
Ibidem.

44. Whereby we may see that Plutark had greate reason to say, that wickednes is of it selfe sufficiēt to make a man miserable, & that wicked men the longer they liue the more miserable they are, and that the doleful & tragical ends vvich most tirants haue, can not be so properly counted the temporal punishment due to their vvickednes in this life, as the consummation and end thereof. Therefore I conclude, that though there were no other punishment diuine, nor humane to be feared for wickednes, nor any danger to follow thereof to a princes state, neither any hel or heauen after this life, yet this continual torment and anguish of mind, this hel and horroure of conscience, might suffise to make al princes detest & abhorre the abominable precepts of Machiavel, who wold perswade princes to conserue their states by wickednes.

An obiection in
fauour of mac-
chiavillians.

45. But perhaps the Macchiavillians wil say here in defence of their maisters doctrine, that although it should not be amisse for those who come iustly, and lawfully to souuerainty (as by succession, or election) to procure the loue and good wil of al men by their vertuous, and iust gouernment, yet a prince who cometh to his state by intrusion and iniustice, as by murders and mischeefes to the preiudice of the right heires, or owners thereof, can not hope to conserue and maintaine him selfe therein by vertue and iustice, or by the loue of the people (whose hatred he hath alreddy incurred) but by force and feare, and by continuance of wickednes & tiranny, which Cicero may seeme to haue insinuated in Demis the tirant of Sicily, of vvhome he saith that. *Salus esse non posset, si sanus esse cepisset.* He could not haue bene saufe, if he had begunne to be found, that is to say, he could not haue ben secure, if he had become iust and vertuous. The which also Solon the wise Athenian may seeme to haue signified of al tirants, for vvhen he was moued by his frends to make him selfe tirant of Athens, with intention to gouern wel and iustly afterwards, he refused it saying, that Tiranny is like to a laborinth vvich hath no issue. Meaning as it may seeme, that a tirant can not with his security retorne from wickednes to vertue, but that he must proceede, and goe on in impiety, and tiranny, hauing, as it were, a woollfe by the

Cicero Tuscul.
quest. lib. 5.

Plutar. in Solon.

Tiranny like a
laborinth vvich
hath no issue.

carcs,

cares, whome if he lett goe, he settis vpon him selfe. Thus say the Macchiauillians, or at least may say, for I am content to plead their cause for them.

46. For the satisfaction hereof, it is to be considered, that *Cicero* & *Solon* said this aboue mentioned, not because they thought that the way and passage from vice to vertue is not open as wel for tyrants, as for other men, but to signify the malignity of their natures, and their miserable state, for that tyrants are commonly of so vile, maligne, and beastly natures, that it is seeldome seene that any of them come to embrace vertue, in which respect *Cicero* thought tyrants to be most miserable; besides that *Solon* being most wise, and prudent was not ignorant that honours as the proverbe saith *changeth manners*, and therefore he greatly feared that if he should once geue way to ambition, & violate iustice by the oppression of the common welth, he should hardly repaire the wrack of his owne conscience euer after. For who soeuer shal loose, as I may terme it, the ancor of integrity, and suffer him selfe to be so farre caried away with the wind of ambition, that he runne the ship of conscience, against the rocks of tyranny, let him not maruel if he make an irreparable shipwrack, of al iustice, and vertue. Neuerthelesse if a prince that hath gotte a crowne or state vniustly, do hold such a vertuous course, that he conuert his tyranny into a regal and iust government, it is euident, both by reason and experience, that though he hold not his il gotten state lawfully, yet he shal possesse it with farre lesse danger, and much more security.

The malignant nature, and miserable state of tyrants signified by Cicero and Solon.

Honour changeth manners.

A tyrant conuerting his tyranny to a royal and iust government, shal be much more secure then by continuance of tyranny.

num. 8. & 9. Plutar. in Dion.

num. 4. 2. Plutar. in Dion.

47. And this is conforme not only to the opinion, and doctrine of *Aristotle*, as I haue declared before in this chapter, but also of *Plato*, who councelled the two tyrants of *Sicily* called *Denis* (the father and the sonne) to chaunge their tyrannical course into a iust manner of government, assuring them that they could not otherwaile long conferue and assure their estates: the truth whereof appeared sufficiently, as wel by the miserable life of the father (of whome I haue spoken lately before) as also by the ignominious banishment and vnfortunat end of the sonne, whome *Dion* with very smale forces cast out of his kingdome, by reason that he was hated & forsaken of al his subiects, whereas diuers other tyrants, as wel of *Sicily* as of other cuntries, changing

ging their course of tyranny, to a iust and vertuous gouernment, liued and raigned no lesse gloriously then securely.

Anaxilaus.
Iustin. lib. 4.
Examples of ty-
rants which as-
sured their esta-
te, by iustice and
vertu.

48. Such a one was *Anaxilaus* tirant of *Sicily* of whome *Iustin* writeth thus. *Ex tyrannorum numero Anaxilaus &c.* *Anaxilaus* vvh^o vvas one of the tyrants, did strine to surpassse the cruelty, and impiety of others, vvhich his iustice and vertue, vvhich vyrought a vvhonderful effect, for vvhem he died, and left his children very young in the tuition of *Nicithus* a slaue of his, vvhome loued dearly for his fidelity, such vvas the loue that al his subiects boare vnto the memory of him, that they chose rather to obaye his slaue, then to forsake his children, and al his nobility forgetting their dignity and the maiestie of their kingdome, did offer them selues to be gouerned by a slaue. Thus saith *Iustin*. *Plutarck* also testifyeth that *Hieron* and *Gelon* tirants of *Sicily*, and *Pisistratus* the sonne of *Hippocrates* hauing most wickedly possessed them selues of their states, did neuerthelesse gouerne afterwards with such moderation, Iustice, and equity, that they became very popular princes; As also that *Lidiades* the tirant restored vnto his subiects, their old lawes, and priuiledges, and afterwards died gloriously in the field in defence of his cuntry.

Plutar. de sera.
Iustin. lib. 4.
Hieron. Gelon.
Pisistratus.

Lidiades.

Dion in Au-
gusto.
Augustus Cesar.

49. In like manner *Augustus Cesar* after he had opprest his cōmonwelth by force of armes, and vsed such cruelty for many yerres together, that he was hated of al men (in so much that he could neither eate, drink, nor sleepe in queir for feare of conspiracies) changed his course by the counsel of his friends, and gaue him selfe wholly to the exercise of vertue, piety, and iustice, whereby he was at length exceedingly beloued of al his subiects, and esteemed to be *Pater Patriæ*, the father of his cuntry. And passed the rest of his life in no lesse security, then honour and felicity. Whereas very many of his successors, trusting partly to the strength of their gards, garrisons, and armies, and partly to their policies. lost their honour, empire, & liues by the continuance of cruelty, and wickednes; whereby it appeareth that it is better according to the Latin prouerb. *To be late vvhise, then neuer*, and that it is not only easy, but also most secure for a tyrannical prince to passe from cruelty to clemency, from vice to vertue, and from tyranny to iustice and piety.

Water late vvhise
then neuer.

Another obie-
ction of Mac-

50. But do you (saith the *Macchiavellian*) count it wisedome for a prince, so to confyde in iustice, and vertue, that he trust those whom

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whom he hath once iniured, or that hee think him selfe sure from them so long as they liue, seeing that as the Italian proverb saith. *Chi offend non perdona mai*, He vyhich offendeth, that is to say, he which doth thee iniury, neuer pardoneth, and much lesse he which receiueth it?

51. Hereto I answer, that I grant to the *Machiavellian*, that his tirant shal neuer repose so greate confidence in any reconciled enemy, that he shal put his life or state into his hands (to which purpose I haue shewed in the begining of this treatise how the *VVidome of the serpent*, is to be conioined with the simplicity of the *doue*, in pardoning yea, and louing our enemies, and yet in being wary and circumspect how we trust them) but that which I require of a tirant for his security is, that he cease to heape coales vpon his owne head, by continuance & encrease of iniustice, cruelty, and tyranny, and that he labour by al conuenient meanes to pacifye the exasperated minds of those whome he hath offended, not only with woords, but also with deeds, recompensing iniuries with benefits, and disgraces with fauours, cruelty, and seuerity with clemency, benignity and affability, doing iustice to al men, and shewing him selfe to haue a particuler care of the common welth, to preferre the publik good before his owne priuat pleasure, or commodity, to be the patrone, and protector of vertue, the punisher of vice, a refuge to the poore and afflicted, and finally a common father to al, whereby he shal purchase to him selfe the general and vniuersal loue of al, and either extinguish he hatred of those whome he had wronged, and offended, or at least so temper and mittigat the same, that it shal be much lesse dangerous vnto him, when al men generally honour and loue him;

52. Moreouer I allow not only to a reformed tirant, but also to the most lawfull and best prince liuing, al lawfull meanes of defence, as strong gards, garrisons, armies, fortresses, the vigilance of counsellors and magistrats, the diligence of spies and al other lawfull policies; al which concurring with the vertuous, and iust gouernment of a prince, and being fortified with the general loue of his geople (which vertue and iustice engendreth) shal yeeld him the greatest assurance, & security that can be had by any humane meanes.

The answer to the objection.

Chap. 3. nu. 10.

Matth. 10.

How a tyrant may make him self generally beloved.

VVherein the greatest security which can be had by humane meanes consisteth.

53. But

A Reply of the
macchiauillians;
inferring the
necessity of mur-
ders sometimes
for a princes se-
curity.

53. But perhaps the Macchiauillians wil yet reply, and say, that for al this I make not the reformed tirant, no nor any other lawful prince secure; For although he shal be neuer so wel beloued generally, yet, as I haue already proued some one man offended, may not with standing al his force and lawful policies, be reuenged of his person, and therefore the only remedy for the prince (say they) in that case, should be to cut off by some meanes or other, al such as he may think likely to seeke reuenge, or to be any way dangerous to his estate; For as *Theodosius* said to *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt* (when he counselled him to kil *Pompey*) *Mortui non mordent; Dead men byte not.* Thus say they.

Plutar. in *Pompeio*.

A machiauil-
lian proverb &
principle consu-
ed.
num. 41. 42. 43.
& 44.

Olaus mag. li. 2.
ca. 36.
Saxo gram. li. 7.
Paul Diacon.
lib. 15.
Cassiodor.
Chron. an. 454.
c. 6. & 455.
Euagri. li. 2. 7.
Paul. Iouius in
Amurates.

Idem.
Ibidem.

Nicetas Choniz.
in Andronico
Comneno. lib. 2.

54. But what neede the dead to byte him, when not only his owne conscience shal byte and sting him (as I haue signified a little before) but also there shal be men enow left aliue to seeke the reuenge, as their children (if they haue any) or their kinsfolkes, seruants or frends; as for example. *Frotho* king of *Denmark* the 5. of that name, caused his owne brother to be murdered and after killed the murderer, lest he might reueale it, for the which he was smothered with smoke by his brothers children. *Valentinian* the third emperour of that name, hauing vngratfully killed the famous captaine *Aetius* with his owne hand, was killed by two souldiars of *Aetius* in reuenge thereof. Also *Amurates* Emperour of the *Turkes*, the first of that name, was slaine with a dagger by a seruant of *Lascarus*, the *Despota*, or Lord of *Serua* for reuenge of his Lord and maisters death, not with standing that *Amurates* was one of the most crafty and vigilant princes that the *Turkes* euer had, as *Paulus Iouius* reporteth.

55. But amongst al those who haue sought to assure their estate by murders, none euer exceeded *Andronicus Comnenus* Emperour of *Constantinople*, who, as I haue declared before, vied to condemne and extirpat whole families for the suspicion which he had sometimes of some one man, thereby to free him selfe from al feare of reuenge; which neuerthelesse was reuenged in him most notoriously, not only by the frends and wel-willers of the dead, but also by al the people; such being the horror of iniustice, and cruelty, that it doth not only offend those which are iniured, but also al other men, and therefore it hath bene often scene, that subiects haue, attempted against the state or person

Iustin li. 37.
Seleucus king of
Siria forsaeth
of his subiects
for a murder.

person of a prince, for the hatred of some murder, or some one cruel act. Iustin writeth, that when seleucus king of Siria began his gouernment with the murder of Berenice his stepmother, and of her sonne his owne brother, al the citties which were subiect to him in Asia, *Exemplo crudelitatis territa*, Being frighted with this example of cruelty, suddenly revolted from him, and yelded them selues to the obedience of Ptolomeus king of Egypt; *Tantum illi odium*, saith Iustin, *paricidiale scelus attulerat*, so great was the hatred, which his wicked and parricidal act, caused in his subiects towards him. But what neede I alledge old examples for this matter, seeing we haue one yet fresh in memory, whereof I haue had occasion to speake diuers times, to wit the lamentable ruine of Henry the 3. last King of France, who perswading him selfe, that dead men byte not, thought it most secure for him to kill the Cardinal, and Duke of Guyse, which was reuenged (as I haue signified before) not only in his state, by the greatest part of his subiects (who presently vpon the newes thereof tooke armes against him) but also in his person, by one, who was not any way dependant of the Guyse, nor euer had receiued any iniury of him in his life; So vnure and dangerous is the remedy of dangers by murder and cruelty, that the danger is manytimes increased and redoobled thereby.

Henry the 3. &
of France.

Dangers not re-
medyed but in-
creased by cru-
elty.

56. But now, the politike may aske me here, whether I (who inculcat so oft the danger of wicked policye) can assure a princes state by vertue and iustice, in such sort that the same shal not be subiect to any danger or inconuenience. Whereto I answer, that although such is the natural infirmity of mans state, and condicon, and so infinit the hazards and inconueniences whereto he is subiect, and such also the malice of euil men, that no humane force or policy can warrant the best prince liuing from al perils incident to his person or state; yet the assurance and security which any prince may possibly haue of the one or the other, by humane meanes, is to be attained principally by vertue, Iustice, and such policies as are grounded there on, & not by iniustice impiety & wicked policy; for whereas the iustest prince may haue some one, or a few enemies, who may endanger him, the wicked must needs haue many, and the more wicked and cruel he is, the more enemies he shal haue, and consequently

Whether any
princes state
can be assured by
iustice and moral
vertu.

Al the security
which a prince
can haue by hu-
mane meanes is
to be attained
principally by
vertu.

the greater shal be his danger; for if a prince can not be secure from one enemy or a few, he shal be much lesse secure from many, and least of al from the general harred of al men, which infallibly groweth of such excessiue cruelty and wickednes as *Macchianel* requireth in his prince.

Chap. 31. num.
30. 11. 12.

The greatest security of princes consisteth in the loue of their subiects, which ver-
sue procureth.

Macchianel
might haue no-
ted the miserable
end of tyrants, in
al histories

37. Therefore, for as much as it is the part of al wise men, especially in matters of state, to chooseth the least of al dangers or inconueniences, which can not be remedied, and to seeke to preuent and auoide the woorst (as I haue sufficiently declared in my rules for yong Statists) it is euident that as nothing is more dangerous to princes and their states then iniustice and wickednes (which maketh them odious to al men) so nothing is more to be eschued, and auoided of them, then the same; and that the contrary meanes of iustice and vertue is to be embraced and practised, whereby they may purchase the general loue of their subiects; in the which consisteth the greatest security of princes, such being the force and effect of loue, that it causeth in the louers as greate a care of the beloued, as of them selues, in which respect *Seneca* saith. *Vnum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor ciuium.* The only inexpugnable fortresse of princes is the loue of their people.

38. And this is so manifest that *Macchianel* him selfe acknowledgeth it sufficiently, teaching that excellent vertue may conserue a princes state, though he absurdly attribut the like force and effect to wickednes, which truly may be wondred at, if we consider that he being wel read in histories (as it may seeme) could not but see, if he were not wilfully blind, that al such tyrants as haue bene noted to be excessiue in cruelty and wickednes, haue perished miserably one way or other, which hath bene obserued in al ages; and therefore *Cicero* speaking of the violent death of a Tirant saith. *Haud fere quisquam eorum similem interitum effugit.* There is skantly any one tyrant to be found, that escapeth the like destruction, and thereupon also the tragical Poët saith.

Seneca.

----- *Quota pars moritur tempore fati?*
Quos felices cinctia videt?
Vidit miseris abitura dies,
Rarum est felix idemque senex.

The sense is, that few of them liue out the course of nature, and that

that it is a rare thing to see any of them old and happy, whereof also an other Poët saith thus.

*Ad generum cereris, siue cade & sanguine, pauci
Descendant reges, & sicca morte tyranni.*

That is to saye, few tyrants dyet heir natural death, or without blood; Which *Macchiaeus* might haue noted, if not in other histories, yet at least in *Titus Livius*, vpon the which he made certained discourses, for of 7. kings of Rome from *Romulus* to *Tarquinius Superbus*, 4. who got their estates, or at least gouerned them tyrannically, were 3. of the killed, & the fourth banished, as I haue obserued before in *Romulus*, *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Seruius Tullius*, and *Tarquinius Superbus*, whereas the other 3. to wit *Numa Pompilius*, *Tullius Hostilius*, and *Ancus Martius* who were lawfully elected by the Senat and gouerned iustly, and vertuously, liued in security, and died beloued, and lamented of the people. And the like might be obserued in the Romā Emperours after *Julius Caesar*, if it were needfull.

59. But that which seemeth to me most strange in *Macchiaeus* is, that he could not see the experience thereof, at least in *Caesar*, whomeas I haue often signified before, he proposeth to his prince for a mirrour of tyrannical policy, nor with standinge that the successe thereof, was such in him, that all princes may learne thereby to detest it, seeing hee who in *Macchiaeus* opinion was most exact in the speculation and practise thereof, was yetterly ouerthrowne thereby, as well as al other tyrants of former times; which can not be attributed to chance, as the politikes wold haue it, but either to the iust iudgement of God vpon wicked men (which is in deede the principal cause therof, as I wil declare in the next chapter) or at least to the next and immediat cause which for the most part is the hatred of men. And therefore seeing the miserable end of wicked tyrants, not onely hath notorious and knowne causes, but also is so frequent, and common, that it hath bene alwaie held for a matter of common experience, it can not be referred to chance or fortune, which are vnderstood to be in such things only, as are rare, and haue no knowne, and ordinary cause (as I haue declared in the chapter) So that it may rather be counted casual, or a matter of chance, if any notable tyrant doe come to a good end, for that

the same hath bene seeldome seene, and the cause therof secret, or at least vncertaine.

*Macchiaeuel eith-
er grossly ignorant, or
extremely mali-
cious.*

*How Macchia-
uels friends excuse
him at this day.*

*Macchiaeuel
doctrin acknow-
ledged by his friends
to be pernicious to
princes.*

*Macchiaeuel ma-
licious impiety.*

60. Therefore I conclude that *Macchiaeuel* cannot be excused eyther of grosse ignorance, if he knew not that which common experience teacheth (to wit that wicked tirants doe commonly perish miserably,) or of extreme malice if he knew it, and yet laboured to induce princes to wickednes, and tyranny. The later wherof is now sufficiently acknowledged by some Florentines of no meane iudgement his owne cuntrymen, and friends, who in their ordinary discourses concerning his pollicies, doe not stick to confesse that he him selfe knew them to be contrary to true reason of state, and pernicious to princes, & that neuerthelesse desiring to ouerthrow those of the house of the *Medices* which opprest the commonwelth of *Florence* in his tyme, he published his pestilent doctrin, hoping that they wold embrace it & ruine theym selues by the practise therof, wherby the state of *Florence* might returne to the ould Democracy or popular gouernment wher in it had continued many yeres before.

Thus say his friends; but how they befriend him therin excusing him of folly, & excusing him of mallicious impietye, I leaue it to the iudgement of the discret reader. And this shall suffice for the examination of *Macchiauillian* pollicies by only reason of state, wherto I will now ad the consideration of gods prouidence and iustice, and shew therby that not only such extremity of wickednes as *Macchiaeuel* admitteth in his prince, but also all sinfull pollicy whatsoeuer, is against reason of state; and further that all *Macchiauillian* wisdom is mere folly, wherwith I wil conclude this first part of my treatise, reseruing the more ample confutation of *Macchiaeuel* doctrin to the second part, where I shall also haue occasion to lay downe many political precepts for the further instruction of yong statists, and the better accomplishment of my promise in that behalf,



THE ARGVMENT OF THE LAST CHAPTER IS
*prosecuted, with the consideration of Gods iustice in punishing wicked
 princes, by the ministry of al his creatures. Also some what is said of the
 enormity of murders, and of Gods seuerer punishment therof.*

CHAP 35.



IN the last chapter I haue shewed the absurdity
 of Macchiauillian policies, by onely reason of
 state, & now for the further manifestation therof,
 I wil adde in this, the consideration of Gods pro-
 uidence in the disposition of kingdomes, and of
 his iustice in punishing wickednes in al men, and
 particularly in princes, wherof I haue laied the foundatiō befor,
 hauing clearly proued that al states, and kingdomes, are very
 particularly directed, gouerned, and disposed by the prouidence
 of God, which I haue made manifest, not only by the accom-
 plishment of *Daniels* prophesies, concerning the translation of the
 empire of the world, from one nation to an other, but also by
 notorious examples of Gods Iustice in punishing whole common
 welths, kingdomes, and states, for the sinnes, sometimes of the
 people, some times of the princes, and some times of both; And
 finally I haue declared, as wel by reason, and by the authority
 of the best learned, and most famous Philosophers, as also by
 *examples, that al true wisdom and policy is of God, and that
 the wisest worldlings, and most politike gouernours, doe wit-
 hout the same cōmit infinit errours, & goe, as it were groping
 in the dark, in matters concerninge as wel their priuat, as
 publike affaires.

*VVhat the au-
 thors intention is
 in this chapter.*

Chap. 17. per
 totum.

Ibid. num. 4. 5.
 6. & 7. Dan. 2.

Chap. 18. 19.
 20. 21. & 22.

Chap. 23.

*Ibid. num. 19
 20. 21. &c. &
 num. 35. & 36.
 Ibid. num. 17.

Ibidem.
*VVhy Macchia-
 uillian policies.*

2. Al this, I say, I haue shewed at large, and therfore shall
 not neede to repeat it here, but doe draw there vpon this infal-
 lible conclusion, mencioned also sometymes heretofore, that al
 Macchiauillian or wicked policies, are againste true reason of
 state,

as against true
reason of state.

414

A Treatise concerninge part. 1.

state, and most pernicious to princes, and their states; For if all states depend vpon the prouidence of God, and are at his disposition, if they be geuen, conserued, encreased, punished, translated or destroyed, by his ordinance (as I haue clearely proued they are) and lastly if al true wisdom, and policy be of God, it must needs follow, that no act can be truly wise and politicall which is offensiue to God, neither yet any thing good for state, or conforme to true reason of state, which may ptouoke the wrath and punishment of God, on whose wil al states depend; wherupon it also followeth, that not so much as a venial sinne (I meane the least that may be committed) and much lesse such horrible crimes as *Macchiauel* alloweth in his prince, can be according to true reason of state although they may some waye benefit the state by Gods permission, wherof I wil say some what after a while.

Chap. 36. nu.
26. & 27.

3. in the meane tyme I wil here prosecute the former argument a little surther, with the consideration of Gods iustice, wherby it wil be more cleare then the sunne, that wicked policy can not assure, but vtterly destroy the states of princes, and for as much as I treated of this point in the last chapter, examining *Macchiauels* doctrin by onely reason of state, where I ascribed the ouerthrow of wicked princes to the hate of men, for the most part (for that the same is in deede one of the most ordinary causes thereof): therfore I with it here to be vnderstood that neither hatred, nor contempt, nor ambition, nor any passion of man, nor any other humane meanes whatsoever (wherby wicked princes may be ouerthrowne) are any other then secondary, and inferiour causes therof, for that the first and principal cause is the Iustice of God; who for the punishment of the finnes of men, doth serue him selfe, not only of men, but also of Angels, and spiries, good, and bad, of all liuing and sensible creatures, and of the elements and al elemental things, as it is signified in *Ecclesiasticus* where we read that, *Sunt spiritus ad vindictam creati* There are spirits created for reuenge, or punishment of sinne, and againe. *Ignis, grando, fames &c.* Fire, haile, famin, and death, al these things are created for mans punishment, the teeth of beasts, and scorpions, and serpents, and the reuenging sword prepared for the viter extermination of the wicked. Thus far the preacher concerning the

Gods iustice is the
first and principal
cause of the ouer-
throw of wicked
princes.

Eccle. c. 29.
Ibid.

All creatures are
instruments of
Gods will e for
the punishment
of sinne.

mini-

ministry of al creatures in the punishment of the wicked, wherof also the wise man saith. *Creatura tibi factori deserviens &c.* Thy creatures, O Lord, serving thee their Creator, are kindled wth fury for the torment of the vniust.

Sap. 16.

4. This is so euident by the experience of al ages, that it shalbe needeles for me to lay doune any particular examples therof, and therefore I omit to speake of the general deluge in the tyme of Noe, of the burning of Sodoma, and Gomorra with fyre from heauen, of the plagues of Egypt by frogs flees, and locusts, and of infinit inundations, exultions, tempests, pestilences, famins, and earth quakes, wherby whole citties prouinces, and cuntries haue ben destroyed for sinne, God vsing the ministry of his creatures of al sorts for the punishment therof, al which I say I omit as needeles, and wil declare how diuersely God vseth the ministry of man for the punishment of sinne, wherof I wil first speake in general, and afterwards exemplify it particularly in wicked princes.

Genes. 7.

Exod. 7. 8. 9. et 10.

5. The ordinary ministers of Gods iustice, vpon euil men, are kings and princes, or such others as punish malefactors by their authority, in which respect the Apostle saith, that the prince. *Non sine causa gladium portat. Doth not carry his sword in vaine, or without cause, Deienim minister est vindex in iram ei qui malum agit. For he is the minister of God to punish in v^rath him that doth euil;* Neuerthelesse priuat men are sometymes also the ministers of Gods iustice vpon other men, either moued thereto with the zeale of Gods glory, (as Phinees who killed the Israel which committed fornication with the Madianit) or els by mere accident, and chance, as it appeareth in Exodus, where the law of God ordayned, that he who should commit wilful murder, should be punished with death, but he that should by chance, or against his wil kil a man (whom God of his secret iudgements should geue into his hands, for so doth the Scripture geue to vnderstand) such a one, I say, should haue a sanctuary for his refuge; wherby we may see that God maketh some the ministers of his iustice casuall, and against their wills; As sometymes alsoe some are his instruments vⁿwittingly in doing their owne busines, or following their owne affayres, not meaning to do God any seruice therin, as I haue noted in the the 17. chapter of Sennacherib king of the Assyrians, whom

Princes the ordinary ministers of Gods iustice. Rom. 13.

How priuate men are the ministers of Gods iustice. Numc. 25.

Erod. 21. Some men are the ministers of Gods iustice by chance, or against their wills.

Men execute Gods iustice sometymes vⁿwittingly. Num. 7. 11ay. 10.

God.

God cauled in the Prophet, *the rod of his vrrath*, and compared him to an *axe*, or a *saw*, which men vse for their seruice, because he meant to punish the Iewes by him, though he had no imagination thereof, as I haue also noted the like, in the same place of

Ezechiel. ca. 29.

Nabuchodonosor King of Babilon, who executed Gods iustice vpon the people of *Tyrus*, when he tooke and destroyed their citie, either for reuenge of some iniury, or to encrease his dominions.

The secret operation of God in mouing men to the execution of his iustice.
May. 7.

6. Wherein it is to be noted by the way, that God doth not ordinarily vse to stirre and moue princes or other men to execut his iustice by reuelations, mani^{est} inspirations, or by the voice of some prophet, but by such a secret operation that it doth not appeare to be his woork; which is signified by *Isayas* who prophesying of the inuasion of *Hierusalem* by the kings of *Asiria* & *Egypt*, saith, *Sibilabit dominus musca &c.* Our Lord will hiss, or whistle so the fle in the vntermost part of the riuers of *Egypt*, and to the bee of *Asiria*, geuing to vnderstand, that he wold secretly moue the kings of those cuntries to make warre against *Hierusalem*. Therefore the like may be saide of the innundations of barbarous people (as of the *Goths*, *Vandales*, *Hunnes*, and such like) which haue at diuers times ouerfloved christendome, who were no dout the ministers of Gods iustice for the punishment of sinne, in which respect *Attila* the *Hunne*, and the greater *Tamorian* were called, the one *Flagellum Dei*, *The scourge of God*, and the other *Ira Dei*, *The vrrath of God*, though they had no other intention but to satisfy their owne ambition; And so it may also be said of al the warres amongst princes what soeuer their quarrels are, wherby they execut Gods Iustice in punishing the sinnes of the people, though they intend no such matter. And the wickedest man that is, when he spoileth, robeth, ransacketh, & murdereth others, is also the instrument, and minister of Gods iustice, whose infinit wisdom, and prouidence hath ordained, that whiles euil men seeke to satisfy their vnbridled appetits, and desires, they shal exact the penalty of other mens sinnes, it being most consonant to equity, and iustice, that as one sinne is many times the paine, and punishment of an other sinne, so one sinner shal punish an other, yea and that sinners shal also execute Iustice vpon them selues, some times willingly (as we see in such as wilfully make away them

Baron. an^o 451.
Paul Diac li. 15.
Naueler in
Chron. anno.
1400.

How wicked men are the instruments of Gods iustice.

How sinners execute Gods iustice vpon them selues.

them selves) and sometimes against their wills, either killing them selves by chance, or overthrowing them selves by their owne deuises, and policies, in al which Gods prouidence and Iustice notably appeareth, for, seeing that man, and al the parts of his body, and poures of his soule, were principally ordained for Gods seruice, therefore when he emploiet him selfe, his parts and habilities to the offence of God, it is most iust that God employe him and them to his punishment, which turneth also to the seruice of God, who by that meanes is seru'd, & glorifi'd by his very enemies, though not in such manner as they should, yet alwaye in such sort, as to his dequine wildome seemeth conuenient.

God is glorified
in the punishment
of wicked
men.

7 To which purpose I wish also to be obserued that although wicked men, are the ministers and instruments of Gods Iustice vpon sinners, yet it is not either when, or where, or how they wil, but in such time, place, manner, and measure, as it shal please God to permit them. Which I say the rather for that *Macchiavel* seemeth to imagin, that if *Ihon Paul Baglione* Tirant of *Perugia* had bene, as he termeth it, *magnanimamente Scelerato*, Courragiously wicked, he wold or might haue killed Pope *Giulio* the 2. when vpon composition berwixt them the said Pope put him selfe into his hands, and came to *Perugia* without any forces, or sufficient gards of his owne, wherein *Macchiauel* sheweth him selfe no lesse absurd, then impiously ignorant of the course, and power of Gods prouidence, and of the infirmity of man, or rather his impossibility to execute his owne designments surther, then God doth permit him, which it please th almighty God to show sometimes most euidently, to the end we may acknowledge the same in al other occasions; And this may be noted not only in the holly Scriptures (in the deliury of *a Ioseph* from his brethren, of *b Dauid* from *Saule*, of *c Mardocheus* from *Aman*, of *d Susanna* from the Iudges, of the *e 3. children* from *Nabucodonosor*, and of *f S. Peter* from *Herod*) but also in profane histories, as it thal appeare by 2. or 3. examples.

Wicked men
the instruments
of Gods iustice,
but not when
and how they
will
Macch. in prince.

Macchiauel im-
piously ignorat.

Mans impossi-
bility to execute
his owne desig-
nments without
Gods permission.
a Genes 37.
b 1. Reg. 19 & 20.
c Hest. c 5. & 6.
d Daniel. 13.
e Ibid. c. 3.
f Act. 12.

8. The Emperour *Anastasio* hauing discovered a conspiracy against his person, and state, not long before he died, caused diuers of the conspiratours to be apprehend'd, amongst whom were two principal men, caused *Iulianus* and *Iustinian*, and hauing

Anastasio the
Emperour.

Zonar. Annal.
To. 3.

The emperour
Iustine had.
ben a swine-
heard.
Idem.
Ibidem.

The strange es-
cape of Mi-
chael Balbus.
Leo Armenius
Emperour.

Zonara. Annal.
To. 3. in Michael
Balbo.

commanded them with diuers others to be executed, there appeared vnto him in the night in his sleepe a terrible old man commanding him to spare them both, for that they were one daye to doe God seruice, whereupon he pardoned and released them, and after his death *Iustinus* was his next succellor in the empire, chosen by the souldiars (though he was very basely borne, and had bene a drouier, or as some write, a swineheard) and next after him succeeded *Iustinian*; So that it was euident, first by the apparition, and after by the effect, that God deliuered them from the hands of *Anastasius*, because he had designed them to be Emperours.

9. The like may be said of *Michael Balbus* emperour of *Constantinople*, who most strangely escaped the hands of the emperour *Leo Armenius*, and succeeded him in the empire. The story is thus. *Michael Balbus* being of great aurtority in the time of *Leo* conspired against him, and the conspiracy being detected, he was taken, examined, conuicted, condemned to be burnt, the fire made, he ledde to his execution, and *Leo* him selfe followed to see it performed, either because he trusted not his officers, or to satisfy his vindicative mind, with the sight of the miserable end and torment of his enemy. But so it fel out that this being donne vpon Christmas Eue, the empress his wife came to him, as he was going, and chid him bitterly for hauing no more respect to the solemnity of the feast, requiring of him only suspension of the execution for one day, vntill the morrow after the feast, which he granted at length so much against his wil, that he said vnto her, he feared that she, and her children would repent it, his owne hart foretelling him, as it seemed, the danger which hanged ouer him and the rather for that he had bene long before aduertised, either by some propheticall; or magical prediction, that he should be killed vpon a Christmas day. And therfore to make him selfe sure of *Michael Balbus*, whome he most feared, he would not commit him to any prison, but deliuered him to one *Papias*, whome he best trusted, and caused him to be fettered with certaine huge bolts of iron, locked with a key which he kept him selfe, and for more surety he went him selfe in person the same night to visit the house of *Papias* where *Michael* was lodged.

10. But see here the disposition of Gods providence for the deliuey

deliuey

deliuey of *Michael* and the punishment of *Leo*; This *Papies* was one of *Michaels* confederats in his conspiracy, and therefore hauing now both of them this oportunity to consult together, they resolu'd to procure the Emperours death without further delay, and to that purpose, sent presently to the other conspirators, who were not discouered, and threatned to discouer them if they wold not attempt to kil the emperor out of hand, representing vnto them the facility to doe it the next morning before daye, when he should be in the church at matins, which they allowed and executed; And *Michael* was the very same daye, proclaimed, and crowned Emperour in the same church where *Leo* was killed.

The wonderful disposition of Gods prouidentie for the conseruation of *Michael Balbus* and the punishment of *Leo*.

11. But now wil the *Maechiavillians* say that the emperor plaied the foole, in sparing him at his wiues request, which I grant to bee true, and such a foole should *Maechiavel* him selfe, or any man els haue bene, if he had attempted to doe any thing contrary to the wil of God, as *Leo* did in this case; which I saye, not only because the strange effect shewed it, but also because it appeareth sufficiently otherwaife, that God had determined that *Michael Balbus* should be emperor. For many yeres before, when *Leo* and he were both of them priuat men, and seruants to the Duke, or greate Captaine *Bardanes*, it chanced that their Lord, & maister aspiring to the empire wēt to a holy man (who was esteemed to haue the spirit of prophely) & demanded of him whether he should not in time be emperor; the holly man told him, that if he attempted it he should loose both his labor & his eyes, and afterwards seeing *Leo*, & *Michael Balbus* bring him his horse at his departure, he tooke him aside, and told him that God wold not geue him the empire, but that those two, who brought him his horse, should be emperours the one after the other.

The worst man living playeth the foole some way or other when he attempteth any thing agaynst the wil of god.

Zonar. Annal.
To. 3. in leo Armenio.

12. *Bardanes* contemning his prediction, attempted to make him selfe emperor, and failing of his purpose, had his eyes put out, and was spoiled of al that he had, and some yeres after, *Leo* being aduanced to the seruice of the emperor *Michael Rangabe*, and general vnder him of a greate part of his army against the *Thracians*, found meanes to make the emperor so hateful, and him selfe soe greateful to the souldiars, that he easely made him selfe emperor with the helpe of *Michael Balbus*, who was a

Zonar. Ibid.

Coronel at the same time vnder him, & in great credit with the souldiars, so that there wanted no more for the accomplishment of the prophesy, but that *Michael Balbus* should succcede *Leo*, which he also did, as I haue declared.

*Diuers thin-
gs to be
noted in the
example of
Michael Balbus
and Leo*

*The infirmity of
mans wit.*

*The iustice of
God in the pu-
nishment of ty-
ranny.*

*The course of
Gods prouidence
in the execution
of his iudgements.*

Plai. 9.

*Chap. 1. num. 1.
& 11. & Chap.
11. num. 1. 6. & c.
How vayne it is
to strue against
the will of God.*

*Chap. 16. num.
1. p. 10. 11. & c.*

13. Therefore in this example diuers notable things may be obserued, besids that which I principally intended. The first is, the infirmity of mans wit, who when he thinketh many times to take the surest way, doth soonest ouerthrow him selfe, as *Leo* did, in making choise of *Papias* to be the geoler of *Michael Balbus*, whereby he saued *Michaels* life, and lost his owne.

14. The second is, the notable iustice of God in the punishment of the tyranny of *Leo*, who hauing vniustly, and tyrannically got & gouerned the empire, lost it againe with his life and al by the like meanes.

15. The third is the course of Gods prouidence in the execution of his iust iudgements, turning the endeours of wicked men to his owne seruice, and glory, and to their punishment, seruing him selfe not only of their best frends (as he did here of the emperesse, for the ouerthrow of her husband, though against her wil) but also of them selues, and of their owne wits, and policies. Wherin Gods iustice notably appeareth, for as the Psalmist saith. *Cognosceatur Dominus iudicia faciens. Our Lord shal be knowne by doing his iudgements*, and then declaring how, & wherein he adderth *In operibus manuum suarum comprehensus est peccator; The sinner is ouertaken in the woorkes of his owne hands*, geuing to vnderstand, that the iustice of God appeareth in nothing more, then in that he ouer-reacheth wicked men in their owne woorkes, and inuentions, tripping them, as a man may say, and ouer-turning them in their owne play, as I haue diuers times noted before.

16. Whereupon followeth also the fourth consideration, to wit, how vaine ly men strue against the wil of God, which when they seeke to hinder, they helpe many times to effectuall, as *Leo* did; for whereas God had determined to geue the empire to *Michael Balbus*, *Leo* in labouring to preuent it by the death of *Michael*, not only furdured it, but also wrought his owne destruction, and of this obseruation I shal haue occasion to saye more in the next chapter.

17. The fifth and last consideration shal be, that which I

princi-

*None hath
absolute power
over another
man.*

principally intended to show by this example, that is to saye, that no man hath such absolut power over any other man, that he can execute his desynments, and wil vpon him at his owne pleasure, but only when God geueth him leaue, as it appeareth in *Leo*, for who could be more in an other mans power, and lesse in his owne, then *Michael Balbus* when he was in the hands of *Leo*, being condemned to be burnt, going to the fire, yea and *Leo* following him to see the execution, replenished with anger and hatred against him, inexorable, & resolut to be reuenged; when neuerthelesse God so disposed, that a few brawling words of his owne wife, wrested from him so much respire for the prisoner, as sufficed to saue his life, and gaine him the Empire, and so it alwaile falleth out by one meanes or other, when God wil frustrat the desynments of wicked men. or punish them.

18. And though these examples might suffice for this matter, yet I can not omit an other no lesse notable in our owne cuntry, to wit, of the deliery of *Henry Earle of Richmond* (who was after king of *England* from the hands of King *Edward* the 4. and of *Richard* the tyrant; For whereas King *Edward*, after the death of King *Henry* the 6. and his sonne, had no feare of any, but of *Henry earle of Richmond* (who then liued a banished life in the court of *Francis duke of Britany*) he sent embassadours to the duke pretending to desire a marriage betwixt his eldest daughter, and *Henry* the earle, and for that purpose requested to haue him sent ouer vnto him, which the embassadours obtained by corruption of the dukes counsellours, and conuayed him to the sea side to *Saint Malo*, where he was to be shipped presently for *England*, being sick for sorrow and feare; But in the meane time a noble man of *Brittany*, and a greate friend of his, being absent from the dukes court, and hearing what had passed concerning him, presently repaired to the duke, & represented vnto him, the fraude of King *Edward* in his pretence of the marriage, and consequently the earles danger, if he suffered him to be transported into *England*, wherupon the duke sent one of his counsellors in hast, to ouertake the embassadours of King *Edward*, and to find some good pretence to hinder the earles passage, which he did, entertaining them with some plausible matters, whiles the earle tooke sanctuary in a church, claiming the priuiledge of

The notable escape of Henry Earle of Richmond from King Edward the fourth and Richard the third. Polidori. hist. Anglix. li. 24.

Idem li. 15.

the holly place, which the duke wold not suffer to be violated, and so the embassadours returned without the earle, and he escaped the hands of King *Edyvard*. And againe afterwards in the time of King *Richard* the tirant, brother, and successor to *Edyvard* the fourth, the earle being also in *Brittany* was in no smale danger by the practise of the tirant with a counsellour of the dukes (who wholly gouerned him) of whome the tirant had obtained for money, that the earle should be presently taken, and either sent ouer into *England*, or at least kept prisoner there, which practise was discovered to the earle before it could be executed, whereby he had time to saue him selfe by flight; and with in a while after procured some smale assistance of *Charles* King of *France*, and passing ouer into *England*, became the minister of Gods iustice vpon the tirant, whome he slew at *Bosworth* field, and succeeded him in the kingdome; which was prophesied many yeres before, by the holly King *Henry* the 6, who seeing him when he was but 10. yeres of age, said to some of his nobility, that he should be the man, who should in the end decide the quarrel, betwixt the houses of *LANCASTER*, and *TORK*, and be king of *England*.

Idem li. 14.

The wicked
man lyke a ma-
stif dog in a
chaine & why.

The malice of
the deuil and
euil men like the
bloody thirst of
the horse leech
and why.

19. By al this it appeareth, that although wicked men may extend their malicious wills, and desires infinitely to al mischief, yet they haue no power, or possibility to execut any iore therof further then God doth geue them leaue for the accomplishment of his wil, in which respect the wickedst man in the world, be he neuer so potent, is but like a fierce mastife dogge tied in a chaine; for though he barke at euery stranger, and haue a wil to byte him, yet he can come no nearer him, then the chaine doth permit him; And therfore the malice not only of wicked men, but also of the deuil him selfe, may be compared to the bloody thirst of the horse-leech, or blood-sucker, which the wise phisition vseth, to draw blood in such time, and quantiry, as he thinketh conuenient, for the cure of his pacient, and so doth almighty God by his omnipotent wisdom, vse the malice of the deuil, and wicked men so farre forth, as he seeth it necessary for the execution of his secret Iudgements, either in the exercise of his seruants for their greater merit, or in the punishment of sinners for his owne glory.

20. For

20. For otherwaife if the deuill, and his instruments might doe what they wold, they wold quickly destroy al the good men in the world; And this is the true cause why the bad definments of euil men doe sometimes take effect, and are sometimes frustrat, yea and turne many times not only to their owne destruction (as it appeareth by many examples, which I haue alledged in sundry partes of this discourse) but also to the greater benefit of those whome they seeke to destroy, as I haue declared in the 24. chapter, by the example of one who thinking to kil an other with his sword, lanced an inward impostume in his body, which otherwaife wold haue had no cure. And the like I also noted of *Iosephs* brethren who selling him for a slaue procured his aduancement; wherto I may ad *Andronicus Comnenus* the emperour, who meaning to kil *Isacius Angelus* for the assurance of his state, caused his election to the Imperial dignity which he neuer expected. The story is notable to this purpose, as it may bee seene in the last chapter, where I haue related it at large. Therefore I conclude that neither *Macchiauels* prince (be he neuer so courragiously wicked) can put in execution his desynmets for the benefit of his state, neither yet priuat men can execut their malice against princes, further then God doth particularly permit.

21. This was wel considered, as it seemeth, by *Philip* the 2. last King of *Spaine*, who being aduised by some about him (by occasion of the slaughter of the last King of *France*) to goe better guarded then he commonly did, answered notably, *bien guardado esta, a quien Dios guarda, He is wel guarded vvhome God gardeth*, geuing to vnderstaud that how potent and powerful soeuer any prince is in guards, and armies, his cheefe security consisteth in Gods protection; wherof most notable experience hath bene seene in this our age, not only in the King of *France*, who raigneth at this present, but also in our most dread soueraigne, whom almighty God hath deliuered from sundry dangerous conspiracies in such wonderful manner, that his deuine protection, and mercy towards him hath bene most manifest therein, and may geue vs his subiects greate hope of those future blessings, which the first frutes of his happy raigne (I meane the vnion of the 3. crownes of *England Scotland* and *Ireland*) doe already promise vs,

to the

Chap. 5. 4. r. 19.
& chap. 31. num.
5. 6. 7. & Chap.
35. num. 15.
nu. 18.
Plutar li. de
vilitate capienda
ab inimicis.
Genes. 37.
& 41.

Nicetas Choniat.
hist de Andron.
Comne. li. 2.
Chap. 34. nu. 19.
20. & sequent.

A notable A-
pophisisme of
Philip the 2. &
of *Spain*.

Godsmerciful
providence in
the protection
of the kings mai-
esty our souerain.
Hope of future
blessings by the
vnion of the 3.
Crownes of *En-
gland, Scotland,
and Ireland*.

to the euerlasting honour, and benefit of al the three nations, and the eternizing of his maiesties glorious memory.

22. Now then to proceede; whereas almighty God serueth him selfe diuersly of men, as wel as of al other his creatures for the chastisement of al sorts of sinners, he vseth greater severity in the punishment of tirants, and wicked princes then of any other, for three reasons. The first is for that their offenses are farre greater then other mens, both because they commonly concerne weighty, and publik matters, and also for that they corrupt many with their bad example, as I haue signified els where. The second reason is, because they are more vngratful to God then other men, for that they receiue greater temporal benefits at his hands then any other, for the which they are bound to serue him with greater loue, care and duty then other. The third reason is, for that they being aboute their owne lawes, and not subiect to the penalties therof, their faults doe properly belong to the tribunal of almighty God, whose lieutenants & ministers they are, and to whome they are therfore to yeeld a strait, and exact account of their ministry.

God punisheth
wicked princes
more severely
then priuat men,
and why.

Chap. II. nu. 22.

Princes the Lie-
utenants and mi-
nisters of God.

Sap. 6.

Mighty men
shal suffer tor-
ments mightily.
Iob. 11.

Psal. 75.

The exemplar
punishment of
wicked princes
without the mi-
nistry of man.

23. This is expressly taught in the booke of wisdomes wher almighty God saith to Kings & princes thus. *Audite reges & intelligite &c. Harken O Kings, and vnderstand, learne you who are Iudges of the bounds of the earth, in respect that pouer is geuen vnto you from above, and strength from the highest, who wil examine your woorkes, and search your thoughts, and because when you were ministers in his kingdome, you did not Iudge rightly, nor keepe the law of iustice, nor walke in the way of God, he wil appeare vnto you quickly, and horribly, for most rigorous Iudgement is donne vnto them that gouerne; with the poore and meane man mercy is vsed, but mighty men shal suffer torments mightily.* Thus saith the wise man, which Iob confirmeth saying. *That God looeth the girdle of Kings, and girdeth their regnes with a rope, and pouereth contempt vpon princes; and makeib them stagger like drunken men,* And therfore the roial prophet saith, that almighty God is, *terribilis apud reges terre*, terrible to the Kings of the earth, which may appeare by the strange, and exemplar punishment which God hath laied vpon wicked princes at diuers times, without the ministry of man, in so euident manner, that it could not be denied to proceede from his hand, wherof we haue notable examples, not only in

only in the holly scriptures but also in prophane histories.

24. *Pharao* was drowned in the red sea pursuing *Moyſes* and the children of *Iſrael*; *Nabuchodonſor* was caſt doune from his princely throne, and made companion with beaſts. *Ozias* and *Ioram* were ſtrooken by almighty God, the firſt with a filthy leper, and the later with an incurable fluxe in his belly, wherby he voided his bowels by little and little, & died (as the ſcripture ſaith) *Infirmirate peſtims*, with a moſt vile diſeaſe; Alſo the wicked *Iſabel* was eaten with doggs; *Antiochus* the tirant rotted aliue, in ſuch fort that wormes iſſued abundantly out of his body, & neither he nor any man els could endure the ſtink of him. *Herodes* who killed ſaint *Iames*, & perſecuted the reſt of the Apoſtles was ſtrooken by an angel, and conſumed with wormes whiles he liued.

25. And to come to later histories, *Hunnericus* King of the *Vandals* in *Aſrik*, and an *Arrian* heretik, was alſo conſumed with woormes, wherewith his body became ſo rotten, that when he died it fel in pieces, and could not be buried whole; *Mempricius* king of *Britany* being moſt vicious, and tirannical with al, was wurried with wolues; *Popielus* king of *Polonia*, and his wife were killed with rats, and mice, which iſſued out of the tombes of his children, and neuwes whome he had cauſed to be mured; The heretikal and cruel Emperour *Anaſtaſius* being admoniſhed in a dreame that 14. yeres of his life ſhould be cutte of for his hereſy, was killed with a thunder bolt. *Celred* one of the Saxon kings in *England* before the conqueſt, was for his wicked life poſſeſt, and killed by the deuil as he was banketing with his nobility.

26. *Gunderik* an *Arrian* king of the *Vandals*, died alſo poſſeſt, and miſerably vexed by the deuil; *Leo* the fourth Emperour of that name, hauing ſacrilegiouſly taken a golden croune from the church, and altar of ſaint *Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*, for the couetouſnes of a precious ſtone, wherewith it was adorned, and hauing worne it on his head in tryumphant nanner through out the cittie, was ſtroken by almighty God with an impoſtume in his head cauſed a carbuncle, and ſo tormented therewith that he dyed. *Boleſlaus* king of *Polonia* who killed the holy biſhop *Staſiſlaus* with his owne hand, was caſt out of his kingdome by his

H h h

owne

Exod. 14.
Dan. c. 4.

Parali. ca. 16.
& 21.

4. Reg. ca. 9.
1. Mach. c. 9.

ad. 12.

Iſidor.
Victor vicen.
de perſecut.
Vand.
Carton Chron.
par. 2. in man.
412. Polidor. li. 15.
Hiſt prodigioſa.
1. P. c. 3.
Zonar Annal.
To. 5.

Bonifacius ep.
ad Ethelbald a-
pad Baron. ann.
745.

Victor vicen. de
perſec. Vand.
Paul diac. li. 15.
Zonar Annal.
To 3.
Egnatius, in Ephe.

Baron an. 10. 79.
ex longino.
Dubrauius Hi-
ſtor. Bohemiar.
li. 2.

Idem hist.
Bohem. li. 5.

Hidern.

Petrus Cluniacē
li. 1. mirac. c. 1.

owne subiects, after fel madde, and ranne vp and doune the woods, and was found in the end eaten with doggs. *Dr. homira* wife to *Fratislaus* duke of *Bohemia* procured the death first of the holy woman *Ludimilla* her mother in law, and after of many priests, and as he passed in her coche ouer the place where the priests were muredred, shee was swallowed vp by the earth, which opened, in respect wherof the place is held as accursed, and shunned by al such as passe that way to *Praga* as *Dubrauius* reporteth in history of *Bohemia*. Finally *Petrus Cluniacensis* a most graue author affirmeth, that a count of *Mascon* in *Burgund*, hauing committed many sacrileges, and being one day at his owne Pallace in *Mascon*, accompanied with many noble men, and souldiars, was forced by a stranger, who came to him on horse back, to light vpon a spare horse, which he had there ready for him, and so was carried away in the ayre, in the sight of al the citty, and neuer seen, nor heard of after.

How God pun-
isheth princes
by the ministry
of man.

4. Reg. 9.
Iosephus Anti-
quiti. li. 10.

Daniel. ca. 5.

27. To these many more examples may be added of emperours kings and princes, which for their wickednes were notoriously punished by the hand of God, with out the ministry, or helpe of men, who neuertheles are the ordinary instruments of Gods Iustice, though many tymes they are principally moued ther to eyther by hatred, or by feare, or by ambition, or by some other passion, wherof almighty God serueth him selfe, for the execution of his secret Iudgements, as I haue already shewed in the punishment of sinners in general, and wil now shew also particularly in wicked kings and princes

28. *Sennacherib* king of *Assiria* making warre vpon the *Iewes*, and most contemptuously blaspheming the holy name of God, was condemned by the deuine Iustice to be killed at his returne to *Ninive*. *Reuertetur*, saith almighty God, *in terram suam*, & *deiciam eum gladio in terra sua*, He shal returne into his owne cuntry, and I wil ouerthrow him there with the sword, neuertheles this sentence of almighty God was executed by *Sennacheribs* children, who killed him in *Ninive*, as he was sacrificing in the temple of his God *Nefrac*; Also *Baltazar* king of *Babilon* received sentence of death, and of the translation of his kingdom by the mouth of *Daniel* the prophet, because he profaned the holy vessels of *Hierusalem*, and for his other impiety, for the execution of which sentence

God

God vsed the ambition of *Cirus*, and *Darius*, who beseeing *Babilon*, tooke it and killed *Baltazar*. The like also appeareth evidently in the scriptures in *Nadab*, *Helam*, and many other schismatical kings of *Israel*, on whom God executed his iust Iudgements by the ministry of most wicked men, who killed them for the ambitious desire they had of their kingdoms.

29. I haue thought good to alledge these examples out of the holy scriptures, where in it hath pleased God to discouer the course of his providence in the execution of his secret Iudgements vpon these kings, to the end we may also obserue the same in like occasions and acknowledge his Iustice in the mite-rable end of wicked princes, by what meanes soeuer the same hapneth vnto them, to which purpose I wil also alledge an example, or two, out of later histories.

30. *Mauritius* the emperour who was slayne by *Phocas* dreamed a little before, that an Image of Christ which was ouer the brazen gate of his pallace, cauled him and charged him with his sinnes, and in the end demanded of him, whether he wold receiue the punishment therof in this lyfe, or in the next, and that when he answered in the next, the Image commanded that he shuld be geuen with his wife, and children into the hands of *Phocas*. wherupon *Mauritius* awaking in greate feare, sent for *Philippiens* his sonne in law; and asked him whether he knew any souldiar in the armye cauled *Phocas*, who answered that there was a commissary so cauled, a yong man, temerarious, but timorous, and cowardly, if he be a coward saith *Mauritius*, he is cruel, and bloody. And within a whyle after, it so fel out, that *Mauritius* grew to be soe hateful to his souldiars for his couetousnes, & their bad payments, that they were easely corrupted by *Phocas*, and induced to proclayme him emperour, by whome *Mauritius* was taken as he fled with his wife, and 5. of his children, and his children killed first, and he him selfe afterwards, who considering his owne deserts, & the Iustice of God, repeated oft these words. *Iustus es Domine, & rectum Iudicium tuum, Thou art Iust & lord, and thy Iudgement is right.* Here in we may note, how the hatred of the souldiars, & the ambition of *Phocas* were the meanes wherby God did execut his Iustice vpon *Mauritius*.

31. The like may be also obserued in the conquest of *Naples*

H h h 2

by Charles

1. Reg. 15 & 16.

Mauritius the
Emperour.

Zonaras Annal.
To. 3. in *Mauri-*
nio.
Paul. diae. li. 16.
in fine.
Blondus Dec.
li. 8.
Sabellic. ennead.
8. li. 5. an. 603.
Cowards are
cruel.

Psal. 118.

The conquest of
Naples.

Philip. Comi.
Chron. du Roy.
Charles. 3. c. 17.

Guiccardin li. 3.

God serueth him
selfe of the euil
wills of men for
the execution of
his holly will.

Machiavel held
for the Arch-
statist of the
world, did not
see or obserue
common expe-
riences.

by Charles the 8. king of France, wherof I related the history be-
fore at large in the 22. chapter where I made it euident, that it
proceeded of Gods iust Iudgement for the punishment of the
kings therof, which appeared not only by the strangenes of the
successe almost incredible for the speede in the conquest, and the
smale, or rather no resistance on the behaulfe of the kings, and
their subiects, but also by the tormented conscience of king
Alphonso so terrified with the remembrance, and representation
of his former tyranny, that al things seemed to him to denounce
Gods iust Iudgement against him, and to cry *France, France*; be-
sides the testimony of the soule of king *Ferdinand* his father newly
deceased, who appearing to his phisician, notified vnto him
the sentence and decree of almighty God, the losse of their king-
dome for their sinnes, which neuertheles was executed vpon
them by the ordinary meanes wherby most states are over-
thrown, to wit by the ambition of some, and the hatred of
others.

32. So that wee see how almighty God, who as I haue amply
declared before, disposeth al things sweetely and wold not suf-
fer any euil in the world, but to the end to draw good therof,
(who by the malice of the deuil and the most execrable sinne of
Iudas, wrought the redemption of man,) we see, I say, how for
the execution of his holly wil, and Iustice vpon wicked princes,
he serueth him selfe as wel of the euil wills, and wicked desires
of wicked men, as of al other causes; and effects what soeuer, be
they natural, moral, or accidental, wherby it appeareth, that the
miserable end of tyrants, wherof the world hath common expe-
rience, is principally to be attributed to the Iustice of God, as
to the first, and principal cause therof, though the secondary,
and inferiour causes are, or may be as many, and diuers, as there
are many and dyuers passions, or affections in men yea and crea-
tures in the world; the ministry, and seruice wherof their om-
nipotent creatour vseth as it pleaseth him for the execution of
his wil.

33. Therefore it may greatly be wondred how *Machiavel* (who
wold seeme to be wiser then al other men, and is held by his
followers for the Arch-statist of the world) either did not see
the common experience which the world hath euer obserued
of Gods

of Gods punishment of wicked princes for sinne, or if he saw it, how he could imagin, that extremity of wickednes, yea or any sinful policy can assure a princes state. Wherin he or his followers might be the more excused if this experience, wherof I speake, were only to be obserued in the histories of our scriptures or ecclesiastical, and Christian writers; and were not also most manifest in prophane authors, and pagan historiographers, al which (I meane those of any note) doe inculcat nothing more, then the seuerity of Gods Iudgements vpon wicked men, and especially vpon wicked princes, and tirants.

The miserable end of tyrants, obserued diligently by al historiographers and reserved to Gods iustice.

34. Let any man that list read the histories of *Herodotus Thucydides, Dionysius, Valerius Maximus, Maximus, Plutark, Dion, Lini, Iustin*, or of any other ancient historiographer of the gentils, and he shal see nothing more frequent, and ordinary in them, then the curious obseruation of the miserable end of wicked tirants, and their owne iudgements often interposed by the way, referring the same to the Iustice of God.

35. To this purpose I wil lay doune what may be noted in this kind, only in one of the aboue named historiographers, to wit *Iustin*, the abridger of the general history of *Trogus Pompeyus*; In whome we may see the violent, or vnfortunat end of these tirants following. *a Asiages* King of the Medians, *b Cambyses*, *c Oroastes* and *d Ochus* Kings of Persia, *e Hippius*, and *f 40.* other tirants of *Athens*, *g Philip*, and *h Alexander* the greates sonne, *i Olimpius* mother to *Alexander*, *k Antipater* the sonne of *Cassander*, *l Lisimachus*, *m Ptolomus*, and *n Perseus*, *al* Kings of Macedony *o Clearchus* tirant of *Heraclia*, *p Machabes*, and *q Hanno* of Carthage, *r Dionysius*, and *s Agathoiles* tirants of Sicily, *t Nabis* a tirant of Greece, *v Aristotimus* tirant of Epyrus, *two* Kings called *vv Seleucus*, *x Antiochus*, *y Demetrius*, *x Alexander*, *a* and *Tripho* al Kings of Siria, *b Attalus* a king in Asia, *c Laodice* Queene of Cappadocia, *d Cleopatra* wife of *Ptolome K.* of Egypt, *e Mithridates* sonne to *Artabanus*, and *f Horodes K.* of Parthia, & lastly *g Amulius* vncle to *Romulus*, and *Remes* & killed by them.

*a Iustin. li. 1.
b Idem. Ibidem.
c Ibidem.
d Idem li. 10.
e Idem li. 2.
f Idem. li. 5.
g li. 5.
h li. 12.
i li. 14.
k li. 16.
l li. 17.
m li. 24.
n li. 33. & 34.
o li. 16.
p li. 18.
q li. 21.
r li. 20.
s li. 22. & 23.
t li. 31.
v li. 16.
vv. li. 17. & 28.
x. li. 27.
y li. 35.
z Ibidem.
a li. 36.
b. lib. 37.
c. Ibidem.
d li. 9.
e li. 42.
f Ibidem.
g li. 43.
Iustin li. 2.*

36. These and diuers others whome I omit for breuities sake are noted by *Iustin*, to haue either gotte their estats or gouerned them tyrannically, by periury, murders and cruelty, and to haue perished miserably, and in diuers of them he obserueth seriously the iust Iudgement of God; Of *Cambyses* King of Persia, who

H h h 3

killed

Idem li. 2.

killed his owne brother, and spoiled the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*, he saith thus. Being greuously wounded in the thygh w^{ith} his ovyne svord w^{hich} fel out of his scabbard of it selfe he died, and paid the penalty, as w^{el} of his parricid, as of his sacrilege. Of *Hippias* tirant of *Athens*, he saith thus. In that battaile *Hippias* the tirant, the author, and mouer of that vvarre w^{as} slaine, the Gods taking reuenge of him; Of *Ptolome* king of *Macedony* he saith; The w^{ickednes} of *Ptolome* w^{as} not long vnpunished, for being spoiled of his kingdome by the *Gaules*, and after taken, he lost his life by the svord as he deserued, the Gods punishing so many periuries, and bloody parricids of his.

Idem li. 27.

37. Of *Seleucus* king of *Siria*, who killed both his brother, and his mother in law, he saith, *Seleucus* hauing prepared a greate navy to make vwarre vpon the Cities w^{hich} rebelled against him, lost the same by tempest, vwhereby the Gods punished his parricid; and a litle after, speaking of him, and his brother *Antiochus* king of *Asia* (who being banished out of his kingdome w^{as} murdred by theeues) he saith, *Seuleucus* being at the same time also driuen out of his kingdome, fel head long from his horse, and so died, so that the two breethren being both banished w^{ith} like misfortune after the losse of their kingdomes, receiued the punishment of their w^{ickednes}. Thus saith he, who obserueth also the like Iustice, and punishment of God in the querthre w^{of}

Idem li. 27.

lib. 31.

li. 18. & 28. & 35.

li. 39.

li. 25.

the *Messenians* for the murder of *Philopamen*, and in the vnfortunat ends of *Machus* the *Carthagenian*, *Alexander* king of *Siria*, al the progeny of *Cassander* King of *Macedony*, the children of *Ptolomaeus*, *Euergetes* King of *Agypt*, *Brennus* Captaine of the *Gaules* w^{ith} al his sacrilegious army, and *Milo* of *Epirus* who was one of those that killed *Laodomia*, of whose murder, and Gods Iudgement vpon the murderers, he saith thus. Quod facinus dy immortales &c. The w^{hich} horrible act the immortal Gods did punish w^{ith} the destruction of almost al the people, vbo w^{ere} w^{el} nere w^{holly} consumed. w^{ith} dearth, famin, and as w^{el} ciuil as external vware; And *Milo* vbo w^{as} the principal actor in the murder of *Laodomia* filling madde and tearing out his ovyne bowels w^{ith} his teeth, dyed w^{ith} in w^{elue} dayes after her.

Idem. li. 28.

38. This I haue thought good to note out of the breefe history of *Iustin*, to geue to the reader some tast of the Iudgement of pagan historiographers, concerning the Iustice of God, in punishing the tyranny, and wickednes of princes, w^{hich} as I said before, is so seriously, and religiously obserued of al the best

wri-

writers of al ages, and times (as wel greekes, as latins, and pagans, as wel as Christians) that no man who hath reade them can bee ignorant what the opinion, iudgement, and experience of the world hath alwaise bene concerning the same, and therefore it may wel be said that *Macchianel* was either wilfully blind, if he saw it not, or more then mad, if he saw it, and neglected it, presuming to teach a doctrin, not only repugnant to al lawes, humane, and deuine, but also proued to be pernicious by the experience of the whole world.

*Macchianel
either wilfully
blind, or more
then madd.*

39. But perhaps some polityke, or *Macchiauillian* wil say in defence of his maisters doctrin, that although very many tyrants, or perhaps the most, haue miserably perished, yet there hath bene many others, who either got, or conserued their states by tyranny and wickednes, & neuertheles died their natural deaths; yea, and left flourishing Empires, kingdoms, or states vnto their children, wherby any man may be encouraged to follow their example, with no smal hope, of like good successe; such were *a Baasa* and *b Manaben* Kings of *Israel*; the elder *c Denis* tirant of *Sicily*, two *d Ptolomes*, the one cauled *Philopater* and the other *f Euergetes*, the second king of *Aegypt*; *g Cassander*, King of *Macedony*; *h Constantinus* the 4. and *i Haraclius* Emperours of *Constantinople*, & *k Mahomet* the second Emperour of the turkes, *l Edward* the 4. King of *England*, *m Haldan* King of *Denmark*, and *n Iohn Galliace* Duke of *Millan*, al which hauing either attained to souerainty, or laboured to conserue them selues therin, by murders of their parents, breethren, nephwes, or kinsfolkes, or by other wicked, and tyrannical meanes, dyed according to the course of nature, and left their states, to their children and posterity.

*An obiection of
the politykes.*

a 3. Reg. 15. & 16.
b 4. Reg. 15.
c Cicero Tusc.
cul. q. li. 1.
e Iustit. li. 38.
& 41.
f Idem li. 30.
g Idem. li. 38.
h Idem. li. 15.
i Zonar. Annal.
to. 3.
k Idem.
l Paul Iouius
in comment.
m Polidor. li. 24.
n Sixo. li. 2.
Nacler in
chron. an. 1400.

40. To answer hereto, I say first, that though this be true yet it is greate folly to draw any consequence therof, or to ground thereon any doctrin, or precepts to teach others to follow their example; For precepts are to be deduced of things that are most frequent, and ordinary (which breede an experience) and not of things more rare or, seeldome seene, which are commonly casual, and to be referred to chance, for what man that hath any wit wold perswade his frend to goe to sea in a storme, in some little old rotten boat, because he hath perhaps seene some escape, or saile prosperously, in like manner; and euen soe

*The answer to
the obiection
Precepts are to be
deduced of
things most fre-
quent.*

wee

w^e can not thinke to be wise, who contemning common experience (which teacheth the miserable end of tyrants) to perswade men to tyranny by the example of a few who haue escaped, or perhaps bene prosperous by the secret disposition of Gods prouidence, for causes knowne to his deuine maiesty, as I haue partly signified already in the 26. chapter (where I treated of the prosperity of wicked men) & wil declare further after a while.

Cicero ad Atticum.

One swallow
make no summer.

Cicero de natura
deor.

41. Therefore *Cæsar* said, that for as much as he neuer knew any man but *Silla*, who could conserue his state long by cruelty he meant not to folly his example, for as the prouerb saith; *One swallow makes no summer*, neither ought a few examples to ouerthrow a greater number, and much lesse common experience. In which respect, it may wel be said to the *Macchianillians*, as one said to a priest of *Neptune*, who showed him certaine painted tableshanged vp in *Neptunes* temple, containing the histories of some whome *Neptune* had, as they thought, deliuered from drowning, but can you tel me (quoth he) how many haue bene drowned, for these few which haue escaped? and so I say to the *Macchianillians*, that for a few tyrants which haue lued, and died prosperously, through Gods secret Iudgements, they may find an infinit number of others, who haue bene by his iustice, ruined, and destroyed.

Chap. 26.

Psal. 144.

The children of
tyrants punished
for their
fathers tyrannies.

Chap. 26.
Per totum
Chap. 27. num.
23. & sequent
Iob. 22.

42. But to satisfy this obiection more fully, I am to desire thee, good reader, to caule to mind that which I haue treated before, concerning the prosperity of wicked men in this life, wherein amongst many other things very considerable for this matter, I haue declared that almighty God (*whose mercy is above all his works*;) doth sometymes extend the same towards the most wicked, for such causes, as I haue there signified, yet in such sort, that although he doth mercifully remit vnto them the temporal punishment due to their wickednes, or some part thereof, yet he iustly exacteth it afterwards of their children and posterity, where I haue alledged many reasons, and examples needed to repeate in this place, because they may be seene at large in the 26. and 27. chapters; wherby it appeareth how true it is, which *Iob*. saith, *Deus seruabit filijs impij dolorem patris*. God wil reuerue the sorrow of the wicked father for his children, and that as the Poët saith,

Crimina

----- *Crimina sepe luunt nati scelerata parentum.*

Eurpid.

The children doe oft pay the penalty of their fathers wickednes. And this being most evidently true in al sorts of wicked men may be most generally obserued in such tyrants as possesse theim selues of states, or seeke to conserue theim by murders, as shal appeare euen in those who are mentioned in the obiection, of whome I will treat in the same order that there they are set downe.

43. *Baasa* got the kingdome of *Israel*, by the murder of king *Nadab*, and though he him selfe dyed his natural death, yet his sonne *Ela* was killed by his seruant *Zambri*, who as the scripture saith, *Percussit omnem domum Baasa &c.* destroyed al the house of *Baasa*, & filij eius propter vniuersa peccata *Baasa*, and of his sonne *Ela* for al the sinnes of *Baasa*.

Baasa, king of Israel.

3. Reg. 15.

44. *Manahen* deprived *Sellum* as wel of his life as of the kingdome of *Israel*, and died neuertheles in his bed. But *Phareia* his sonne, was mured by *Phacee*, and so payed the penalty of his fathers offenses.

Manahen king of Israel.

4. Reg. 15.

45. As for *Denis* the first tyrant of *Sicily* of that name, the historiographers doe not agree concerning his death, for although most doe affirme that he raygned 38. yeres, and died naturally, leauing his kingdome to *Denis* his sonne, yet *Iustin* following *Trogus Pompeius* whose history he abridgeth, saith that he was slayne, but howso euer it was, two things are euident in him greatly to be noted; the one, that his life was most miserable, by reason of the continual feares, suspitions, and torment of mind wherein he liued, as I haue declared at large in the last chapter; and the other is, the punishment of God vpon his sonne, who was driuen out of his kingdome by *Dyon*, and forced to liue at *Corinth* in most base manner, and to gett his liuing by teaching children. Wherin *Valerius Maximus* a pagan writer, obserueth notably the Iustice of God extended vpon him for his fathers tiranny, saying of his father, that although in his life tyme, he suffred not the punishment due to his wickednes, yet being dead he payed for it in the shamful calamity of his sonne; wherto *Valerius* also addeth this golden sentence. *Lento enim gradu procedis diuina ira, tarditatemque suplicij grauitate compensat. The vwrath of God proceedeth vwith a slow pace to take reuenge of offenses comitted against him, and recompenseth the delay*

Denis tyrant of Sicily.

Iustin li. 20. in fine.

num. 42.

Valer. li. 2. c. 2.

Idem. Ibidem.

of the punishment, with the greeneousne. therof.

Proleme Philopator king of Egypt.

46. Proleme who was cauled in mockery *Philopator* (that is to say a louer or friend of his father, because he killed both his father, and his mother,) died his natural death, leauing his kingdome to his sonne *Proleme Epiphanes*, who also died peaceably for ought I find to the contrary, wherein I confesse it pleased God to interrupt the ordinary course of his Iustice in punishing tyrannical murders with murder, or other violent death, eyther in the father, or in the sonne, which is to be attributed to some iust though secret cause, knowne only to his infinit wildome, whereof wee see the very like in the holly scriptures in *Iehu* King of *Israel*, and his posterity, for although the ordinary course of Gods Iustice was not to permit the posterity of any of the schismatical Kings of *Israel*, to enioye that kingdome further then the 2. generation, (so that their lynes and races were euer cut of, eyther in the father or in the sonne,) he exempted *Iehu*, and his posterity from that punishment, granting them a particular priuledge, to succede one an other, vntil the 4. generation after *Iehu*, for the notable seruice which *Iehu* did him in destroying the house of *Achab*, as I haue declared in the 26. chapter, treating of the prosperity of wicked men.

4 Reg. 10. & 17.

Mat. 21.

47. And if it may be lawfull to coniecture the cause why God exempted *Proleme Philopator*, and his sonne *Epiphanes* from the punishment of violent death due to the wickednes of *Philopator*, it may be probably said, (for of Gods secret Iudgements, I dare certaynely affirme nothing,) that it may be ascribed to the mercy of God extended towards theim, for the seruice which *Prolemeus Philadelphus* grand father to *Philopator* did him, as wel in releasing the *Iewes* which were captiues in *Egypt*, to the number of a hundreth, and twenty thousand, as also in sending rich gifts and presents to the temple of *Hierusalem*, besids that he caused the law of *Moyse* to be translated in to the Greeke tongue by 70. learned *Iewes*, commonly cauled the *Septuaginta Interpreters*, to the end that the same might be reserued in his library. In al which, it may be thought, he did such grateful seruice to almighty God, that the reward therof redounded to his posterity to the 4. generation, as it fel out in the posterity of *Iehu*: and that therefore, nether *Philopator* who was grande-child to *Philadelphus*,

Iustin li. 39.

Josephus. de antiq. li. 12. ca. 2.

nor

nor *Epiphanes* sonne to *Philopator*, nor *Philometor* sonne to *Epiphanes* dyed violently, though the murders, as wel of *Philometor*, who killed his owne mother, as of *Philopator* (of whome I principally speake here) might haue deserued it.

48. And as the priuiledge granted to the posterity of *Iehu* ceased in the 4. successor (for *Zacharias* who was the 4. either left no children, or if he did, they succeeded not) so also the exemption from violent death, granted as it may be thought to the posterity of *Philadelphus*, ceased in the 4. descent; for *Philometor*, who was the 4. successor died his natural death, but his sonne was depriued, both of his kingdome, and his life, by his vncke *Euergetes*, of whome I am to speake next; And this I haue thought good to note by the way, as nor vnprobable, nor presuming to assure any thing concerning Gods secret Iudgements; But that which I take vpon me to affirme here is, that for as much as there is no rule so general, but that it hath an exception, therefore neither this example of *Philopator*, nor a few other such like, proceeding of Gods secret Iudgements (which are euer most iust) can preiudice the generality of the rule obserued in the ordinary course of his Iustice towards most men, Thus much concerning *Philopator*.

4 Reg. 13.

Iustin. 38.

49. Now then to come to *Ptolome Euergetes* the 2. (who was sonne to *Epiphanes*, and brother to *Philometor*) he was a most barbarous, and cruel tirant, for he killed not only his neww, sonne to *Philometor* (as I haue saide) but also a sonne of his owne, which he had by *Cleopatra* his owne sister; besides his horrible cruelty in murdring many principal Citizens of *Alexandria* which although it was not punished in him by violent death; (perhaps because he was also within the compasse of the 4. generation, being brother to *Philometor* aforesaid) yet it drew the vengeance of almighty God vpon his children; for his sinne *Ptolome Phiscon* was expelled out of his kingdome by his owne mother *Cleopatra*, and by *Alexander* his younger brother, which *Alexander* poisoned his mother, & hauing possesst him selfe of the kingdome, was driue out againe by the people. And in like maner the two daughters of *Euergetes*, *Cleopatra* & *Griphina* being married to two breethren *Circenus*, and *Griphus* (who contended for the kingdome of *Siria*) caused the destruction of one an other; for *Griphina* procured *Cleopatra* to be

Ptolome Euergetes king of *Agypt*.

Iustin. li. 38.

Iustin li. 39.

I Item.
Ibidem.

murdred in the very Temple of the Gods where she had taken sanctuary, whose death was afterwards reuenged by her husband *Circius*, who hauing ouerthrowen his brother *Giphus*, husband to *Giphina*, slew her in reuenge of his wiues death.

*Cassander king
of Macedony,*

Iustin. li. 16.

50. *Cassander* King of *Macedony* was not only consenting to the poisoning of *Alexander* the greate, but also destroyed al his children, and family, and yet died no violent death; But his 3. sonnes *Antipater*, *Alexander*, and *Philip*, were slaine, & his daughter *Euridice* was kept in continual prison; *Atque ita*, saith *Iustin* *Diuersa Cassandri domus* &c. and so al the family of *Cassander* paid for the murder, as wel of *Alexander*, as of his children, partly with their deaths, and partly with their punishment.

*Zonar. Annal.
To. 3.*

51. *Constantine* the 4. Emperour of that name, first cutte of the nose, and eares of his two breethren, and after killed them, and for as much as he became afterwards a good man, it seemeth that God translated the temporal punishment therof from him, to his sonne *Iustinian* the Emperour, whome *Leonius* the tirant deprived as wel of his nose, and eares, as of his empire, banishing him into *Pontus*; and *Leonius* being ouerthrowne, and taken in a battaile by *Tiberius*, lost both his nose, and his liberty. Afterwards *Iustinian* recouering his empire tooke *Tiberius* prisoner, and hauing commanded both his nose, and his eares to be cutte of, caused him and *Leonius* whome he found in prison to be executed together, wherwith neuertheles the tragedy ended not, vntil at length both *Iustinian*, and his sonne *Tiberius* were slaine by *Philippicus*, who succeeded him in the Empire.

*Heraclius the
Emperour.*

*Zonar. Annal.
To. 4.
Paul. Diac. li. 18.*

52. *Heraclius* the Emperour succeeding *Phocas* whome hee slew, left two sonnes, *Constantin* the 5. and *Heracliona*, of which two, *Constantine* was poisoned by his stepmother *Martina*, to aduance *Heracliona* her sonne to the Empire, who after awhile was deprived therof, and banished together with his mother, his nose being cutte of, and her tongue.

*Mahomet the
second Emperour
of the turkes.
Paul. Iouius in
eom. reuon
Turcic.*

53. *Mahomet* the second Emperour of the *Turkes* of that name, who ouerthrew the Empires of *Constantinople*, and *Trabizonda*, succeeded his brother *Amurates*, and for the assurance of his Empire, presently caused his owne brother to bee killed, the reuenge of whose blood, sel vpon his sonnes, *Zizimus*, and *Baiazet* the 2. of whome the first being forced by his brother to flee into

Chri-

Christianisme, was poisoned in Italy, and the other to wit *Balthazar* was expelled out of Constantinople, and poisoned by his owne sonne *Selm*.

54. *Edward* the 4. King of England, caused not only king *Henry* the 6. and the prince his sonne, but also his owne brother *George* duke of Clarence to be murthered, the penalty wherof was paid with the blood of both his sonnes *Edward* the 5. and his brother, murthered by their vnckle king *Richard* in the tower.

*Edward the 4.
kin 1 of England.
Polidori li. 24.*

55. *Haldan* king of Denmark got the kingdom by the murder of his two brethren *Roe*, and *Scato*, and was afterwards so cruel a tyrant al his life, that *Saxo Grammaticus* (an ancient historiographer of Denmark) saith of him thus. *His fortune was most admirable in one thing, to wit that although he neuer omitted any moment of time in the exercise of cruelty, yet, senectute vitam non ferro finivit; He ended his life by old age, and not by sword.* Thus saith *Saxo*, noting the common experience of the bloody and violent deaths, of cruel, and bloody tyrants, in respect wherof he wondered at the natural, and quiet end of *Haldan*, which must be referred (as I haue noted of the rest) to the secret Iudgements of almighty God, transferring sometimes the fathers temporal punishment to the children, for iust, though secret causes knowne only to his infinite wisdom, as it may also be obserued in this case: for where as king *Haldan* left two sonnes, *Roe*, and *Helgo*, the first, being inuaded, and ouerthrown in three battailes by the king of *Suebia*, was also slaine by him, and the other following his fathers steps, as wel in cruelty, as al other wickednes, grew no lesse hateful to him selfe, then to al other men, and in the end killed him selfe with his owne sword.

*Saxo Gramma
Hist Danic.
li. 2.*

Saxo. Ibidem.

56. To conclude, *Iohn Galeas* Viscont possessing the one haulfe of the state of *Millan*, and his brother *Barnaba* the other, killed his brother to haue the whole, and hauing obtained the title of Duke of *Venceslaus* the emperour, subdued al *Lumbarby*, & left the same with the title of a duchy to his sonne *Iohn Maria* Viscont, who was afterwards slaine by his owne subiects for his tyranny, and so receaued the punishment both of his fathers wickednes and his owne.

*Iohn Galeas the
first duke of
Millan.
Naucler. in
chron. an. 1406.*

57. To these might be added other children of bloody tyrants, who paid the penalty of their fathers wickednes with

their blood, and yet if you compare them in number with those whome God hath manifestly punished in this life for their owne tyranny, you shal find them to be few in respect of the other; But how soeuer it is, this I dare be bold to say, that there are very few, or skantly any one notable tirant to be found in al antiquity, whose person, state, or posterity, hath not receiued some notorious punishment, euen in the very opinion and iudgement of the world, and most commonly by violent, & bloody death, it being most consonant, to the Iustice, and Iudgements of God, that the punishment be correspondent to the fault, that blood be repaid with blood, and that as our Sauour saith, *He which striketh with the sword, should perish with the sword.*

58. Therefore almighty God said to Noe. *Quicumque effuderit humanum sanguinem, fundetur sanguis illius.* Whosoeuer shal spil mans blood, his blood shalbe spilt, which we see was verified for the example of others in Cain the protoparicid, when he had killed his brother Abel, whose blood our lord said did cry to him for vengeance from the earth, and therefore he was accused by almighty God, and afterwards killed by Lamech; And Adonibezee hauing cruelly cut of the hands, and feete of seuentie Kings, and after killed them, was taken by the tribe of Iuda, and handled in the same manner, acknowledging Gods Iustice in him selfe, saying. *Sicut fecisti, redidit mihi Dominus, As I haue donne to others so our lord hath rendred to me.*

59. And in like manner when Achab had killed Naboth to the end to haue his vineyard, the prophet said vnto him. *In hoc loco in quo linxerunt canes sanguinem Naboth, lingent sanguinem tuum.* Euen in this same place where the doggs haue licked the blood of Naboth, they shal lick thyne, which was after fulfilled. And the like seuerity of Gods Iustice may be noted in David, and his children for the murder of Urias, and not only in Amon sonne to Manasses; but also in al the people, and cuntry of Iuda, which was miserably spoyled, and wasted by the incursions of the Sirians, Moabits, and Amonits, in the tyme of Iochin grand-child to Manasses, *Propter sanguinem innoxium quem effudit*, &c. For the innocent blood which Manasses shed; *Et ob hanc rem noluit Deus propitiari, And for this cause God wold not be merciful vnto them.* Thus saith the scripture; whereby we may see that, as the roial prophet saith; *Vitum sanguinis & dolosum abomi-*

No notable ty-
rant unpunished
in his person,
state or posterity.

Blood euer re-
payed with
blood
Matth. ca. 26.
Gen. 9.

Gen. 4.

Iud. 1.

2 Reg. c. 12.

2 Reg. 24.
Iud.

Isa. 5.

abominatur dominus; Our Lord abhorreth the bloody, & deceitful man.

60. To which purpose, I cannot omit vpon this occasion to note here by the way the wonderful providence, and Iustice of almighty God, daily showed in the strange discovery of murders amongst priuat men, be they neuer so secretly committed. For whence can it proceede but from Gods special prouidence, and Iustice, that the wounds of the dead body of him that is murdered, doe bleed a fresh if the murderer come where it is? which not only graue authors doe testify, but also common experience proueth to be true, by the meanes wherof many murders haue bene discovered. And what is there more generally obserued in the experience of men, then that murder can not be hidden, but that it is discovered, and punished sooner, or later? which hath bene also an old obseruation, as it may appeare by a strange story which *Plutark* reporteth of the murder of one *Ibicus*, though he tel it to an other purpose. The story is thus.

Gods wonderful prouidence & Iustice in the strange discovery of murders.

The wounds of a dead body bleede if the murderer come where it is.

A strange story of the discovery of a murder.

91. *Ibicus* being taken by certaine enemies of his, and caried to a secret place where they meant to kil him, perswaded them to desist from their enterprise, assuring them that his death wold be discovered, and reuenged by some meanes or other; and when they laughed at him, and asked him who should discover it, he showed them certaine cranes, which flew ouer their heads, saying that although there should be no humane testimony to conuince them, yet those cranes should be witnesses against them, and helpe to reuenge his death; neuerthelesse they flew him, and when he had bene missed some yeres, and greate enquiry made for him by his friends, it chanced one day, that as the murderers sate together in the Theater, beholding a publike spectacle, there flew ouer their heads certaine cranes, which one of them seeing, showed them to his fellowes, and laughed saying, behold the witnesses and reuengers of the death of *Ibicus*, this was ouer-heard by some that knew him, who signified it to the magistrats, whereupon they were taken, and examined, and confessing the murder were executed.

Ibicus murdered.

Plutark in his treatise of much talking.

62. The same author recounteth an other notable history, which I haue alledged before vpon an other occasion to wit, that one who had killed his owne father, and was not discovered of

An other strange story of a murder discovered.

Plutarck de sera
numin. vin-
dicta.

num. 10.
Cedren apud
Zonar. Annal.
To. 3 in Constan-
tino Pogonato.

A murderer dis-
covered by a
dogge.

red of many yeres, bewraied him selfe by pulling doune a swallowes nest, and stamping the yong swallowes vnder his feete in a greate rage, telling them who asked him the cause. that the swallowes said, he had killed his father; wherupon he was suspected, examined, and vpon his confession condemned, and executed, as I haue declared more at large in the 26. chapter.

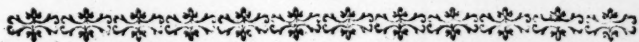
63 To these I wil ad only one other example out of *Cedrenne*. A theefe hauing robbed, & killed a poore man who had a dogge with him, left the dead body not far from the highway, and the dogg lying by it; with in a while after a passenger seeing the dead body, buried it; which being donne, the dogge fauned vpon him, and followed him home; This man was an Inne-keeper, and wheras the dogg did vse to faune vpon al the guests that came to his house, it chaunced one day, that he barked at one, who came to drinke there, and sett vpon him with such violence, that the Inne-keeper, and others, noting the same, were moued (saith the author) by deuine instinct, to conceiue that he was the man who had killed the doggs former maister, & vpon suspicion therof, caused him to be apprehended, and examined, and so it fel out that he being the murderer, confessed it, and receiued the punishment which he deserued.

64. I forbear to alledge modern examples of this matter, for that no man can be ignorant of the strange accidents which hap dayly in one place or other, for the discouery, and punishment of murderers; and therefore I conclude, that the common obseruation therof, being deriued from the experience as wel of former ages, as of the present time, is a notable argument, not only of the enormity and horror of homicid, but also of Gods greate providence, and seuerie iustice in punishing the same.

65. Seeing then almighty God hath ordayned this miraculous discouery of murders, to the end no murderer amongst priuat men shal escape the punishment of humane lawes, it is no meruel, if he seuerely punish murder in princes, who ought to punish it in others, wherby it may also be iudged what assurance, or benefit a prince may procure to his state by such horrible murders, as *Macchianel* seemeth to allow in his prince; wherby he shal expose him selfe not only to the hatred of men, but also to the wrath, and vengeance of almighty God, against whome he hath
no de-

no defence. For be he neuer so strong, and potent, God wil put
 (as the Prophet said of Sennacherib) *Circulam in naribus eius &c.* *15ay. 37.*
ring in his nose, and a bridle in his mouth, where with he wil wring
 4 *Reg. 19.*
 him, wind him, and turne him which way he list, yea & perhaps
 make some little moufe, louse, or woorme ouerthrow him, and
 triumph ouer al his power, pompe, and pride, as it may appeare
 by the strange and miserable ends of dyuers kings and princes,
 of whome I haue spoken before in this chapter.

RUM. 11. & 16.



*IT IS FYRDER DEBATED VVHETHER AL
 sinful policy be against reason of state, by occasion vvhere of,
 some things are obserued concerning the course of Gods prou-
 idence, in the conseruation, and destruction of states: and by the
 vvay some vvhat is sayde of sorcery, and howv dangerous the
 practise therof is to princes, and finally it is concluded that al
 vvicked pol. is pernicious to state, and that the vvisdome of
 Politykes and Machiaullians is mere folly.*

CHAP. 36



BV T now perhaps the politike wil saie, that al-
 though he should grant that the continuance of
 wickednes might make a prince hateful both to
 God, and man, and consequently procure his
 ruine, neuerthelesse it wold not follow that
 euery policy which may be sinful, and offensive
 to God, is aginst reason of state, seeing experience teacheth
 that such policyes are many times beneficial, and profitable to
 state, and what soeuer doth benefit the state, the same may be
 iustly saide to be according to reason of state, and be practised
 of statists vvith our imputation of folly, especially in cases of ex-
 tremity, vvhen a prince seeth him selfe brought to such an ex-
 igent, that he hath no hope of helpe by any lawfull meanes, and
 yet may perswade him selfe that some act, which may be coun-
 teda sinne or offence to God, may procure him some remedy, as
 k k K
 some

*An obiection of
 the politikes.*

*Vvwhether euery
 sinful policy be
 against reason of
 state.*

some fraudulent dealing, periury, murder, or such like? For although, say the politicke, that in cases where there is freedome of election of good or bad policies, it may perhaps be conuenient to vse the good, and eschew the euil, yet when the case seemeth to be desperat, and no choise left but either to practise some wicked policy, or to suffer the state to perish, then at least, say they, reason of state requireth that the state be conserued by what meanes soeuer.

The answer to the objection.

Every thing which succedeth wel in matter of state is not according to reason of state and why.

2. For the satisfaction of this difficulty, it is to be considered that euery thing which succeedeth wel in matter of state, can not be said to be according to reason of state, or to be wel and wisely donne, for that the successe not only of very bad, but also of very foolish designments is many times very good, by chance, as we commonly say, or rather by the permission, or secret disposition of almighty God, who (as I haue often signified) disposeth of the affaires of men, not according to their wills or wiues but according to his owne holly wil, and secret Iudgements, drawing alwaie good out of euil, and turning the woorst intentions, and actions of the wickedest men in the world, to the good of others, and his owne glory one way or other.

What a prince reduced to any extremity is to consider.

Chap 17 nu. 24
25. & 26.

Ioh. 1. 23. 42. To
bi. 11.

3. Therefore a prince who seeth him selfe reduced to any such extremity, that he may think it needefull to vse some wicked policy, is to consider that the calamity which he either suffereth, or feareth, can not hap vnto him without Gods speciall prouidence, but rather by his iust ordinance, either for his trial, and exercise, or for the iust punishment of his sinnes, or of the sinnes of his parents or predecessors, or perhaps of the people, as I haue sufficiently proued before.

4. If it be only for his trial, that it is to saye, to proue and try his faith, & hope in God, and to exercise his patience (for which causes God suffered Iob, and Tobias to be rempred, and permitteth his best beloued seruants to faule into difficulties) what other effect can wicked policy woork, then that the affliction which God laied vpon him for his benefit and special good, shal turne by Gods iust Iudgement to his viter ruine both of body & soules.

5. And if the affliction be a panishment of sinne in any sort, he can not with any reason conceiue that the same may be remedied

medied by sinful, and wicked meanes, wherby the cause of his affliction shal be encreased, and Gods indignation, and wrath furdur kindled against him and his state; and much lesse may he hope, either to force, or frustrat the wil of God by policies, and deuises, as we read that diuers wicked princes haue laboured to doe, and gained nothing els in the end, but either a note of extreme folly and impiety, or els vtrer ruine to them selues and their states, and as the tragical Poët saith.

-----*Ad satum Venere suum dum fata timent.*

*Extreme folly to
seek to force or
frustrat the wil
of God.*

Seneca in Oedip.

They came to their fatal end, whiles they feared, or sought to auoide their fate; that is to saye, them selues the instruments of Gods wil and Iustice, to execute the same vpon them selues.

6. And although I haue proued this already by many examples of princes, who haue perished by their owne wicked policies, yet I wil ad here a few more examples, of such as hauing had some light, and vnderstanding of Gods wil concerning them selues or their states, haue sought by some impious policies to elude, or auert it.

7. To which purpose I wish it first to be noted by the way, that almighty God doth sometyms (for secret causes knowne only to his infinit wisdom) reueale his owne hidden and secret counsels, not only to wicked men, as he did to *Caiphas*, but also to wicked spirits, by the ministry of his Angels, as *s. Augustin* witnesseth, by which meanes the deuils did truly fore-tel to the paynims many things which depended only vpon the wil of God, wherof there hath ben also and stil is, sufficient experience amongst Christians in the detestable practise of nigromancy, and sorcery.

*God reuealeth
sometymes his
secret iudgements
to wicked spi-
rits, and how.
Ioan. 11.
Aug de Genesi ad
litteram. ca. 17.*

8. For although the deuil (who is *Mendax & pater eius; Aher,* and the father of lyes,) doth commonly lye, and delude those that deale with him, yet he doth other whyles truly fore-tel things to come, either by chance, or by coniecture, or els such things as doe proceede of natural causes, (wherof he hath an exact knowledge,) or agayne such other things as depend vpon his owne power and wil by the permission of God, or lastly such things, as it pleaseth almighty God to reueale vnto him, for the execution of his secret iudgements.

Ioan. 8.

*What things
the deuil can
foretel.*

9. Therefore now to come to the examples which I promi-

Kkk 1

ted,

Alexander king
of Epyrus.
Iust. l. 12.

fed, Alexander King of Epyrus hauing vnderstood by an oracle of Iupiter, that he should die neare to the riuier *Acherusia*, and the citty *Pandosia*, (of which names there was a citty and riuier in his owne kingdome of Epyrus,) thought to auoyde the same by leauing his cuntry, and making warre abroad in *Italy*; where he was slayne with in a whyle, neare to a riuier and citty so cauled, as before is mencioned. *Non prius*, saith Iust. *fatalis loci cognito nomine quam occideret*. Not knowing the name of that fatal place before he dyed there.

Idem.
Ibid.

Chap. 25. nu. 8.
Anastasijs the
emperour.
Zonar Annal.
To. 3.
Gedren.

10. Also the wicked Emperour *Anastasijs* (of whome I haue spoken in the last chapter,) being fore-warned that he should be killed with a thunderbolt, built a maruelous strong house cauled *Tholotum*, and besids many strange labyrinths, and places of retrait for his lastie, he made a deepe cistern in the bottome of al the house, whyther hee meant to retire him selfe when he should see cause; neuerthelesse he was killed shortly after with a thunderbolt, as he was running in a tyme of greate thunder, from one chamber to an other to gett doune to his cistern; to whome it might haue ben said, as a poet saith of *Enceladus* the greate giant, who flying away from Iupiter was strooken with a thunderbolt as the Poets faigne, and cast vnder mount *Etna*.

----- *Quo fugis Encelade? quascunque accesseris oras
Sub Ioue semper eris.*

Idem. 13.

Whither flyest thou Encelade? what coast soeuer thou com'st vnto thou shalt euer be vnder Iupiter, that is to say, vnder the hand of God: which the psalmist teacheth notably saying. *Quo ibo a spiritibus tuis*. &c. *Whither shal I goe, o lord, from thy spirits? or Whither shal I flie from thy face? if I goe vp to heauen thou art there; if I goe doune to hel, thou art also there, If I take wings early in the morning, and dwel in the furdest part of the sea, there also thy right hand wil lay hold on me*, Thus saith the psalmist, to show the vanity and folly of wicked men, which think to escape the hand of God.

Valens the
Emperour.

13.

Paul. Diac. l. 12.

11. No lesse vaine, and much more impious was the endeavour of the emperour *Valens* to euacuat the ordinance of God. For hauing consulted with nigromancers concerning the name of his successor, and being told that it shold beginne with *Theod*. he caused very many to be made awaye, of whome some were cauled.

cauled *Theodosius*, and some *Theodotus*, and some *Rhodulus*, and some *Theodorus*, and amongst the rest he most vngreatfully murdered the valiant captaine *Theodosius* when he had recovered *Africk* from his enemies, and gaue order also to kil *Theodosius* his sonne, whome neuerthelesse almighty God deliuered from that danger, and after made him Emperour, wherein the prediction was fulfilled.

Oros li. 7.
Ammian li. 29.
Ambros in sine
oratio. in fun.
Theodos.

12. In like manner the Emperour *Andronicus Comnenus* guessing by the letters *I. S.* (which were showed him by a *Nigromancer* in a basen of water) that his successors name should be *Isacius*, thought to kil *Isacius Angelus*, whome he made by that meanes Emperour, and wrought his owne destruction, as I haue signified in the 34. chapter.

Nicer chonias.
Annal. li. 3. de
Andro. com.
Andronicus
Comnenus emper
rouer.
Nu. 33 & 34.

13. To these I wil ad only one more out of our owne cuntry, to wit *Edward the 4. King of England*, who hauing vnderstood by some prophesy, as it is supposed, that one whose name should begin with a *G.* should procure the destruction of his children after his death, caused his brother *George Duke of Clarence* to be murdered in the tower, not suspecting any thing of his brother the Duke of *Gloster*, who fulfilled the prophesy, if it was a prophesy, I meane if it was the prediction of any man inspired by the holy Ghost, and not some deuise of the deuil (which I think more likely) to induce King *Edward* to the murder of his brother, wherupon the destruction also of his owne children (which hee sought to preuent therby) might very wel follow through the seuerity of Gods iudgements, who many times punisheth sinners by that which they most feare, & seeke by wicked meanes to auoide, and therefore *Salomon* saith. *Quod timet impius veniet super eum. That which the wicked man feareth shal fall vpon him.*

*Edward the 4.
king of England*

Polidor li. 24.

Proverb. ca. 10.

14. But leauing this to Gods secret iudgements, I wish it to be noted by the way in these examples, how dangerous a thing it is in a prince, to be curious to know Gods secret counsels and decrees, concerning him selfe, & his state, wherby many princes haue bene drawne to vse the helpe of nigromancers and forceers, to the greate offence of God, & consequently to their owne destruction, there being no sinne, which God hateth, and punisheth more, as we may perceiue, both by the expresse prohibition therof in many places of the holy scriptures, as also by the

*Dangerous for a
prince to be cu
rious to know
Gods secret coun
cils.
Sorcery most ha
tefull to God and
dangerous to
princes.*

Leuit. 24. 10.

Deuter. 18.

May. 47.

Deuter. ca. 18.

Eid.

The collusion of
the deuil in for-
cery.

The deuil can
not be forced by
man by any na-
tural meanes.

Supra. nu. 2.

Examples of
princes abused
by forcer. vs.

Ferrand Count
of Flanders.

seuere Iudgements of God vpon the Babilonians, Aomrheans, Phere-zeans, Chananeans, Hiuans, I-busians & diuers other people in the land of promise, with their Kings to the number of 31. destroyed as the Scripture testifieth principally for their witch-crafts, enchantments and nigromancy, and therefore *Moyſes* warned the children of *Iſrael* before they came into the land of promise, that they should not imitat those infidels in those finnes, concluding; *Omnia enim hæc abominatur Dominus & propter istiusmodi scelera delebit eos in introitu tuo.* For our Lord doth abhorre al these, and for these kind of finnes he wil viterly destroy them at thy entrance.

15. And if it be also considered, what collusion the deuil vseth in forcery, and how little truth may be knowne therby, it wil evidently appeare how vaine, and friuolous is the practise thereof. For whereas he seemeth to be subiect to the forcerer, or magician, as either forced by enchantments, or bound by couenant, it is but mere fraude, and deceite on his part; for that he can neither be forced by man, by any natural meanes (being of nature, and power, superiour to the nature and power of man) neither be furdre bound by couenant then he him selfe listeth, which is neuer longer then he may hope to doe man some notable mischeefe therby; besides that neither doe deuils know such things as doe meerly depend vpon the wil of God or man (as I haue already declared) neither wil they for the malice & enuy to man tel him the truth of such things as they know, but to the end to doe him some hurt and mischeefe one way or other; which also God of his iustice permitteth many times, reuealing vnto them his owne secret iudgements, for the iust punishment and greater confusion of those who confide in them, to whome they vse to signify the same in such riddles, and with such ambiguitye, that although they denounce vnto them, Gods sentence geuen against them for their destruction, yet they feede them with false hope of prosperous successe, to make them runne head-long to their owne ruin; wherof many notable examples might be alledged out of the ancient histories of painims, which for breuities sake I omit, and content my selfe to relate 2. or 3. out of later histories.

16. When *Ferrand* the Count of *Flanders* assisted by the emperor *Otho* the 4. (or as some caule him the 5. of that name) was to geue

to geue battaile to Phillip King of France cauled *Augustus*, he was greatly encouraged therto by his mother vpon the prediction of certaine magicians with whome she had consulted, who assured her that the king of France should be ouerthrowne in the battaile, troden vnder the horse feete, and not buried, and that the Count her sonne should be receiued by the *Parisians* with great ioye; al which fel out to be true, though in other manner then she expected; For although the King of France was foe prest by his enemies, that he was thrown doune from his horse, and troden vnder the horse feete, yet he was rescued by his soldiars, and after wonne the battaile, and tooke the count of *Flanders*, & sent him prisoner to *Paris*, wher at the *Parisians* reioyed greatly, And soe wee see (saith the story) how the Count trusting to sorcerers, in steade of a crowne which he expected, purchased a prison.

Gaguin. Annales
France, lii. 6.

Istern.
Ibid.

17. Wee read also of the like cofenage, and illusion of the deuill in the assurance which a forceresse gaue to *Machabe* king of *Scotland*, to wit that no man borne of a woman should be able to kil him, wherby he was animated to vse al cruelty towards his subiects, and in the end was slaine by *Makdus* earle of *Fife*, who was not horne of his mother, but cut out of her belly. This is reported by *Hector Boethius* in his history of *Scotlād*; out of whome I wil also ad one other example of Gods iust Iudgements vpon such as consult with sorcerers, and of the deuils malicious subtilty in procuring their destruction.

Machabe King of
Scotland.

Hector Boethius
li. 12.

18. *Nathalocus* king of *Scotland* sent a greate fauorir of his to enquire of a famous witch, what should be the successe of a warre which he had in hand, and other things concerning his person, and state, to whome shee answered, that *Nathalocus* should not liue long, and that he should be killed by some of his owne seruants; and being furdur vrged to tel by whome, shee said that the messenger him selfe shuld kil him, who though he departed from her with greate disdain, and reuiled her, protesting that he wold suffer ten thousand deaths rather then he wold doe it, yet thinking better vpon the matter in his returne, and ymagining by the deuils suggestion that the King might come to know of the witches answer, by one meanes or other, and hold him euer after suspected, or perhaps make him awaie, resolved to kil him, which he presently after performed; wherin we may

Nathalocus K.
of *Scotland*.

Hector Boethius
li. 6.

A crafty answer
of the deuill
to cause a murder.

see the

see the craft, and malice of the deuill, who thirsting after mans blood and perdition, framed such an answer to this messenger, as he thought most likely to moue him to the murder of *Nathanael* who sent him, which also God of his Iustice permitted for the iust punishment of the sinful, and wicked curiosity of *Nathanael*, in seeking to know his secret Iudgements, by such vnlawful meanes.

19. Wel then I conclude this point, with the counsel of the Preacher in the holly scripture, who saith. *Aluora te ne quæsieris* &c. Search not after things higher then thy selfe, but alwayse think of those things which God hath commanded thee, neither bee thou curious in many of his woorks, for it is not necessary for thee to see those things which ar bid. Thus saith the Preacher, notably correcting the curiosity of men, in searching into the secrets of God, & this I haue thought good to touch here by the waie, though breefely, because I wold not digresse to farr from my principal matter, referring the furdur, and more substantial discourse of this point, as also the predictions of Astrologers, to the second part of this treatise, where I shal purposely speake of religion, wherto the consideration therof doth more properly belong.

20. But now to returne to the matter which I had in hand, it appeareth sufficiently by this which I haue saide, not only how dangerous it is for men to be curious to know Gods iudgements by vnlawful meanes, but also how vaine, and friuolous ar mans inuentions when he seeketh to crosse, or frustrat the wil of God, which is not superable by force, nor euitable by policy, but only exorable, and flexible to praier and repentance, by which meanes Gods mercy hath bene often, and no dout is daily moued to reuerse the rigorous sentences of his Iustice geuen against sinners: wherof we haue examples in the *Ninivites* whome God determined to destroy, and yet spared for their repentance, and in *Achab* King of *Israel*, who hauing receiued sentence of the destruction of his whole family by the mouth of the prophet, obtained the dilation therof by humility and penance, in respect wherof God said to *Elias*. *Quia humiliatus est mei causa* &c. Because he hath humbled him selfe for my cause, I wil not inflict the punishment of his sinne vpon his house in his daies, but in the daies of his sonne. Also *Ezechias* being sick, and admonished by the prophet from almighty God

Eccli. 3.
A good admonition of the preacher against curiosity in searching into Gods secrets.

Gods will not superable by force, nor euitable by policy, but flexible to praier.

Ione. 3.

3. Reg. 21.

Ibid.

4. Reg. 20.

God, that he should dye of that disease, obtained by prayer and reares; not only present recovery, but also prolongation of life for 15. yerres, as I haue signified before in the 15. and 24. chapters where I haue by many examples showed the admirable effects of prayer and spirital meanes, for the remedy of al the necessities of princes; and therefore I forbear to speake further thereof in this place.

Nu. 2. 6. 7. 10. 13.
14. 27. 35. & 38.
nu. 8. & 9.

21. Yea but saith the politike, how many haue prayed when they haue ben brought to extremities, and haue had no helpe, when some others by some periury, murder, or other mischeef haue conserved their states?

An obli-
tion of
the politicks

22. Wherto I answer, that the question is not here, as I haue insinuated before, of the event, and successe of mens actions (which is only in the hand of God, and disposed by him according to his secret Iudgements) but of the likelyhood, and probability of remedy in extremities, by the one meanes, or by the other; for I could also with much more reason demand, how many haue perished by wicked policies, whereas infinite others haue conserved themselves, and their states by recourse to God, and godly meanes; of both which sort I haue alledged many notable examples through out this whole discourse.

The answer

23. But that which I wish to be obserued for the better explication of this matter is, that God doth sometymes absolutely determine to destroy a prince or state (as when he said of the people of *Iuda* that although *Moyse*, and *Samuel* should pray for them he would not spare them); and sometimes agayne he absolutely determineth to conserue a state for a time; as when he promised to *Iehu* that his posterity should sit in his seat vntil the 4. generation. In the first case although neither good, nor bad policy, nor yet prayer can conserue the state (I meane when God doth absolutely determine to destroy it) yet it is to be vnderstood that wicked policy may through the severity of Gods iustice accelerat. & agrauate the calamity threatned, whereas good policy ioyned with confidence in God, & pure deuotion may moue his diuine maiesty to execute his Iudgements with much more mercy, and to turne al the temporal affliction of the prince to his eternal good, which in that case were the greatest benefite that could be desired, as I wil declare further after awhile.

Observations
concerning the
cours of Gods
providence in
the conseruation
and destruction
of States.
Ierem. 15.
4. Reg. 10.

What maie be
the effect of
good, or bad po-
licy, when God
doth absolutely
determine to
destroy a State.

Infra. nu. 31. 32
& 33.

*How & when
wicked policy
may be a meanes
to conserue a
state.*

Nu. 4. 5. 6. 7. &c.

*God would co-
serue the state of
a prince much
rather by his
good policy, then
by his bad, if the
prince him selfe
would.*

*Though God suf-
fer wicked poli-
cies to prosper,
yet he punisheth
the princes
which practise
them.*

*Chap. 35. nu. 35.
36. 37. &c.*

*Ibid.
nu. 42. 43. & se-
quens.*

24. In the second case (I meane when God dorth absolutly determine to conserue a state) it is not to be doubted but that wicked policy may be a meanes therof by Gods permission, and for the execution of his secret Iudgements, though neuertheles the prince that should practise the same should commit notorious folly, for that he might in that case maintaine his state by lawfull, and good policy, with lesse danger, and much more benefit to him selfe. And this I saye, because God vseth many times the wicked policies of men for the conseruation of states (when his absolute wil is to maintayne them) which neuertheles he wold conserue by the meanes of their lawfull and good policies, if the fault were not in them selues. To which purpose it is to be vnderstood that almighty God, hauing geuen freedome of wil to man (for such causes as I haue declared in the 24. chap ;) dorth not necessitar, or force mans wil, but vseth it such as it is, (as I haue diuers times signified) mouing it alwayse to good, and yet seruing him selfe of it be it good or bad, for his owne glory, and the accomplishment of his wil.

25. Therefore I saye, that when soeuer he conserueth the states of princes by meanes of their euil wils, and wicked policies, he wold much rather woorke the same effect by their good wills, and lawfull endeouours (if they them selues wold) yea and yeeld them with al, not only temporal but also eternal reward for the same ; wheras on the other side though he suffer their wicked policies to haue good successe for a time (so long I meane, as he meaneth to conserue their states, during which times they can not by any errours or folly of theirs ouerthrow them) yet he dorth commonly punish them for it in the end, not only eternally (if they repent not) but also temporally, either in their persons, or states, or at least in their children, and posterity, as it is euident in the wicked tirants mencioned in the last chapter; who though they prospered for awhile, yet at length perished miserably through Gods Iustice, and those few of them which escaped temporal punishment in their owne persons, left their children engaged to pay their debt in that behalfe with their vnter ruine.

26. Besides that it is to be considered, that a wicked policy may some waye through Gods permission (as I haue said) benefit the

the state, and helpe to vphold it for a time, and yet draw Gods wrath, and vengeance vpon it some otherwaie, wherby it shal not only perish in the end, but also be miserably afflicted in the meane while: like as the vse of vnholosome meats doth geue the body strength, and nourish it for the time, and yet doth so corrupt it, that it perisheth much the sooner, and is in the meane time replenished with diseases.

How wicked policy may both benefit and hurt the state at one time.

Wicked policy like to vnholosome meats.

An example of the kingdome of Israel.

27. This was manifest in the kingdome, and Kings of Israel. For wheras they al continued the wicked policy of *Ieroboam* their first predecessor for the conseruation of their state, to wit their *Idolatry*, and *Schisme* (which was first begunne by *Ieroboam* for reason of state) it is not to bee doutted, but that almighty God, hauing determined to maintaine that kingdome for some time, permitted that wicked policy to haue the effect for the which it was deuised (that is to say) to diuert the people from going to the temple in *Hierusalem*, and consequently from returning to the obedience of the kings of *Iuda*) and yet neuertheles he punished the same seuerely sometimes in the princes, and sometimes in the state, as it is euident in the holy scriptures, where it appeareth that not only *Ieroboam* him selfe was strooken by the hand of God, and al his children destroyed for the same, but also al the Kings his successors died violent deaths, either the father or the sonne, excepting the children, and posterity of *Iehu* who were priuiledged (as before I haue said) for 4. descents; wherein it is also to be noted, that during the time of the priuiledge granted to their persons, their states were miserably afflicted for the continuance of that wicked policy, though not ouerthrowne, in respect of the couenant which God had made with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, for the which; *Noluit* (saith the scripture) *disperdere eos, neque proicere penitus vsque in presens tempus.* God would not destroy them, nor vterly cast them of as yet, though at length he gaue the kings their successors, and al the people into the hands of the kings of *Assiria*, & to perpetual captiuiy for the continual practise of the same sinful policy.

3. Reg. 12.

Ibid.

2 Paral. ca. 29.

3. Reg. 19.

4. Reg. 10. & 19.

4. Reg. 13. & 14.

4. Reg. 13.

4. Reg. 24.

28. Thus then we see, how wicked policy may by Gods permission some way helpe to the conseruation of state (so long as God hath ordayned that the state shal stand) and yet may in the meane time through Gods Iustice procure the calamity of

the prince, and state some other way, and the destruction of both in the end.

*Gods wil to cō-
serue or destroy
states not al-
waie absolute.*

10m. 3.
3. Reg. 11.

Psal. 131.

2. Reg. 7.
3. Reg. 11.
Paral. 22.

4. Reg. 20.

*What princes
should doe in
dangers and ex-
tremities.*

*An example of
K. Dauid.*
2. Reg. 15.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

29. But now it is to be considered, that the wil and determination of almighty God, to destroy, or conserue states, is not alwaye so absolute, but that he may be moued by the merits or demerits of men to vphold the state, which he meant to destroy, and to destroy that which he meant to vphold. He determined as I said before, to destroy the *Ninivites*, and al the family of *Achab* for their sinnes, and denounced his wil vnto them by his prophets, and yet he conserued the one, and deferred the execution of the other for some time, in respect of their humility, and repentance. On the other side, God promised to *Dauid* that the kingdome of *Iuda* should remaine for euer in his posterity, if they serued him, and kept his commandements; and although in respect of his promise, and for *Dauids* sake he conserued it in his line for many generations, and diuers times defended it from forrain enemies, yet at length he destroyed it vtterly for the sinnes of the kings, and people therof. So that wee see in both these cases that good policy assisted with praier, and spiritual helpe, may be especial meanes, to vphold and maintaine the state, and wicked policy, as also al kind of sinne, a principal or rather the only meanes to ouerthrow it.

30. Therefore for as much as the Iudgements of God are secret, and not ordinarily knowne but by the effects (his infinit wisdom hauing so ordained, to the end we may the rather know therby, and acknowledge our dependance on his wil) it behooueth princes, yea, & al other men in al dangers, and extremities to imitate the holy, & prudent King *Dauid*; For when his sonne *Absolon* rose against him, and he him selfe, with those few that wold follow him, was forced to flye out of *Hierusalem* bare headed, bare footed, and weeping, he acknowledged it to be a iust punishment of God for his sinnes, and as on the one side, he vied al humane dilligence to defend him selfe, and to discouer and dissipat the designments of his enemies, so also on the other, side, he sought to moue almighty God to mercy by praier, patience, and resignation of his wil to Gods wil, saying to *Sador* the priest; *I find fauour in the sight of God he wil restore me, but if he saye vnto me, thou dost not like, or content me; Preſto sum, faciat mihi quod bonum*

bonum est coram se. I am ready to obaye him, lest him doe wth me. What soeuer it shal please him; Furthermore he not only auoided al vnlawful policies that might offend God, but also forbore to take a iult reuenge of the iniury donne him by *Semei*, whose reprochful speeches and maledictions he patiently suffred, as iustly permitted by almighty God for his punishment, saying to *Abisai* who would haue killed *Semei*; *Lest him raile vpon me, for perhaps our Lord may behold my affliction, and render me good this day for this malediction.* Such was the religious humility, of the wise, and valiant King in this his great affliction, which was so grateful to almighty God, that he gaue him a notable victory, and restored him to his former tranquility, and dignity.

Ibid.
ca. 16.

31. The like humility, patience, and resignation of wil he showed also in other occasions, euen when he found not the mercy and fauour at Gods hands which he expected. When the prophet *Nabun* had signified vnto him the wil of God for the death of his child in the cradle, in punishment of his adultery and homicid, he neuer ceased to craue his mercy for the life of his sonne with continual prayer, teares, and fasting, shut vp in his chamber, and prostrat vpon the ground for some dayes after his sonne fel sicke, nor omitting any other lawful meanes for his recouery, vntil he vnderstood by his seruants that he was dead. and then seeing by the effect what was the wil of God, he most humbly contented him selfe there with, washed, and anointed him selfe, changed his apparel, went to the house of God to pray, refreshed him selfe with meate, and was so comfortable, that he comforted *Bersabe* his wife, and al his family, saying vnto them, when they asked him why he was so sorrowful whyles the child was aliue, and so comfortable when he was dead; *I fasted, saith he, and wept whyles he liued, because I knew not whether God would grant me his life, or no, but now that he is dead, why should I afflict my selfe any longer;* as who would say, now that I see what is the wil of God, what should I els doe, but accomodate my selfe therro, and reioyce in the accomplishment therof.

Another example of the humility and patience of King David.

2. Reg. 24.

Ibidem.

32. Thus said, and did, this holy King, and prophet, and so should al Kings and princes say, and doe in like case, imploring the fauour, and mercy of God whyles they may haue any hope, (yea and saying with *Iob*. *Etiam si me occideris sperabo in eo;* *Although*

Job. 13.

be kil me I wil hope in him) not omitting any lawful policy, or diligence which may be vsed to procure remedy, and contenting them selues with Gods wil in the successe, what soeuer it be, acknowledging his Iustice therin; wherof I haue alledged also before a notable example in *Mauritius* the Emperour, who hauing vnderstood Gods wil concerning the losse of his life, and Empire, by the meanes of *Phocas*, for the punishment, and satisfaction of his sinnes in this life, laboured neuertheles by continual prayer, and al kind of deuotion to pacify the wrath of God, vsing with al, al lawful diligence, and policy, to preuent the danger, and to defend himselfe against *Phocas*, and in the end when nothing could preuaile, and that he saw him selfe in the hands of his enemy, and his children killed before his face, he humbly acknowledged the Iustice of God, often repeating these woords of the Psalme; *Iustus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum. Thou art Iust o lord, and thy Iudgements are right.*

Paul. Diaco. li. 17.
Psal. 118.

Henry the 6.
king of Englad.

Polid. li. 23.

Idera.
Ibid.

The notable
effect of praier
and humilisy,
when God doth
absolutely deter-
mine to destroy a
prince.

33. We read also the like of the holy, and pyous, though most vnfortunat King *Henry* the sixt, who hauing ioyned al lawful policy with prayer, and other spiritual meanes for the conseruation of his state, and finding no remedy therby, attributed al his calamity, as *Polidore* witnesseth to the iust punishment of God for his sinnes, and the sinnes of his ancesters, though his owne vertue, or rather innocency was such, that if God had not (as it may be presumed) irrenocably decreed, to lay the temporal penalty of some sinnes of his ancesters vpon him, it might haue obtayned Gods fauour towards him, as wel temporally for the conseruation of his state, as it did spiritually for his eternal glory, testified by so many notable miracles, that king *Henry*, the 7. demanded his canonization of Pope *Iulio* the 2. and had obtayned it if he had liued: wherby it appeareth how admirable is the effect of prayer, humility, and resignation of wil to the wil of God, when he doth absolutely determine to destroy a prince, whose temporal losse of a transitory state subiect to al misery, is therby recompensed with an incomparable gaine of eternal felicity; wheras by wicked policy he can neyther conserue the one, nor gaine the other, but shal passe from one misery to an other incomparably greater, that is to say, from a temporal calamity, to inspeakable and euerlasting torments.

34. Now then, to draw to an end of this part of my treatise I wil inferre certaine conclusions vpon al the precedent discourse. The first is, that seeing almighty God gouerneth al states by his prouidence, and disposeth of them, as it pleaseth him (which I haue amply proued) it must needs follow that although he doe sometimes of his secret iudgements (as I haue oft said) permit wicked policies to prosper, yet for as much as no man can with reason presume therof (considering the severity of his Iustice in punishing princes and their states for sinne, yea and sometimes for very smale sinnes in the opinion of men, as I haue shewed in my rules for young statists) therefore I say, no wicked policy can stand with true reason of state, the danger of Gods indignation being so greate, that no man can be truly counted wise, who wil aduenture thereon; no more then any one might be said to doe wisely, who for his particuler benefit should vse to robbe & steale in a wel gouerned commonwelth, where he should incurre the danger of the law as oft as he should doe it, though perhaps he should escape the same many times; wherein neuertheles this difference is to be noted, that whereas men doe sometimes auoide the penalties of lawes, no man can escape the hand of God, if he offend him, but that he paieth the penalty of his sinne some way or other, sooner, or later, and soe much more grieuously by how much longer it is disferred, and most of al, if the whole punishment therof be wholly referued to the next life, which neuerthelesse is seeldome scene in tirants and wicked princes, as it may appeare by the two last chapters.

The first conclusion inferring that wicked policy cannot stand with reason of state.

Chap. 13. nu. 4.

No man can be truly counted wise who aduentureth vpon Gods indignation.

35. The second conclusion shalbe, that seeing I haue also evidently proued through out this whole discourse, that man is of his owne nature so infirme and weake of wit, and power, that he neither knoweth many times what is conuenient for him selfe (and much lesse for others) neither yet can warrant the successe of his owne desinments, and wisest policies, by reason of the infinit accidents, crosses, and trauerses wherto mans life, and al humane affaires are subiect, besides that I haue also made it manifest by reason, and examples, not only that al political science, is of it selfe insufficient for the perfect gouernment of state, but also that al true wisdom, and policy is of God; therefore it cannot be denied but that the assistance of Gods

The 2. conclusion inferring the necessity of Gods grace to perfection of policy.

grace,

The necessity of
true religion in
common welth

grace, and protection, is most necessary for the good gouernment, and assurance of al princes states, wherupon also followeth the necessity of true religion for the conseruation of state, seeing God doth by the meanes therof most amply communicat his grace and fauour, as wel to whole common welths, as to particular men, wherof I leaue the furdur discouise, and prooue to the 2 part of this treatise, where I am purposely to handle that matter, and to show as wel the digniry and necessity of true religion in common welth, as also that the Catholike religion, is most conuenient for state.

The 3. and last
conclusion that
al wisdome, or
policy grounded
on wickednes is
meere folly.

Chap. 12. nu. 7.
8. 9. 10. &c.
Ibid. nu. 17. 18.
19. 20. &c.

Ibid. nu. 12. 13.
& 14. Ibid. nu. 15.

Ibid. nu. 32.
The wise man is
wise for his
soule

Genes ca. 19.
Vicked men
compared to
Esops cock

36. The third, and last conclusion shalbe, that al wisdome of policy grounded on sinne and wickednes, is meere folly, which may appeare by that which I haue taught, and proued, as wel concerning the punishment of God vpon princes and their states for sinne, as also touching true wisdome and policy, wherof I haue particularly, and amply treated in the 28. chapter, and proued clearely that it consisteth principally in the feare, loue, and seruice of God, and that no man can possibly attaine to any perfection of wisdome, with out the light of Gods grace, (wherby mans natural habilities are encreased, and perfected, and his defects supplied) and that according to the doctrine of the best philosophers, as wel as our deuines, true prudence and vertue cannot be seperated, and that it is most requisit to euery prudent action, not only that the end therof, and the meanes to archieue the end, be good and vertuous, but also that euery good thing be esteemed in the degree it deserueth. & the cheefe good of al (which is God, and his seruice) preferred before al other things what soeuer. And finally that it is the special office of a wise man, most to esteeme and seeke that which most importeth him, to wit the saluation of his soule, and his eternal good, for that *Sapiens* (as the scripture saith) *est anima sue sapiens*, the wise man is wise for his soule; wherupon it followeth that he who preferreth things transitory, before things stable and permanent, and looeth, or ventureth his soule for any worldly commodity, or pleasure what soeuer, is no wiser then *Esau*, who sold his primogeniture, or birth-right for a messe of pottage; or *Esops* cock that esteemed a barly corne, more then a precious stone; or the foole, who (as the prouerb saith) wil not geue his
bale

bable for the tower of London; And therefore such as valew honour, and riches, or other worldly commodities aboue vertue are worthily compared by *Aristotle* to children that esteeme their babies and puppies more then gold, and *Seneca* accounteth them more foolish then children, for that children, saith he, play the fooles in trifles, and matters of smale moment, and no danger, wheras these other are seriously foolish, or rather madd in matters no lesse weightie then dangerous, as wel to them selues, as to others, and therefore, saith he, *Verum, cariusque insaniunt. They are more truly, and costly madd.* Thus saith he, and most truly, for it costeth them many times their reputation, and honour, their states, their liues, bodies, and soules.

*Seneca ep. 98.
Vicked men
more foolish
then children.*

Ibidem.

*Plutark in
Apophtheg. re-
gū & principum.*

*Vicked men
compared to
Lisimachus that
gave his king-
dome for a
draught of wa-
ter.*

*Vicked men
no wiser then
brute beasts.*

*The end of euery
thing is chiefly
to be considered
of men.*

Deut. 32.

*The wisdom
of politikes com-
sisteth in per-
uerting the
course and order*

37. So that they may say as *Lisimachus* said, when being be- seeged, and vexed with thirst, he yelded him selfe prisoner, and gaue his kingdome for a draught of water, exclaiming when he had dronke, *O for how smale and short a pleasure haue I lost a kingdome.* Thus may they saie with more reason, for that they change not one fraile, and earthly thing for an other as he did, but heauenly things for earthly, deuine for humane, eternal for transitory, which admit no comparifon; besides that they shew them selues to be no better, nor wiser then brute beasts which are lead by only sence, and vehemently moued by present obiects, without discourse and consideration of future things or of the end which is specially to be considered of men, to whome nature hath geuen reason to discourse and iudge, not only of things present, or past, but also of things to come, and especially of the last end of al humane actions wherein consisteth the eternal felicity, or misery of man, and therefore *Moyse* partly lamenting, and partly reprehending the absurd folly of such kind of men saith. *Gens absque consilio est, & sine prudentia, vitam saperent, ac intelligerent, & nouissima prouiderent.* These are a people with out counsell, and prudence, I wold to God they wold be wise, and vnderstand, and foresee or prouide for their last end.

38. Furdermore how can these be counted truly wise, whose wisdom consisteth in peruerting the whole course and order of nature, and contradicting the principles, and ground of reason; For what is more conforme to nature, or more euident in reason, then that as the soule excelleth the body, and heauen

M m

the

of nature, and
in contradicting
the principles of
reason.

the earth, so also the goods, and gifts of the mind, ought to be preferred before the gifts, and goods of the body, heauenly things before earthly, reason before sensuality, the publick good before any mans particular, eternal felicity, before temporal pleasure or commodity, and the seruice, and glory of God before al things els what soeuer, Al which nature ordaineth, reason perswaderth, Philosophy, and al learning teacheth, the consent of the world confirmeth, and mans owne conscience within him selfe proclaimeth it to be true. Neuertheles the polinikes, and *Machiavilians* haue found out a kind of wisdom, and policy (which they cal reason of state) contradicting al this, preferring the body before the soule, earth before heauen, humane things before deuine, sensuality before reason, and the particular pleasure of the prince, before the general good of the commonwelth, temporal commodities before eternal felicity; and lastly what soeuer seemeth to their corrupt iudgements, to be according to reason of state, the same they preferre before conscience, religion, and the seruice of God, as though there were eyther no God to caule them to account, or that he had nothing to doe with them, or with the affaires of men. So that to make their wisdom true wisdom, their policy good policy, their reason of state good reason, and them wise men, the whole course, and order of nature must be changed, and al things turned vpside doune, the soule must bee made subiect to the body, heauen to earth, reason to sensuality, commonwelth to priuat welth, and temporal goods must excel the eternal, yea and lastly we must haue a new nature, and either an other God, or no God, or at least such a one as shal haue no prouidence in the affaires of men.

To make poli-
tikes vryse men
we must haue a
new nature and
an other God, or
no God.

39. What maruel is it then that this kind of wisdom and policy ouerthroweth princes, subuerteth their states, and filleth the world with misery and calamities? In which respect the Scripture calleth it, *Stultitiam huius mundi sapientiam. The foolish wisdom of this world*, and the professors thereof *Foole*; as I haue sufficiently showed in the 23. chapter, where I conuincd Atheistes of ignorance and folly, wherto I wil ad here for the conclusion of this point, and of this whole discourse, what the Holy Ghost testifieth in the booke of wisdom, concerning as wel the misery, as the

3. Cor. 1.
Rom. 1.
Psal. 52.
& 91. & 93.
Matth. 25.

Chap. 23. nu.
19. & 20.

the folly of these kind of wise worldlings, as that, when they shall see at the daye of Iudgement them selues condemned to eternal torments, and the seruants of God rewarded with euerm-lasting glory, they shall say one to another.

40. *Nos insensati* &c. We madde men (or men with our sence, and vnderstanding) esteemed the life of these (that is to say of the Iust) to be maines, and their end without honour, and behold how they are now reckoned amongst the children of God, and their lot is amongst the saints. Therefore wee haue erred from the way of truth, & the light of his Iustice hath not shined vnto vs, neyther hath the sunne of vnderstanding risen vnto vs, we haue wearied our selues in the way of iniquitie, and perdition, and haue walked difficult waves, and haue not knowne the way of our Lord; what hath our pride profited vs? or what hath the ostentation of our riches benefited vs? al which is now past away like a shadow, and like one that runneth post, or like a ship that saileth, or like a bird that flieth, or like an arrow thor at a marke, of the passage wherof there remaineth no signe; And euen so we were borne and presently ceased to be, and haue not left behind vs any signe of vertue, but are consumed, and spent in our owne malignity and wickednes; Thus doth the Holy Ghost describe the miserable & lamentable state of the worldly wise, and al other wicked men at the day of Iudgement, which I wish euery man would consider betyme, lest he repent to late amongst those, who shall make this pittifull complaint without hope or possibility of remedy.

Sap. 5.
The folly of
wicked men
and their miserable
state not
ablye manifested in
the scriptures.

41. This shall suffice for the first part of my treatise concerning policy and religion, wherein if thou find any thing, good Reader, that may content thee, I beseeche thee to geue the prayse, and honour therof to almighty God (from whom, *Est omne donum optimum, & datum perfectum*, is every good and perfect gift) and if ther be any thing therein, which may iustly dislike thee, I am content to owne it my selfe, and doe desire thee to beare with it, and to let it passe for an example of the infirmity of mans wit, which I haue showed by so many other examples of the errours of very wise and learned men, that I can not presume to warrant my owne doings or writings, from al error and oversight; Only this I wil assure thee, that I haue not erred

Iac. 1.

in any thing maliciously, but haue had through out this whole discourſe a charitable deſire of thy good, and as I hope, a true zeale to Gods glory, which al men ought to make the principal ſcope, and end of their actions. yf I find that this be grateful vnto thee, I wil ſecond it with the other part for thy furder ſatisfaction, with ſuch ſpeede, as the regard of my decayed health, and my other affaires wil permit.

Deo ſoli honor & gloria.

The Corrector to the Reader.

GENTLE Reader I craue thy patience and curteſie to pardon ſome faultes eſcaped in the printinge, the author him ſelfe being very far abſent, with whome I could not conſult vpon euery doubt, and many other impediments occurring to my ſelfe, the which are needleſſe here to vtter: thoſe that are of moſt importance, and doe alter the nature of any worde, I haue, I hope, amended; the reſt, which are ſometimes in miſtaking one letter for an other, pretending on thy patience I make bould to let paſſe.

THſe faultes eſcaped are thus to be founde. The letter. p. ſignifieth the page, the letter. n. the number. and the letter. l. the line.

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